This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

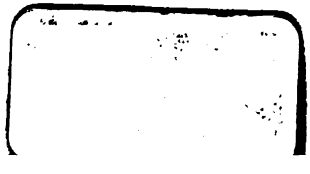
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

OCT. 1809....., JAN. 1810.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

SECOND EDITION.

VOL. XV.

Edinburgh:

Printed by D. Willison,

FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, EDINBURGH; AND

CONSTABLE, HUNTER, PARK, AND HUNTER,

LONDON.

1810.

CONTENTS OF No. XXIX.

ART. I. Discours sur le Progrès des Sciences, Lettres et Arts, depuis 1789 jusqu'à ce jour (1808); ou, Compte rendu par l'Institut de France à S. M. l'Empereur et Roi - - - - - - p. 1

II. The Columbiad: a Poem. By Joel Barlow - 24

III. Essays on Professional Education. By R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. F. R. S. &c. - - - - - 40

IV. A View of Spain; comprising a descriptive Itinerary of each Province, and a general Statistical Account of the Country. Translated from the French of Alexander de Laborde - - - - - - 58

V. The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, with some of the Letters of her Correspondents. Part the First; containing her Letters from an early Age to the Age of Twenty-three. Published by her Nephew and Executor Mathew Montagu, Esq. M. P. - - 75

VI. Application de la Theorie de la Legislation Penale, ou Code de la Sureté Publique et Particuliere, fondé sur les Regles de la Morale Universelle, sur le Droit des Gens ou Primitif des Societés, et sur leur Droit Particulier, dans l'Etat actuel de la Civilization, &c. Par Scipion Bexon, ancien Avocat, &c. &c. &c. 88

VII. The Remains of Hesiod the Ascræan. Translated from the Greek into English Verse, by C. Abraham Elton - - - - - - 109

VIII. An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany. By J. E. Smith, M. D. F. R. S. &c. &c. 118

IX. Memoires de Physique et Chimie de la Societé d'Arcueil. Tom. I. - - - - - - - 142

X. Eschyli Tragœdiæ, ex Editione Thomæ Stanleii. Accedunt Notæ VV. DD. quibus suas intertexuit Samuel Butler, A. M. Tom. I. 4to. Tom. I. & II. 8vo. - - - - - - - - - 152

XI. Parliamentary Logic: to which are subjoined Two Speeches, and other Pieces. By the Right Hon. W. Gerard Hamilton - - - - - - 163

CONTENTS.

ART.

XII. Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the History, &c. &c. of Asia. Vol. IX. - - - - 175

XIII. Histoire des deux derniers Rois de la Maison de Stuart. Par Ch. J. Fox. Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais; auquel on a joint une Notice sur la Vie de l'Auteur 190

XIV. Publications respecting the Conduct of the War - 197

Quarterly List of New Publications - - 237

Appendix - - - - - - - - 245

CONTENTS OF No. XXX.

ART. I. An Inquiry into the Practical Merits of the System for the Government of India, under the Superintendance of the Board of Controul. By the Earl of Lauderdale - - - - - - p. 255

II. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Victor Alfieri. Written by Himself. 2 vol. - - - 274

III. Advice to Young Ladies on the Improvement of the Mind. By Thomas Broadhurst - - - - 299

IV. Æschyli Tragœdiæ, ex Editione Thomæ Stanleii. Accedunt Notæ VV. DD. quibus suas intertexuit Samuel Butler, A. M. Tom. I. 4to. Tom. I. & II. 8vo. - - - - - - 315

V. Pamphlets on Vaccination - - - - 322

VI. Les Trois Regnes de la Nature. Par Jacques Delille 351

VII. Voyage aux Indes Orientales. Par le P. Paulin de S. Barthelemy, Missionaire - - - - - 363

VIII. A Second Journey in Spain, in 1809, from Lisbon, through the Western Skirts of the Sierra Morena, to Sevilla, Cordoba, &c. &c. and thence to Tetuan and Tangiers. By R. Semple, Author of "Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples, &c. &c. in 1805." - - - - - 384

IX. The System of the World. By P. S. Laplace - 396

X. Memoires de Physique et de Chimie, de la Societé d' Arcueil. Tome 2. - - - - - - 418

XI. Travels in America, performed for the Purpose of exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Missisippi, and ascertaining the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity. 3 vol. By Thomas Ashe, esq. - - - 442

XII. Greek Marbles brought from the Shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean, and deposited in the Vestibule of the University of Cambridge. By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL. D. - - - - 453

XIII. Correspondance inedite de Mad. du Deffand, avec D' Alembert, Montesquieu, le President Henault, &c. &c. 3 tom. And
Lettres de Maddle. De Lespinasse, écrites depuis l'Année 1773, jusqu'à l'Année 1776, &c. 3 tom. - 453

XIV. Three Reports of the Directors of the African Institution, read at their General Meetings in 1807, 1808, and 1809 - - - - - - 485

XV. Short Remarks on the State of Parties at the Close of the Year 1809. - - - - - 504

Quarterly List of New Publications - - 522

Index - - - - - - 533

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1809.

No. XXIX.

ART. I. *Discours sur les Progrès des Sciences, Lettres et Arts, depuis* 1789 *jusqu'à ce jour* (1808); *ou, Compte rendu par l'Institut de France à S. M. l'Empereur et Roi.* En Hollande, 1809.

AFTER the intercourſe of England with the nations of the Continent has been ſo long and ſo unhappily interrupted, it cannot but be acceptable to our readers, to receive, from the moſt enlightened of thoſe nations, an account of the ſcientific and literary improvements that have taken place in Europe during the laſt nineteen years. This account is of high authority, conſiſting of reports made to the Emperor of the French by Committees of the National Inſtitute, about the beginning of the year 1808. Theſe reports, made by command of the Emperor, are mere abſtracts or ſkeletons of more extenſive memoirs, which we may expect hereafter to be publiſhed. Even the abſtracts, however, are intereſting; not only on account of the information they contain, but as belonging to a ceremonial, which, if not quite ſingular, is certainly very uncommon in the courts of princes. They are accompanied with very uſeful notes by the editor J. L. Keſteloot, a Dutch phyſician of the Univerſity of Leyden.

We are told, that on the 6th of February, his Majeſty being in his Council, a deputation from the mathematical and phyſical claſſes of the National Inſtitute was introduced by the Miniſter of the Interior, and admitted to the bar of the Council. M. Bougainville, the oldeſt member, and therefore the preſident of the Claſs, then addreſſed the Emperor in a ſhort ſpeech; which we ſhall give in his own words.

'SIRE,—Votre Majesté Imperiale et Royale a ordonné que les classes de l'Institut viendraient dans son conseil lui rendre Compte de l'Etat des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts, et de leur progrès depuis 1789.

'La classe des Sciences Physiques et Mathématiques s'acquitte aujourd'hui

aujourd'hui de ce devoir; et si je me présente à la tête des savans qui la composent, c'est à mon âge que je dois cet honneur.

' Mais, SIRE, telle est la diversité des objets dont cette classe s'occupe, que même avec la precision dont un savoir profond et l'esprit d'analyse donnent la faculté, le rapport qui en contient l'exposé exige une grande etendue.

' Ce n'est donc que de l'esquisse, et pour ainsi dire, de la preface de leur ouvrage, que MM. Delambre et Cuvier vont faire la lecture.

' Je ne me permets qu'une seule observation; c'est que l'époque de 1789 à 1808, en même temps qu'elle sera pour les événemens politiques et militaires une des plus mémorables dans les fastes des peuples, sera aussi une des plus brillantes dans les annales du monde savant.

' La part qui est due aux Français pour le perfectionnement des methodes analytiques qui conduisent aux grandes découvertes du système du monde, et pour les découvertes même dans les trois régnes de la nature, prouvera que si l'influence d'un seul homme a fait des héros de tous nos guerriers, nos savans, honorés par la protection de votre Majesté qu'ils ont vue dans leurs rangs, sont en droit d'ajouter des rayons à la gloire nationale. '

After this addreſs from M. Bougainville, which is certainly commendable for its ſimplicity, though the compliment in the laſt paragraph might have been better turned, Delambre, ſecretary of the claſs of Mathematics, proceeded to read his Report, from which we ſhall ſelect ſuch paſſages as appear to us the moſt intereſting.

The Report begins with the elementary branches of the mathematics, and takes notice of two treatiſes which have appeared in that department within the limits of the period above mentioned,—thoſe of Legendre and Lacroix. That of Legendre, it is ſaid, is deſtined to recal geometry to its antient ſeverity, at the ſame time that it ſuggeſts ſome new ideas concerning an analytical mode of treating ſeveral of the elementary parts of that ſcience. To underſtand theſe two remarks, it muſt be obſerved, that the French mathematicians, having long ſince abandoned Euclid, had departed alſo, in many things, from the rigour of ſtrict demonſtration; a practice which, in the Elements, where the foundation of the ſcience is to be laid, was ſurely much to be condemned. Boſſut's Elements of Geometry, which appeared about the year 1775, is almoſt the only one in the French language, except the two here mentioned, where geometrical accuracy is aimed at throughout. The work of Legendre, however, has accompliſhed its object more completely, we think, than that juſt mentioned, or, indeed, than any other modern treatiſe of elementary geometry. It is very extenſive, including the properties of the ſphere, together with the cubature and complanation of the ſolids bounded by planes,

and

and alſo of the ſphere, cylinder and cone. At the ſame time, the propoſitions contained in it are purely elementary, that is, ſuch as, by their ſimplicity and generality, deſerve to be conſidered as the fundamental truths of the ſcience of geometry. Among thoſe analytical methods of demonſtration, to which an alluſion is made above, we were long ſince particularly ſtruck with one, of which, as it happens, we can convey ſome idea without the aſſiſtance of a diagram.

It is well known to thoſe who have compared different treatiſes of elementary geometry, that one of the greateſt difficulties which they preſent, is the doctrine of parallel lines. Euclid was not able to extricate himſelf from this difficulty, otherwiſe than by the introduction of a propoſition as an axiom, which certainly is by no means ſelf-evident. Later writers have uniformly experienced the ſame difficulty; and ſome of them, trying to avoid the introduction of a new axiom, have fallen into downright paralogiſms. Legendre, in his Elements, has given two demonſtrations of the properties of parallel lines, without aſſuming any new axiom. One of theſe, which is contained in the text, is prolix and leſs ſimple than the nature of the theorem to be proved entitles us to expect. The other demonſtration, however, which is in the notes, poſſeſſes the moſt perfect ſimplicity, at the ſame time that it is new; proceeding on a principle that has been long recognized, but from which no conſequence, till now, has ever been deduced.

If we could demonſtrate, independently of all conſideration of parallel lines, that the three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles, the object in view would be accompliſhed, and the difficulty, in this part of the Elements, would be entirely overcome. Now, the theorem juſt mentioned would be eaſily demonſtrated, if we had proved, when two angles of one triangle are equal to two angles of another, that the third angles are alſo equal, whatever may be the inequality of the baſis, or of the triangles themſelves. Of this propoſition, Legendre gives the following demonſtration. If the third angle of a triangle depend not on the other two angles alone, but on theſe angles and alſo on the baſe, then is there ſome *function* of theſe angles, and of the baſe, to which the third angle is equal. But, if this is true, an equation exiſts between the angles of a triangle and one of its ſides; and, if ſo, a value of that ſide may be found in terms of the three angles; that is, the ſide has a given ratio to the angles; which is impoſſible; for they are quantities of different kinds, and can have no ratio to one another. Whenever, therefore, two angles of one triangle are equal to two of another,

their third angles are alſo equal, whatever their baſes may be. This reaſoning appears to us extremely ingenious and ſatisfactory. It takes for granted nothing but that an angle and a line are magnitudes which admit of no compariſon; a propoſition, of which no one who underſtands the terms can entertain the ſmalleſt doubt. The reaſoning, however, will not be readily followed by thoſe who are unacquainted with algebra, or to whom the nature of *functions* and *equations* is not tolerably familiar. It is curious, that a principle which all the world knew, and which was received into geometry ſo long ago as the days of Plato, was never made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of reaſoning, till in the inſtance juſt mentioned, where it is found actually to involve in it the ſolution of a great difficulty. We muſt, however, take leave of Legendre's treatiſe, which we cannot ſufficiently recommend. The Elements of Lacroix are alſo extremely valuable, though not marked, ſo ſtrongly as the preceding, with the characters of originality and invention.

Delambre goes on to remark, that the fine collection of the Greek mathematicians was completed in 1791, by the Archimedes of Torelli. We ſuppoſe that he has here in view the ſplendid edition of Torelli's Archimedes, printed at Oxford, not indeed in 1791, but in the year following. He makes further mention of a tranſlation of the ſame into French by M. Peyrard, with a memoir by Delambre himſelf on the Arithmetic of the Greeks. 'Before this memoir,' he adds, 'of which your Majeſty yourſelf condeſcended to furniſh the ſubject, it was difficult to conceive how the Greeks, with a notation ſo imperfect in comparison of ours, could poſſibly execute the arithmetical operations indicated by Archimedes and Ptolemy.' This tranſlation of Archimedes, ſo far as we know, has not yet reached England. The memoir of Delambre muſt be peculiarly intereſting to mathematicians.

On the ſubject of the antient geometers and their writings, we muſt be indulged in a few more remarks. What the collection of the Greek geometers is to which Delambre refers, we do not perfectly underſtand; but of one thing we are certain, that that collection can never be conſidered as complete, while the *collections* of Pappus, one of the moſt valuable remains of antient ſcience, are known only by a very imperfect tranſlation, and while the original continues ſhut up in great libraries with other unpubliſhed manuſcripts. The moſt perfect MS. of Pappus, we believe is at Oxford, and is particularly deſcribed by Dr Horſley, in his reſtoration of the *Inclinations* of Apollonius. The late Profeſſor Simſon of Glaſgow was the man of all others who had ſtudied Pappus with the greateſt care, as well as the greateſt intelligence; and all the commentaries on that author

which

which his papers afforded, were deposited in the Bodleian Library; so that the University of Oxford is certainly in possession of the best materials that the world affords, for a correct edition of this antient author. We would willingly look to the learning of that celebrated University for a publication which will be most thankfully received by the whole mathematical world. *

Before we take leave of that part of the report which relates to the antient geometry, we must observe, that the most interesting part of it, the geometrical analysis, has not, in later times, been cultivated in France; and very little, as far as we know, in any part of Europe, except Italy and Great Britain. This is so true, that the article of geometrical analysis is not to be found in that great work, which the French philosophers and mathematicians intended as a complete description of the science of the 18th century. The neglect, among these philosophers, of a branch of geometry that deserves so well to be cultivated, and is, in fact, one of the most beautiful and elegant inventions in the whole circle of the sciences, is the more wonderful, that the first of the moderns who understood this subject, and who, though destitute of many of the aids which have since been derived from a more complete knowledge of the antient remains, became a great master of it, was a French geometer. FERMAT flourished about the middle of the 17th century; and in his *Opera Varia*, has resorted or re-invented some of the finest works of the antient analysis, and has approached, at the same time, very near to several of the greatest discoveries of the modern. In the former, however, his course was not followed by the mathematicians of his own country; and the man who most nearly trode in the steps of Fermat, was Dr Edmund Halley, in the end of the same century, who, possessing great learning as well as genius, applied the former very successfully to the improvement of science. He was followed by the late Dr Simson of Glasgow, and Dr Mathew Stewart of Edinburgh, who cultivated the antient analysis with singular assiduity; the former, restoring several of the most valuable works of

* Though the MSS. of Pappus, we believe, are but few, there are some now and then to be met with, which an editor would no doubt think it his duty to consult. One is now in the possession of the Advocates' Library, which was purchased a few years ago. It is very beautifully written; but is probably of no great antiquity. A circumstance that adds to its value is, that the name of Ortous de Mairan is inscribed on it; so that it probably was once the property of that learned and ingenious academician.

the antients; and the latter, introducing the geometrical analysis into those branches of physical science, which hitherto had been treated, either in the algebraical manner, or by synthetical demonstration. The late Dr Horseley was a proficient in the antient analysis; and we might add some others of this country, who have cultivated the same subject with success, and whose writings fall within the period to which the report of the Institute is limited. In Italy, the antient analysis has found several followers; among the *Memoirs* of the *Societa Italiana*, many problems are found resolved by it; but, on the same subject, we have met with nothing in the transactions of the other societies of Europe. There must be something singular in the causes that have promoted the study of a particular branch of science in distant countries, when no concert or peculiar influence can be supposed to have acted exclusively on them.

Delambre insists at some length on the operations in practical geometry, or what the French call *Geodesie*, that have been lately carried on for the purpose of ascertaining different points relative to the figure of the earth. The first of the operations to which he refers, is that which was undertaken both by France and England in 1787, for the purpose of ascertaining the distance between the meridian of Paris and that of Greenwich. He observes, with respect to these, 'that considering the advanced state of the arts and sciences, it was to be expected that the English would endeavour to surpass every thing of the same kind that had yet been done: they succeeded in doing so: the theodolite of Ramsden, the Indian lights used for signals, the new apparatus employed in the measurement of the basis, produced a degree of accuracy hitherto unknown. The French, on their side, had only angles to measure; and the repeating circle which Borda had invented, though not of so *imposing* a form as the theodolite of Ramsden, contained in its construction a principle which assured to it a precision at least equal to that of the latter instrument, and more independent of the skill of the artist.'

We believe, that this encomium on the repeating circle of Borda, is very fairly due to it. That circle puts it in our power, not merely to take a mean of a great number of observations, but, as those observations are made without being read off till we come to the last, the error of reading off is no greater for all the observations put together, than it would have been for one observation only; so that, when divided into as many parts as there have been observations made, the result almost vanishes. The repeating circle, therefore, gives a mean of the errors of observation, and of the division of the instrument: and the error of reading off, it goes near to annihilate entirely. This seems to be the true

light

light in which these instruments should be viewed; and as they are now made by Troughton, with all the accuracy which that excellent artist gives to whatever passes through his hands, we should think it highly expedient that a comparison was instituted between them and the theodolite of Ramsden, for which the trigonometrical survey affords so good an opportunity.

The success of the measurement of the distance between the meridians of Greenwich and Paris, led to the operation on which the new system of measures was founded. The unit fixt on was a quadrant of the meridian; and, under the impossibility of measuring the whole, the largest arch accesible, that between Dunkirk and Barcelona, was chosen. The operations for this purpose began under the direction of Mechain and Delambre, in 1792, and were not concluded till 1799. Of these, Delambre gave an account, in a work that was mentioned in a former Number of this Review. The coincidence of two different bases of 12,000 métres each, and distant 700,000 from one another, demonstated the extreme accuracy with which the whole had been conducted. Two degrees have been since added, by the continuation of the same meridian to the Balearic Isles.

The same spirit has spread into other parts of Europe; and has produced important improvements in the science of geography. The astronomer Swanberg measured over again, in 1802, the degree that had been measured in Lapland by Maupertuis, and a party of the French and Swedish academcians. Their measure made the degree of the meridian which cuts the polar circle, to be 57,405 toises,—considerably greater than it was found possible to reconcile, by any theory, with the magnitude of degrees measured in lower latitudes. Melanderjelm, a Swedish astronomer, known by several valuable works, proposed to repeat the measurement; and the operation was committed to Swanberg and three others, who, using every precaution, and employing the circle of Borda, found the degree, in the latitude of 66° 20′, to be only 57,209 toises; less by 196 toises than the old measurement; agreeing perfectly with other observations; and giving, for the compression at the poles, about one 330th of the earth's semidiameter.

The measurement of Maupertuis and his colleagues occasioned much confusion and debate for near seventy years; and proves, in a remarkable manner, how much worse an inaccurate experiment may often prove than no experiment at all. The great trigonometrical operations carrying on in England are also mentioned by Delambre; though he seems not perfectly informed of their extent. He mentions some in Germany and Switzerland, with which we are not acquainted.

Among the improvements that respect this state of practical geometry, where its operations, by aiming at great accuracy, connect it with more profound and difficult researches, Delambre, with great propriety, reckons the theorem of Legendre, by which the calculation of spherical triangles is reduced, in all the cases of such measurements as we now refer to, to plain trigonometry. The same excellent geometer has extended his theorem to triangles on the surface of a spheroid. (Vid. *Memoire sur les Transcendantes Elliptiques*, 1 vol. 4to.)

The enumeration which Delambre gives of the works containing improvements and discoveries in algebra, is very extensive, and includes several treatises which have not yet found their way into this island. Of those on which we can add, to the short notice which our author gives, some particulars from our own knowledge, we shall select one or two examples. La Grange, having accepted the office of professor in the Polytechnic school, composed, for the instruction of his pupils, the work which he calls *Calcul des Fonctions*, intended as a commentary and supplement to the *Theorie des Fonctions Analytiques*, which he had before published. These works are both of great value, on account of the new and accurate view which they give of the principles of differential calculus, or of what we call the method of fluxions. For many years, the French mathematicians, and indeed the mathematicians of the Continent in general, gave themselves little trouble about the principles of the new geometry; and, though they extended its methods, rules and applications, much beyond what was done in England, they were not so successful in explaining and demonstrating the fundamental truths of the science, as Newton and his followers. This, we believe, will be generally allowed; and, till a very late period, scarcely admits of any exception. Euler himself, though such a master of the Calculus as to have hardly any equal, yet, in the metaphysics, as we may call it, of that calculus, displays none of his usual talent and accuracy of thought. He contends, that fluxions or differentials have no magnitude whatever, and are truly and literally equal to nothing; which is a harsh and inaccurate way of stating what is much better expressed by Newton in his doctrine of prime and ultimate ratios; or by Maclaurin, where he considers fluxions as the measures of velocity. There were, however, some exceptions to the generality of the observations which we are now making; and D'Alembert, in particular, though he has not written professedly on the subject of the principles of the Calculus, yet, whenever he has occasion to state any thing relative to it, never fails to do so in the luminous manner that we might expect from a geometer who was a metaphysician and a philosopher. Carnot, whose name is

so well known, was one of the first among the French mathematicians who treated professedly of the metaphysics of the differential calculus. The little tract which he wrote on this subject is full of ingenious and sound views; but such as, though presented in a new form, and one that appeared quite original both to the author and his countrymen, are in reality very little removed from the method of prime and ultimate ratios. Carnot, however, had the merit of accommodating that method to the form and language of the calculus, better than we were accustomed to do, by stating that a differential equation is not an exact, but only an approximate equation, which comes continually nearer to the truth the less the fluxions or differentials are that are involved in it. La Grange, however, has placed the matter on the true foundation; and has shown that, in delivering the general rules of the differential and integral calculus, there is no need for introducing evanescent quantities, or quantities less than any thing that is assigned. Thus, the differential calculus is reduced to the algebra of variable but finite quantities; and it is only when the application of the general formulas is made to geometric magnitudes, that the ultimate ratios of evanescent quantities come to be considered; and they do so in a manner that admits of strict demonstration. This step is undoubtedly one of the greatest that has been made in the new analysis since the period of its invention; and we have often wondered that the works of La Grange, which contain the development of this idea, have not produced a greater sensation among the mathematicians of this island, who have always aimed so much at accuracy in their manner of treating this subject. We will not allow ourselves to suppose that this proceeds from any illiberal jealousy, or any unwillingness to acknowledge the superior success of a foreigner in a pursuit in which they themselves had been engaged. We must rather ascribe this apparent indifference to the general agitation of Europe, and the interruption of all intercourse, even that of letters, between France and England. On the Continent, these works seem to meet with the reception they deserve. The THEORIE *des Fonctions* was published in the year 5 of the French Revolution. The first edition of the CALCUL *des Fonctions* was in 1805; and the second edition, which is now before us, in 1806.

Another treatise of La Grange is noticed in this report, *Traité de la résolution des équations numeriques de tous les dégrés*. This is also a work of great merit, and yet it is but little known in this country, though the memoir which is the foundation of it was published by La Grange in the Berlin memoirs so long ago as the year 1767. It deserves to be particularly studied; and nothing more useful could be done in an elementary treatise of algebra, than

than to give to this method of approximating to the roots of equations the simplest form which it admits of.

The last article under this head is the *Méchanique Céleste* of La Place, on which, as is well known, too much praise cannot be bestowed. We have already considered this work with a minuteness that renders any further observations on it unnecessary in this place.

The Report mentions three articles in practical mechanics; the timekeepers for finding the longitude, constructed by Berthoud, which gained the prize of the Institute; the hydraulic ram of Montgolfier; and, lastly, a machine approved by the Class of the Sciences, the Pyréolophorus of Messrs Lenieps, a new invention, in which, if we understand the very short notice concerning it which the editor has given in a note, the force of air suddenly expanded by heat, is made to raise a weight, or overcome a resistance. In an experiment made with this machine, it is said that a boat, loaded with five quintals, and presenting to the water a prow of the area of six square feet, was carried up the Soane with a velocity double that of the stream. In another experiment, the pressure exerted on a piston of three square inches was in equilibrio with 21 ounces, and the fuel consumed weighed only 6 grains. We want here a necessary element, the time in which these 6 grains were consumed. This omission may perhaps be supplied from another part of the account, where it appears that each stroke of the piston takes up five seconds. The 6 grains were the fuel consumed in six seconds.

Much more information, however, than we have at present, is necessary, in order to form any estimate of the merit of this machine, and to judge whether it has any chance of becoming a rival to the steam engine.

The next general head of the report is Astronomy; and here the new astronomical tables form the first, and indeed the most important article. This subject we have also anticipated in the review of Vince's Astronomy, or, as the title ought to have been, of Vince's edition of the Tables of Burg and Delambre.

A curious article is given with respect to the comet of 1770, which has long occupied the attention of astronomers, from the singular circumstance that the only ellipse that could be made to agree with its motions during the time it was visible, is one in which it must revolve in five years and a half nearly: yet this comet has never been observed since 1770, and never was seen before. The singular problem to which this paradoxical phenomenon gives rise, was proposed as the subject of a prize by the National Institute, and the prize was gained by M. Burckhardt, a most skilful and laborious astronomer. From immense calculations he has

has made it appear that the attraction of Jupiter had rendered that comet viſible, from having been inviſible before becauſe of its great diſtance, and has alſo rendered it viſible again, by undoing its former effect, and reducing the comet to move in an orbit that does not admit of its coming near enough to the Sun to be viſible from the Earth.

It is not one of the leaſt remarkable circumſtances in the hiſtory of a period big with novelty, that ſince the beginning of the preſent century four new planets have been diſcovered. Theſe are all of them ſo ſmall, that it is no wonder they eſcaped obſervation, and were even by aſtronomers confounded with the millions of ſtars of the ſame apparent magnitude that occupy almoſt every point of the heavens. From their ſmallneſs it follows, that they have no ſenſible effect in diſturbing the motions of the planets already known. Their orbits are conſiderably eccentric; and the plane of one of them has an inclination to the ecliptic greater than the inclinations of all the other planetary orbits put together. This great inclination and eccentricity will render the calculation of the diſturbances produced in the motion of theſe bodies by the larger planets, (particularly of Jupiter and Mars, between which they are ſituated), a matter of conſiderable difficulty, and may be the occaſion, as Delambre remarks, of extending the ſcience of analyſis beyond its preſent bounds.

The firſt of theſe planets was diſcovered by Piazzi at Palermo, the third by M. Harding, the two others by M. Olbers of Bremen. The aſtronomer laſt named is of opinion, that theſe ſmall bodies are the fragments of one large planet which an exploſion, from ſome unknown cauſe, has burſt in pieces; and hence he concludes, that all their orbits ought to cut one another in two oppoſite points of the heavens, which he found, by calculation, to be, one near the conſtellation Virgo, and the other near the Whale; and that, of courſe, they muſt paſs through theſe points twice in every revolution; ſo that, in order to diſcover all the fragments, aſtronomers ought to examine theſe two places of the heavens very frequently. In effect, all the four have been found near theſe points; and the two laſt, after Olbers had ſuggeſted the idea juſt mentioned.

Since the year 1789, ſeventeen comits have been diſcovered; and along with the names of Meſſrs Mechain, Olbers, &c. by whom they were obſerved, we are glad to ſee the name of Miſs Herſchel. The orbits of all theſe comets have been calculated. The comet that appeared ſo remarkable in the autumn of 1807, is thought by Olbers to revolve in a very eccentric ellipſe, and to have a periodic time of no leſs than 1900 years.

Delambre concludes this article with Dr Herſchel's deſcrip-

tion

tion of the heavens, the double, triple, quadruple, and nebulous ſtars, together with thoſe that have diſks like planets, in ſome caſes round, in others irregular. The diſcovery of the revolution of Saturn's ring by the ſame excellent aſtronomer, is alſo mentioned, as alſo the coincidence of the time of that revolution with the theory of gravity, and the prediction of La Place. The obſervations of Dr Herſchel on the figure of Saturn himſelf are not mentioned.

A rumour prevailed for ſome time, that Piazzi had diſcovered the parallax of the fixt ſtars; but as M. Delambre makes no mention of a diſcovery, which, if real, would be no doubt one of the greateſt in aſtronomy, we muſt ſuppoſe that M. Piazzi's obſervations have not yet led to any ſatisfactory reſult. The notes mention a work, founded moſtly on Dr Herſchel's obſervations, by Schræter of Amſterdam, on the dimenſions of the univerſe: it was crowned by the Royal Society of Haerlem in 1802; it cannot fail to be highly intereſting; and we very much regret that it has not yet reached this country.

The next general head is that of *Phyſique Mathematique*, or what we would call experimental philoſophy. Delambre begins with remarking, 'that the revolution recently brought about in chemiſtry, could not happen without turning many experimentaliſts a little out of their ordinary courſe, when they ſaw in a neighbouring ſcience a road opened that promiſed more numerous diſcoveries. We ſhall nevertheleſs find, in the mathematical branch of Phyſics, ſome curious reſearches and intereſting inventions.'

Among theſe, one of the moſt remarkable is the *Balance of Torſion*; which, by the twiſting and untwiſting of a thread or wire, affords a meaſure for forces that are too ſmall to be appreciated by any other means. It was with this that Coulomb was ſo ſucceſsful in determining the law of electric attraction and repulſion, and afterwards in ſhowing that the phenomena of magnetiſm follow a law altogether ſimilar, namely, the inverſe of the ſquare of the diſtance. By help of the ſame inſtrument, he was able to meaſure the ſmalleſt effects of magnetiſm; to find the temperature (conſiderably elevated) at which theſe effects entirely diſappear; and to ſhow that magnetiſm is not, as has been generally ſuppoſed, a property peculiar to certain bodies, but one that exiſts in all, even in thoſe that appear moſt devoid of it. The ſame balance enabled him to meaſure the reſiſtance which fluids oppoſe to motion, the law of which reſiſtance is expreſſed by two terms, of which Newton found out only the firſt, the ſecond not being ſenſible except in motions that are extremely ſlow.

The inſtrument by which Mr Cavendiſh determined the gravitation of balls of lead toward one another, is, as Delambre obſerves,

serves, no other than Coulomb's Balance, executed on a large scale. Mr Cavendish found from his experiments, that the mean density of the earth is five times and a half as great as that of water.

Here, however, we must be permitted to observe, that though Mr Cavendish's Balance does not differ in principle from that of the excellent experimenter quoted by Delambre, it was not copied from it. The experiments of Mr Cavendish were indeed made about the year 1798; and the first experiments of Coulomb with his balance are published as early as the year 1785, if we mistake not. The instrument that Mr Cavendish employed had however been invented before that period by the Rev. Mr Mitchell, F. R. S., and was purchased at his sale by Mr Cavendish. We are to consider the instrument, therefore, as originally an English invention, and re-invented in France by Coulomb, without any knowledge whatever of what was done in England.

We cannot help remarking too, when we reflect on the results obtained from this instrument in the hands of the English and of the French philosopher, that the gravitation measured by the former, may have been affected by the magnetism which the latter supposed he had discovered in all bodies. The effects of the one force may have been mistaken for those of the other, and a degree of uncertainty is thrown on the determinations of both. This observation, however, we only throw out loosely: perhaps an accurate comparison of the experiments might determine how much is to be ascribed to the one cause, and how much to the other: it is right, however, that this source of inaccuracy should be considered.

The application of the Barometer to the measurement of heights, or more properly the formula for determining heights by help of the Barometer, deduced by La Place, is mentioned among the discoveries of the latter. La Place used in his formula the specific gravity of mercury, as it is commonly stated. The coefficient or multiplier of the logarithmic difference which he thus obtained, was found, on comparing his Barometric measures with certain heights, trigonometrically determined by M. Ramond in the Pyrenees, to require a small correction. The coefficient, thus adjusted, was found by Biot to agree perfectly with the experiments on the specific gravity of mercury when accurately repeated; and his experiments also gave the same refraction which Delambre had deduced from astronomical observations.

In the prosecution of these experiments, M. Biot found that the refracting power of different gases affords means more accurate than the ordinary processes of chemistry for inquiring into the composition of certain substances, such as the Diamond, which

which he concluded to be partly composed of oxygen. The idea of inferring the chemical composition of bodies from their refracting power, as is well known, was first conceived by Newton: it seems to have been much extended and improved on by the philosopher just named.

It is not taken notice of in the Report, but we think it right to remark it, that the rule for barometric measurements had been investigated on strict mathematical and mechanical principles long before it was done by La Place, and formulas brought out, which do not materially differ in their results, though they do considerably in their forms, from that of the French geometer. After De Luc made his improvements, and discovered by trial the very simple rule which he employs, leaving it however quite empirical, and not deduced from principles, a geometric demonstration of that rule was given by Dr Horseley in the Philosophical Transactions. An investigation of the same, purely analytical, was published by Professor Damen of Leyden; and a third, which considers the problem with great generality, and takes into view several circumstances which had not hitherto been attended to, is given by Professor Playfair in the first volume of the Edinburgh Transactions. The investigation of La Place, therefore, was not entirely new as to its object or its principles, though we believe his method to be original, and in all respects worthy of its author. His rule, even when corrected as above mentioned, does not perfectly agree with that which we employ in this country, of which the form is agreeable to the investigations just mentioned, and the coefficients determined from the excellent experiments of General Roy and Sir G. Shuckborough. It is also less commodious in practice, than either our formula or that of M. Trembley of Geneva. We are not, however, perfectly prepared to state in what the difference consists, or to what extent it goes. As the question now stands, we think a comparison of the different Barometric formulas is an excellent subject for a mathematical memoir.

Under the article of Magnetism, the Report mentions the series of observations published by M. Gilpin in the Philosophical Transactions for 1806, from which some curious results may be deduced concerning the secular variations of the magnetical meridian. Another article relates to Dr Wollaston's apparatus for measuring, in a manner extremely simple and accurate, the refraction of transparent bodies, (Phil. Trans. 1802.) It is said, that a very valuable addition to this apparatus has been made in France, by M. Malus; and that an analytical consideration of the subject had enabled him to correct an error which had escaped Dr Wollaston. We do not know if any more particular account of M. Malus's improvement has yet reached England.

The

The next object of Delambre's report, is Geography and Travels. On this he is very short, and only runs over some of the principal occurrences. 'The taste,' he says, 'to which the successful and brilliant voyages of Bougainville and Cooke had given rise, was not weakened by the disastrous, though not useless, expeditions of Peyrouse and Entrecasteaux. Deputies from the African Society in England, penetrated into countries entirely unknown. Horneman met with the most distinguished reception from the conqueror of Egypt; Mungo Park braved the greatest dangers; and Flinders exposed himself to the most dreadful risks, in order to explore Van Dieman's land, and the coast of New Holland. The ambassadors of the English penetrated into Thibet, into the kingdom of Ava, and into China. Vancouver described the coast he was appointed to survey, with a care and exactness proper to serve as a model for all those who have similar duties to discharge.'

We cannot help remarking, on reading the name of Flinders, that the fate of that skilful and intrepid navigator, at this moment, we believe, languishing in confinement in the Isle of Bourbon, does great discredit to the government of France. Accident put him in the power of France. A voyager, engaged in the cause of science, had a right every where to look for friends. Flinders was treated as an enemy. His release, however, was at length agreed to; and orders to that effect sent out to the governor of the Isle of Bourbon: but hitherto, if we are rightly informed, these orders have not been complied with.

The Report goes on to mention what the French did in Egypt; the voyages of Marchaud, Baudin, &c.

'Lastly,' (says Delambre), 'to terminate this sketch with an expedition which contains in it every kind of merit, Humboldt has executed, at his own expense, an enterprize that would have done honour to a nation. Accompanied only by his friend Bonpland, he has plunged into the American wilderness; he has brought back with him 6000 plants, with their descriptions; has determined the position of 200 points, by astronomical observation; has ascended to the top, and has measured the height of Chimboracco. He has created the geography of plants; assigned the limits of vegetation and of eternal snow; observed the phenomena of the magnetic needle and of electric fish; and has presented the lovers of antiquity with much valuable information concerning the Mexicans, their language, their history, and monuments.'

A sketch of these curious travels is given in one of the notes, at the end of the Report, but would lead us into too long a digression.

Delambre then concludes his Report with a new address to the Emperor. The Institute had it in command, it seems, not

only to report on the actual state of the sciences, but to suggest the measures that would promote their further advancement. In this part of his task, Delambre has acquitted himself well, and with considerable address.

'Votre Majesté daigne interroger l'Institut sur les moyens d'assurer les progrés ultérieurs; les progrés des mathematiques ne sont nullement douteux, l'instruction première trouve des sources abondantes dans tous les lycées; l'ecole polytechnique est une pépiniere de sujets distingués pour tous les genres de service public.—La loi bienfaisante qui a régeneré l'instruction, promettait une ecole speciale aux mathematiques; cette ecole existait. La Geometrie et l'Algébre, l'Astronomie at la Physique sont professées au College Imperial de France. Un cours d'analyse transcendante y completterait l'enseignement des sciences exactes. Une operation importante avait été commencée pour donner à la France une perpendiculaire digne de sa meridienne.——Mais nous ne formons point de vœu; nous attendons avec une confiance respectueuse, ce qu'il plaira à votre Majesté d'ordonner en faveur d'une science dont elle eut elle-même reculé les limites, si des plus hautes destinées ne l'eussent appelée à les protéger toutes egalement, pour les faire concourir à la splendeur et aux merveilles de son régne.'

A school for instruction in the higher mathematics, and a perpendicular to the meridian of Paris, to be extended across the kingdom with the same accuracy as the meridian itself has been, are the very moderate and disinterested requests of the secretary of the Institute, and the things which he conceives to be most essential for promoting the interest of mathematical science. The respectful manner in which this suggestion is made, and the compliment with which it is accompanied, to some will perhaps appear to savour more of the courtier than the man of science. We are not, however, of this opinion. Respect is what talent and power of a certain eminence must always command; and that a man of the ability of Napoleon, who had early shown a fondness for science, might have enlarged the bounds of it by discoveries of his own, if his situation had permitted, is a natural and fair conclusion.

The report that follows next is that of Cuvier, on the subject of what we call general physics—*Les Sciences Physiques.* It begins with the theory of crystallisation as given by Haüy, which has originated and been brought to its conclusion, as Cuvier remarks, during the period to which these reports are confined. It is indeed true, that the theory, in the view Haüy takes of it, is completed; but that the real theory of crystals is understood, till we know the law of the force, whether polarity, or simple attraction, by which the regular structure of these bodies is brought about, we can by no means admit. The cause that arranges the *molecules,*—that determines the rate of the decrease of the different

plates of which the cryſtal is compoſed,—this is ſtill confeſſedly unknown; it is perhaps without our reach; and if ſo, we muſt conſider this branch of knowledge as deſtined to remain for ever imperfect. At the ſame time, we believe it true, that the principle of Haüy does not admit of being carried much beyond what it has been. We admit, too, that in the ſtate to which it is now brought, it furniſhes an excellent principle for the arrangement of mineral ſubſtances.

'Within the period we now treat of, the theory of chemical affinities has undergone an entire revolution in the hands of Berthollet, who denies the exiſtence of elective attractions and abſolute decomposition. He has undertaken to prove, that in all the compoſitions and decompoſitions made by what is called elective attraction, there takes place a diviſion of the ſubſtance combined between two other ſubſtances that act upon it with oppoſite forces; and that the proportion in which this diviſion is made, is determined, not only by the abſolute energy with which theſe ſubſtances act, but alſo by their quantity.'

It cannot be denied, that, in this way, chemical forces are repreſented as being more of the nature of thoſe mechanical forces with which we are beſt acquainted, than in any other. Their nature, therefore, becomes leſs paradoxical. At the ſame time, chemiſts do not ſeem perfectly agreed as to the ſolidity of this new theory, and its conformity to the phenomena of their own ſcience. We certainly do not conſider ourſelves as qualified to decide this queſtion.

In treating of the recent diſcoveries concerning Heat, Cuvier begins with remarking, that they conſtitute a body of ſcience, of which the philoſophers and chemiſts of the firſt half of the eighteenth century had not the moſt diſtant conception.

'The diſcoveries of Black in Scotland, and Wilke in Sweden, led the way to this revolution, by ſhowing, not only that a body abſorbs a great quantity of heat when it becomes fluid, and alſo when it paſſes into vapour, which it reſtores when it returns to its primitive condition, but alſo that unequal quantities of heat are required to increaſe the temperature of different bodies by the ſame number of degrees. Theſe truths have led to a great number of others, the influence of which on the ſciences, on the arts, and even the affairs of common life, is wholly incalculable.'

To theſe diſcoveries, if we add thoſe of another kind, in which the ſame chemiſts had their ſhare, the production of fixt air in the burning of charcoal by Mr Cavendiſh, and of water in the burning of inflammable air by the ſame philoſopher and by Monge, and alſo the augmentation of the weight of metals by their calcination, and the abſorption of air at the ſame time, (which laſt had been obſerved by Mr Boyle), we have the conſtituent parts of the new chemiſtry.

' The happineſs of uniting all theſe ſcattered rays of knowledge into one pencil, is what conſtitutes the glory of Lavoiſier. Till he appeared, the particular phenomena of chemiſtry might be compared to a kind of labyrinth, of which the deep and winding paths had been trode by ſeveral laborious travellers: but their points of union, their relation to one another and to the ſyſtem, could not be perceived but by the genius which was able to riſe above the edifice, and, with an eagle's eye, to catch the plan of the whole.' Perhaps ſome will allege, that there is more ſplendour than ſolidity in the opinion which reſerves it for the diſcovery of facts, and withholds all praiſe from that of their relations. Yet we believe that, on the whole, this is a fair ſtatement of the merit of Lavoiſier. As to what relates to Dr Black, we hope that we are not influenced by national partiality, when we ſay that Cuvier, not intentionally, (for we think both his report and Delambre's remarkable for their fairneſs), has mentioned too ſlightly the diſcoveries of our illuſtrious countryman. His experiments on magneſia were the firſt that proved the exiſtence of an aeriform fluid becoming fixed in a ſolid body, and forming an integrant part of it, ſo conſiderable as two fifths of the whole. This was the firſt ſtep to the creation of pneumatic chemiſtry.

The new nomenclature of chemiſtry, and the introduction of a perfectly regular and philoſophic language, are next mentioned, as having materially contributed to the advancement of this ſcience. ' From all theſe cauſes proceed the great things it has accompliſhed; almoſt all the ſubſtances in nature have been examined; all the imaginable combinations of them exhauſted; the number of the metals carried to 28, and of the earths to 9. New acids have been diſcovered, or have been formed, &c. The names of Berthollet, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, Chaptal, Guyton, Deyeux, Thenard, among the French; of Klaproth, Kirwan, Davy, Tennant and Wollaſton, among foreigners, have been rendered immortal.'

Speaking of the Galvanic electricity, he obſerves, that it opens a view into new regions, of which no one can venture to calculate the extent. ' The moſt powerful, perhaps, of all the agents which nature employs in her operations on the ſurface of the earth, has remained unknown till the preſent time. We have but juſt become acquainted with it. The ſimple juxta-poſition, not only of two metals, but of two different bodies, whatever they be, alters the equilibrium of the electric virtue; and this alteration can produce the moſt violent motions in the animal economy. It ſeparates the ſubſtances that are the moſt cloſely united. At this moment it ſeems about to reveal to us the compoſition of thoſe alkalis, which the moſt profound chemiſtry had hitherto

hitherto regarded as simple bodies. The names of Galvani and Volta, who discovered this mysterious power; of Ritter, Nicholson, and above all of Davy, who have recognised and found out its chemical action, will occupy a large space in the report we are to make of this new and interesting portion of physical science.'

Such is the rapidity, we must observe, with which this part of science is advancing, that Mr Davy has actually accomplished the decomposition of soda and potass, since the time when this report was drawn up; and has found those alkalis to be no other than oxyds of metallic bodies, hitherto unknown. He has, indeed, found electricity to exercise an absolute command over the most powerful, and, as we supposed, the most simple and independent of chemical agents. These discoveries have procured him the prize offered by the National Institute.

Among the chemical discoveries of the present time, we have been somewhat surprised to find no mention made of that of Sir James Hall, concerning the power of compression to modify the effects of heat. By subjecting limestone to great compression, while heated, the carbonic acid was prevented from escaping; quicklime was not formed, and the mass was reduced into fusion. This is to be considered as a valuable discovery in chemistry, independently of all the applications of it that may be made to another science. The imperfect communication that takes place between the scientific world of France and England, is probably the cause of this omission.

'Mineralogy now approaches in rigour to the exact sciences; thanks to the chrystallographic researches of M. Haüy, to the chemical analyses of Klaproth and Vauquelin, and to the description of the external characters and the position of minerals by Werner and his school.——The description of the relative position of minerals, has now become the object of a real science, and replaces those illusory conjectures which have been called by the name of Geology.'

We must observe with respect to this passage, that we entirely agree with what is said on the obligation mineralogy has to Haüy and Werner, and the two chemists mentioned above; to which chemists several others from this country might easily be added. The Chrystallography of Haüy furnishes us with a principle of arrangement that is perfect so far as it extends, and one that defines accurately those *species* into which minerals are divided. This cannot be said of any other system of classification; not even of Werner's.

As to what concerns Geology, if that science is supposed to treat of the origin of things, or to go back to a period when the composition of the bodies which we call minerals was different from what it is at present, we perfectly agree in thinking that the whole is a most unphilosophical illusion, because maxims

founded on our experience of the present order of things cannot apply to what took place before that order was established. But, if by Geology is meant an attempt to trace the laws of those changes to which minerals are subject, the changes which they have undergone and are still about to undergo, we see no necessity for its conclusions being illusory and chimerical. Though we observe minerals only for an instant, or a portion of time that is quite evanescent, compared with the great cycles in which the series of their changes must revolve, yet we may discover such characters as ascertain important facts in the history of those changes. The preliminary investigation is no doubt that which Cuvier points out,—the relative situation of the different kinds of minerals, and in general the accurate description of their present condition. But this philosopher does not seem to be aware, that there is in the very research concerning the present state of minerals as much danger from theory, and from hasty generalisation, as in the conclusions that geologists have drawn concerning the past or future fortunes of the world. The language in which Werner and his school describe the facts concerning the mineral kingdom is full of theory, and of theory as unsupported and as remote from experience, as any thing to be met with in the Cartesian vortices. The knowledge of the great facts therefore concerning the relative position of mineral bodies, though it has made considerable progress, yet, in our opinion, as far as the observations of the Wernerian school are concerned, is not in that high road to perfection which this learned and eloquent reporter appears to imagine. The force that is every day applied to make the new observations agree with the old, and to assimilate the structure of the whole world to that of Saxony and Bohemia, is much more likely to produce retrogradation than advancement.

Our author then passes rapidly over the improvements in physiology, comparative anatomy, and natural history, and touches on the practical sciences of medicine and agriculture; under the former of which, he particularly mentions vaccination, and the destruction of contagion by fumigation. He goes on to the improvements in the mechanical arts, particularly that of the stereotype printing, valuable from the cheapness with which it may be executed; and thereby promising to carry the works of genius into the cottage of the peasant. We shall only take notice of the conclusion of his report.

'Your Imperial Majesty has commanded this class to propose the means that seem to it best calculated for maintaining among those who cultivate the sciences, that emulation by which they are at present animated; for directing their efforts to the most important objects, and for securing to them successors of equal zeal and ability.

'Without

'Without wishing to anticipate the measures which the wisdom of your Majesty is preparing for the public education, we will take the liberty, in our extended report, of submitting some ideas on the regulation of the first or popular instruction in the physical sciences, and for spreading more effectually among the people, the knowledge connected with husbandry and the useful arts. We have also proposed that your Majesty should ordain the drawing up of a *new system of physical existences.* Science demands this work; our country is that in which it can be most easily executed; and it would be desirable to see the name of Napoléon, which is already placed at the head of so many great monuments, so many wise laws, and so many useful institutions, decorating the title-page of a fundamental work in science. Of all the establishments formed, and of all the labours undertaken by the command of Alexander, Aristotle's History of Animals is the only one which now remains, an everlasting testimony of the love of that great prince for natural knowledge. A word from your Majesty can create a work which shall as much surpass that of Aristotle in extent, as your actions surpass in splendour those of the Macedonian conqueror.'

The answer of the Emperor is very short.

'MM. the Presidents, Secretaries, and Deputies of the First Class of the Institute—

'I was desirous to hear you on the progress of the human mind in these later times, in order that what you should have to say to me might be heard by all nations, and might shut the mouths of those detractors from the present age, who represent knowledge as retrograde, only because they wish for its extinction.

'I was also willing to be informed of what remained for me to do to encourage your labours, that I might console myself for not being able otherwise to contribute to their success. The welfare of my people, and the glory of my throne, are equally interested in the prosperity of the sciences.

'My minister of the interior will make a report on your demands. You may constantly rely on the effects of my protection.'

Though we admit that Delambre and Cuvier have done well; the first, in recommending a school for instruction in the higher parts of the mathematics, and an extension of those geodetical operations from which so much benefit has already resulted; and the second, in recommending some further care of the popular instruction in agriculture and the arts, as well as a new and fundamental work on natural history, in its most extensive sense:—though we are not disposed to quarrel with the high compliment contained in the prediction, that this work would not farther surpass the natural history of Aristotle, than the achievements of Napoleon have exceeded those of Alexander; yet we are well aware that there are other improvements still more important, and more imperiously called for, which the spirit of Philosophy

would demand, if her real and unbiassed sentiments could be conveyed to the ears of Napoleon. 'Cease,' she would say, 'from the fatal and endless pursuit of military aggrandisement. Give peace to Europe, for your victories enable you to do so; and let the moderation and liberality of the terms insure its continuance. Restore that intercourse and mutual confidence among the nations which are essential to their happiness, no less than to the advancement of knowledge; and let their prosperity be considered as one of the means of promoting the welfare of your own people. The sciences will then flourish spontaneously, and will require no protection but that which secures their tranquillity and independence; and you yourself will have the felicity, more singular than all that you have yet experienced, of adding to the titles of Hero and Conqueror, that of the Father of your people.'

The National Institute of France is divided into four classes. The first, is that of the mathematical and physical sciences; the second, that of the French language and literature; the third, has for its object history and antient literature; the fourth, the fine arts. The two reports that we have considered, and which make the principal part of the book before us, are from the first class. The three others are of inferior interest; and, besides, the length to which our review has already extended precludes our entering on them particularly. In the report from the third class, on the subject of history and antient literature, speculative philosophy seems, in a certain degree, to be included; and we find, accordingly, some notice taken of the revolutions which that philosophy has undergone in Germany and elsewhere. The *Ecole d'Ecosse*, as the author of the report (M. Lévesque) is pleased to call it, is also made honourable mention of. As no sect of philosophers is known in Scotland by a name which we owe to the politeness of our neighbours, we should have been at some loss to distinguish what system was understood by this phrase, if we had not before met with it in the *Histoire Comparée des Systemes de Philosophie*, by M Degerando, where we find this title applied to a succession of philosophers which begins with Dr Hutcheson of Glasgow; comprehends in it Reid, Fergusson, &c.; and at present terminates in Professor Dugald Stewart, to whose writings, as Degerando remarks, Reid's philosophy owes its fullest development, and the greatest share of its celebrity with foreign nations. Sometimes, when the same author speaks more loosely, he appears to include, in the Scottish school, almost all the philosophers that have flourished in that country since the time of Hutcheson, whether they have supported or combated the philosophy of Locke. In this way he includes Lord Kames, David Hume, Adam Smith, &c.; forming a succession of eminent men, of which, in so short a

period,

period, and in so narrow a country, there are but few examples in the history of letters.

On the whole, throughout these reports we find great liberality with regard to foreign nations; and if more room is occupied by French improvements and discoveries than by any other, this may be in reality a just allotment; or it may in part be an effect of that perspective which, in intellectual, as in visible objects, represents the nearest as the largest, so as sometimes to deceive the justest eye, and the most impartial judgment.

In one instance we think that this fairness is a little departed from, when it is said that no nation has cultivated historical composition so much as the French, nor produced so great a number of historians that deserve to be quoted. 'It was to a Frenchman,' the report adds, 'that Italy owed the first history of Rome, written by a modern; and it was a Frenchman who first made the English acquainted with the history of their own country.'

Those, however, who have studied history in the best school, will not be very apt to admit, that the dull and unphilosophical narrative of Rapin could bring an Englishman acquainted, as he ought to be, with the history of his country. Whatever the French themselves suppose, it is not the opinion of strangers that they excel in historical composition. For our part, we hope that we are not altogether deceived by national partiality when we say, that we do not know three modern historians, of any country, that can be compared with three of which this island boasts, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. They are historians whom no age but such a one as the present could produce: it is in vain to look for any thing antient to be opposed to them. It is only among future generations that rivals to them can be found.

One remark has struck us forcibly, in looking over the second and third reports, that no mention is made of the works on political economy, commerce, statistics and the like, that in different parts of Europe have, within these few years, increased the mass of knowledge on all these subjects. Works on legislation are mentioned; but no enumeration is subjoined. We do not observe that Malthus's Essay on Population is any where taken notice of. All this looks as if there were a class of subjects, and one too of the highest importance to society, that is at present interdicted in France. This is weak policy, and unworthy of a great monarch. The subjects prohibited will be only so much the more forcibly imprinted on the minds of the people. They will be like the statues which the jealousy of a Roman emperor excluded from a procession in which they had a right to appear—'Præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus,—eo ipso quòd effigies eorum non visebantur.'

But whatever be the case with this branch of knowledge, it is but fair to state, that the physical and mathematical sciences, and many parts of literature, have been cultivated in France and in the rest of Europe, to great effect, during the last nineteen years, notwithstanding the agitation and distress which have every where prevailed. We are certainly not of the number to whom the Emperor alludes, who pretend that science is retrograde, because they wish it to be extinguished. We rejoice to think that it cannot be extinguished; and that his is a revolution which no individual is sufficiently powerful to effect. Indeed, we have reason to think, that those branches of knowledge that are least favoured by the Emperor, and to which his protection is not extended, are at this moment studied in France with great assiduity.

ART. II. *The Columbiad: a Poem.* By Joel Barlow. pp. 454. 4to. Philadelphia, 1807. Reprinted for Phillips, London. 8vo. pp. 420. 1809.

As epic poetry has often been the earliest, as well as the most precious production of national genius, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised at this goodly firstling of the infant Muse of America. The truth however is, that though the American *government* be new, the *people* is in all respects as old as the people of England; and their want of literature is to be ascribed, not to the immaturity of their progress in civilization, but to the nature of the occupations in which they are generally engaged. These federal republicans, in short, bear no sort of resemblance to the Greeks of the days of Homer, or the Italians of the age of Dante; but are very much such people, we suppose, as the modern traders of Manchester, Liverpool, or Glasgow. They have all a little Latin whipped into them in their youth; and read Shakespeare, Pope and Milton, as well as bad English novels, in their days of courtship and leisure. They are just as likely to write epic poems, therefore, as the inhabitants of our trading towns at home; and are entitled to no more admiration when they succeed, and to no more indulgence when they fail, than would be due, on a similar occasion, to any of those industrious persons.

Be this, however, as it may, Mr Barlow, we are afraid, will not be the Homer of his country; and will never take his place among the enduring poets either of the old or of the new world. The faults which obviously cut him off from this high destiny, may

may be imputed partly to his country, and partly to his ſubject—but chiefly to himſelf. The want of a literary ſociety, to animate, controul and refine, and the intractableneſs of a ſubject which extends from the creation to the millennium, and combines the rude mythologies of ſavages with the treaties and battles of men who are ſtill alive, certainly aggravated the taſk which he had undertaken, with no common difficulties. But the great misfortune undoubtedly is, that Mr Barlow is in no reſpect qualified to overcome theſe difficulties. From the proſe which he has introduced into this volume, and even from much of what is given as poetry, it is eaſy to ſee that he is a man of a plain, ſtrong, and reſolute underſtanding,—a very good republican, and a conſiderable deſpiſer of all ſorts of prejudices and illuſions; but without any play or vivacity of fancy,—any gift of ſimplicity or pathos,—any loftineſs of genius, or delicacy of taſte. Though not deficient in literature, therefore, nor unread in poetry, he has evidently none of the higher elements of a poet in his compoſition; and has accordingly made a moſt injudicious choice and unfortunate application of the models which lay before him. Like other perſons of a cold and coarſe imagination, he is caught only by what is glaring and exaggerated; and ſeems to have no perception of the finer and leſs obtruſive graces which conſtitute all the laſting and deep-felt charms of poetry. In his cumbrous and inflated ſtyle, he is conſtantly miſtaking hyperbole for grandeur, and ſupplying the place of ſimplicity with huge patches of mere tameneſs and vulgarity. This curious intermixture, indeed, of extreme homelineſs and flatneſs, with a ſort of turbulent and bombaſtic elevation, is the great characteriſtic of the work before us. Inſtead of aſpiring to emulate the ſublime compoſure of Milton, or the natural eloquence and flowing nervouſneſs of Dryden, Mr Barlow has bethought him of transferring to epic poetry the light, ſparkling, and tawdry diction of Darwin; and of narrating great events, and delivering lofty precepts, in an unhappy imitation of that picturesque, puerile, and pedantic ſtyle, which alternately charms and diſguſts us in the pages of our poetical phyſiologiſt. Infinitely more verboſe and leſs ſpirited than Darwin however, he reminds us of him only by his characteriſtic defects; and, after all, is moſt tolerable in thoſe paſſages in which he reminds us moſt of him.

Such is the general character of this tranſatlantic Epic, as to ſtyle and taſte in compoſition. As for the more ſubſtantial requiſites of ſuch a work, it is unfortunately ſtill more deficient. Though crowded with names, and confuſed with incidents, it cannot properly be ſaid to have either characters or action. In ſketching the hiſtory of America from the days of Manco Capac down to

the

the prefent day, and a few thouſand years lower, the author, of courſe, cannot ſpare time to make us acquainted with any one individual. The moſt important perſonages, therefore, appear but once upon the ſcene, and then paſs away and are forgotten. Mr Barlow's exhibition accordingly partakes more of the nature of a proceſſion than of a drama. River gods, ſachems, majors of militia, all enter at one ſide of his ſtage, and go off at the other, never to return. Rocha and Oella take up as much room as Greene and Waſhington; and the rivers Potowmak and Delaware, thoſe fluent and venerable perſonages, both act and talk a great deal more than Jefferſon or Franklin.

It is plain, that in a poem conſtructed upon ſuch a plan, there can be no development of character,—no unity, or even connexion of action,—and conſequently no intereſt, and ſcarcely any coherence or contrivance in the ſtory. Of a work of this magnitude and curioſity, however, it is proper that our readers ſhould be enabled in ſome meaſure to judge for themſelves; and therefore, we ſhall proceed to lay before them a ſhort abſtract of the plan, and to ſubjoin ſuch extracts as are calculated to convey a juſt notion of its execution.

Columbus, it is well known, was repaid for his great diſcovery with ſignal ingratitude; and was at one time loaded with chains, and impriſoned on the inſtigation of an envious rival. The poem opens with a view of his dungeon, and a long querulous ſoliloquy addreſſed to its walls. All on a ſudden the gloom is illuminated by the advent of a celeſtial perſonage; and the Guardian Angel of America is introduced by the name of Heſper, who conſoles and ſooths the heroic priſoner, by leading him up to a ſhadowy mount, from which he entertains him with a full proſpect of the vaſt continent he had diſcovered, and ſets before him, in a long viſion which laſts till the end of the poem, all the events which had happened, and were to happen, in that region, or in any other connected with it.

Thus, the whole hiſtory, paſt, preſent, and future, of America, and incluſively of the whole world, is delivered in the clumſy and revolting form of a miraculous viſion; and thus truth is not only blended with falſehood and fancy, but is preſented to the mind under the maſk of the groſſeſt and moſt palpable fiction. Mr Barlow, of courſe, judges differently of his plan; and maintains, not only that it gives great intereſt and dignity to the ſtory, but that it has enabled him 'to obſerve the unities of time, place, and action, more rigidly than any other poet,—the whole action conſiſting in what takes place between Columbus and Heſper, which muſt be ſuppoſed to occupy but a few hours.' There never was ſo cheap and ingenious a method of ſatisfying

the

the unities as this. Here is a poem of some seven or eight thousand verses, containing a sketch of universal history, from the deluge to the final conflagation, with particular notices of all the battles, factions, worthies, and improvements in America, for the last half century; and when we complain of the enormous extent and confusion of this metrical chronicle, we are referred to some fifty forgotten lines at the outset, from which it appears that Columbus came to the knowledge of all these fine things by seeing them rehearsed before him one dark night on the top of a mountain in Spain. If this apology is to be received, Mr Scott might hold out his beautiful *outlaw*, the Lay of the Last Minstrel, as a perfect pattern of the unities,—since the whole story is told in one afternoon in the dressing-room of the Dutchess of Buccleugh. The antient poets, in like manner, had nothing more to do than to prefix a notice, that the whole piece was dictated to them by a muse in any given grotto or bower. Nay, even a degenerate modern, it would seem, might, upon the same principle, securely evade this most rigorous law of the unities, by merely notifying in verse, that his rambling Epic was all composed by him in the course of one term, and within the precincts of one garret. Is it possible that self-partiality should have so far blinded a man of Mr Barlow's acuteness, as to make it necessary to remind him, that the unity which the reader requires in a long poem, must be in the subject, and not in the manner of introducing it; and that the miscellaneous history of four thousand years does not become one story, by being represented in one vision, any more than by being bound up in one volume? It is time, however, to give a short sketch of this visionary legend.

The first part of it belongs rather to geography than to civil history; and contains a long description of the American hills, lakes, rivers, and vegetable productions. The next chapter goes on to the animal-kingdom; and is chiefly occupied with the physiology of its human natives, and a theory about its population. Two whole books are then devoted to the fabulous exploits of Manco Capac and Oella, the Osiris and Isis of the Peruvian mythology,—their institutions civil and religious, and their conquest and conversion of the more ferocious savages around them. After this, there is a very short sketch of the Spanish oppressions, followed out by a speculation upon the Popish superstition, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition. The voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the colonisation of Virgina, are then commemorated: and the next book contains the history of the Canadian war 1757, with the defect of Braddock and the death of Wolfe; and then begins the story of the colonial war, which is given with considerable detail in the course of the two following books. This

ends

ends the historical, and introduces the prophetic part of Mr Barlow's poem. The eighth book is dedicated to a survey of the progress which America is destined to make in art, virtue and happiness; and the ninth and tenth, which close the work, to a view of the general happiness of mankind, when all the nations of the earth shall have been taught, by the example of America, to renounce war and violence, to unite in one great federal republic, and to hold a grand annual congress of sages in Egypt, for the purpose of renouncing all prejudices, and consulting for the general happiness. With this beatific vision Hesper closes his splendid exhibition; and leaves Columbus quite comforted and satisfied in his dungeon.

Before proceeding to lay before our readers any of the passages which make up this comprehensive detail, it is proper, and indeed in some respects necessary, to apprise them, that this American bard frequently writes in a language utterly unknown to the prose or verse of this country. We have often heard it reported, that our transatlantic brethren were beginning to take it amiss that their language should still be called English; and truly we must say, that Mr Barlow has gone far to take away that ground of reproach. The groundwork of his speech, perhaps, may be English, as that of the Italian is Latin; but the variations amount already to more than a change of dialect; and really make a glossary necessary for most untravelled readers. As this is the first specimen which has come to our hands of any considerable work composed in the American tongue, it may be gratifying to our philological readers, if we make a few remarks upon it.

It is distinguished from the original English, in the first place, by a great multitude of words which are radically and entirely new, and as utterly foreign as if they had been adopted from the Hebrew or Chinese; in the second place, by a variety of new compounds and combinations of words, or roots of words, which are still known in the parent tongue; and, thirdly, by the perversion of a still greater number of original English words from their proper use or signification, by employing nouns substantive for verbs, for instance, and adjectives for substantives, &c. We shall set down a few examples of each.

In the first class, we may reckon the words *multifluvian—cosmogyral—crass—role—gride—conglaciate—colon* and *coloniarch—trist* and *contristed—thirl—gerb—ludibrious—croupe—scow—emban—lowe—brume—brumal*, &c. &c.

The second class is still more extensive, and to our ears, still more discordant. In it we may comprehend such verbs as, to *utilise*, to *agrate*, to *oversheet*, to *empalm*, to *inhumanise*, to *transboard*, to *reseek*, to *bestorm*, to *ameed*, &c. &c.; such adjectives

adjectives as *bivaulted, imbeaded, unkeeled, laxed, forestered, homicidious, millennial, portless, undungeoned, lustred,* &c.—*conflicting fulminents;* and a variety of substantives formed upon the same plan of distortion.

The third or last class of American improvements, consists mainly in the violent transformation of an incredible number of English nouns into verbs. Thus we have, 'to *spade* the soil'—'to *sledge* the corn'—and 'to *keel* the water.' We have also the verbs, to *breeze*, to *rainbow*, to *hill*, to *scope*, to *lot*, to *lamp*, to *road*, and to *reroad*, to *fang*, to *fray*, to *bluff*, to *tone*, to *forester*, to *give*, to *besom*, and fifty more. Nor is it merely as verbs that our poor nouns are compelled to serve in this new republican dictionary; they are forced, upon a pinch, to do the duty of adjectives also; and, accordingly, we have science distinguished into moral science and *physic* science; and *things* discussed with a view to their *physic* forms and their final ends.

The innovations in prosody are not less bold and meritorious. We have *galaxy* and *platina* with the middle syllable long.

'New constellations, new *galaxies* rise.'

'The pale *platina* and the burning gold.'

Contents, allied, bombard, and *expanse,* are accented on the first syllable.

'Each thro' the adverse ports their *contents* pour.' &c.

And *empyrean* is made short in the penult; as in that fine line,

'Empalms the *empyrean,* or dissects a gaz.'

The rhimes are equally original;—*plain* rhimes to *man—blood* to *God,* and *share* to *war,* in three successive couplets.

Before closing these hasty and imperfect notices of the characteristics of this new language, it seems proper to observe, that if Mr Barlow's authority is to be relied on, it may also be known from all other tongues by an utter disregard of all distinction between what we should call lofty and elegant, and low and vulgar expressions. These republican literati seem to make it a point of conscience to have no aristocratical distinctions—even in their vocabulary. They think one word just as good as another, provided its meaning be as clear; and will know no difference, but that of force and perspicuity. Thus, we hear of rivers that *tap* the upland lakes; and are told, that, in North America, there are 'hills by hundreds,' of such a height, that, if set beside them,

'Taurus would shrink, Hemodia *strut* no more.'

In the same taste, in an elaborate description of the celebrated feat of William Tell, our attention is particularly directed to the stretching of his *knuckles* as he draws the cord, and to the skill with which '*he picked the pippin*' off his boy's head. Niagara, we are afterward informed, '*bluffs high his head.*'

'And Chili *bluffs,* and Plata *flats* the coast.'

And,

And, in a pompous description of a storm, we see the crew '*spring to quarters,*' '*haul their wind,*' and get their shrouds *afoul;* and learn, after all, that

'Crew *and cargo* glut the watery grave.'

The great river Plata, too, appears with extraordinary magnificence—

'And highland drains with *lowland drench* repays.'

Inland navigation is justly extolled for the saving which it occasions in the *carrier*'s toil. Contagion is said to be promoted by 'heaps of putrid *meat;*' and steams are represented as arising from her '*box.*' With an equal regard to dignity, the flames in a great conflagration are represented as '*sucking up the cinders.*' Some of the republican forces are said to be '*hard pusht;*' and others are obliged to '*climb hard*' up a hill, to get out of the reach of the enemy. The tripod of the Delphic priestess, moreover, is elegantly called her '*stool;*' and the watchword of the night sentinels is pleasantly termed '*sly.*'

From the view which we have now given of the diction of this American Epic, it might perhaps be concluded, that the whole must be equally unintelligible and intolerable to an English reader; and that we could not be serious in saying, that Mr Barlow had stolen the style of Darwin, who versifies, in general, with great elegance, and seldom mixes any thing with his English but terms of science or of art. The truth is, however, that the greater part of Mr Barlow may be understood by a careful reader, even in this country; that his versification is generally both soft and sonorous; and that, notwithstanding the occasional lowness and constant want of purity of his diction, there are many passages of rich and vigorous description, and some that might lay claim even to the praise of magnificence. The fatal want of simplicity, passion and character, unfortunately leave no room to doubt of his destiny as an Epic poet; but there is a power, now and then, both in his descriptive and didactic passages, that, under stricter management, might turn to some account in another department of poetry. That he resembles Darwin, no one, we think, will doubt, after glancing at the following passages.

'Indignant Frost, to hold his captive, plies
His hosted fiends that vex the polar skies,
Unlocks his magazines of nitric stores,
Azotic charms and muriatic powers;
Hail, with its glassy globes, and brume congeal'd,
Rime's fleecy flakes, and storm that heaps the field.
The loosen'd ice-isles o'er the main advance,
Toss on the surge, and thro' the concave dance;
Whirl'd high, conjoin'd, in crystal mountains driven,
Alp over Alp, they build a midway heaven;

Whose

Whose million mirrors mock the solar ray,
And give condensed the tenfold glare of day.
As tow'rd the south the mass enormous glides,
And brineless rivers furrow down its sides;
The thirsty sailor steals a glad supply,
And sultry trade winds quaff the boreal sky.
But oft insidious death, with mist o'erstrown,
Rides the dark ocean on this icy throne;
When ships thro vernal seas with light airs steer
Their midnight march, and deem no danger near.
The steerman gaily helms his course along,
And laughs and listens to the watchman's song,' &c. p. 26–8.

The same tone pervades the following account of the origin of the Missisippi.

'High in the north his parent fountains wed,
And oozing urns adorn his infant head;
In vain proud Frost his nursing lakes would close,
And choke his channel with perennial snows;
From all their slopes he curves his countless rills,
Sweeps their long marshes, saps their settling hills;
Then stretching, straightening south, he gaily gleams,
Swells thro the climes, and swallows all their streams;
From zone to zone, o'er earth's broad surface curl'd,
He cleaves his course, he furrows half the world;
Now roaring wild thro bursting mountains driven,
Now calm reflecting all the host of heaven;
Where Cynthia pausing, her own face admires,
And suns and stars repeat their dancing fires.
Wide o'er his meadowy lawns he spreads and feeds
His realms of canes, his waving world of reeds;
Where mammoth grazed the renovating groves,
Slaked his huge thirst, and chill'd his fruitless loves,' &c. p. 31.

And this sketch of the feats of Prometheus, though more nearly approaching to a caricature of the original faulty model.

'Prometheus came, and from the floods of day
Suns his clear soul with heaven's internal ray,
Pfobes the dense earth, explores the soundless main,
Remoulds their mass thro' all its threefold reign,
O'er great, o'er small extends his physic laws,
Empalms the empyrean or dissects a gaz,
Weighs the vast orbs of heaven, bestrides the sky,
Walks on the windows of an insect's eye,' &c. p. 128.

For the lovers of well-sounding catalogues, there is a great deal of such melodious natural history as the following.

'Where Mexic hills the breezy gulph defend,
Spontaneous groves with richer burdens bend.
Anana's stalk its shaggy honours yields,
Acassia's flowers perfume a thousand fields,

Their cluster'd dates the mast-like palms unfold,
The spreading orange waves a load of gold,
Connubial vines o'ertop the larch they climb,
The long-liv'd olive mocks the moth of time,
Pomona's pride, that old Grenada claims,
Here smiles and reddens in diviner flames;
Pimento, citron, scent the sky serene,
White woolly clusters fringe the cotton's green;
The sturdy fig, the frail deciduous cane
And foodful cocoa fan the sultry plain.' p. 35.

A modern battle, Mr Barlow observes in his preface, is 'far more magnificent, more sonorous, and more discoloring to the face of nature, than an antient one could have been; and is consequently susceptible of more pomp and variety of description.' He adds also, that he found these descriptions particularly easy to write. It is but just, therefore, to present the reader with a specimen of one of them. The following exhibits, we think, in very fair proportion, the characteristic faults and excellences of this writer.

'As hovering clouds, when morning beams arise,
Hang their red curtains round our eastern skies,
Unfold a space to hail the promised sun,
And catch their splendors from his rising throne;
Thus glow'd the opposing fronts, whose steely glare
Glanced o'er the shuddering interval of war.
From Albion's left the cannonade began,
And pour'd thick thunders on Hesperia's van,
Forced in her dexter guards, that skirmisht wide
To prove what powers the forest hills might hide;
They break, fall back, with measured quickstep tread,
Form close, and flank the solid squares they led.
Now roll, with kindling haste, the long stark lines,
From wing to wing the sounding battle joins;
Batteries and field-parks and platoons of fire,
In mingled shocks their roaring blasts exspire.
Each front approaching fast, with equal pace,
Devours undaunted their dividing space;
Till, dark beneath the smoke, the meeting ranks
Slope their strong bayonets, with short firm shanks
Protruded from their tubes; each bristling van,
Steel fronting steel, and man encountering man,
In dreadful silence tread. As, wrapt from sight,
The nightly ambush moves to secret fight;
So rush the raging files, and sightless close
In plunging thrust with fierce conflicting foes.
They reach, they strike, they stagger o'er the slain,
Deal doubtful blows, or closing clench their man,
Intwine their twisting limbs, the gun forego,
Wrench off the bayonet and dirk the foe;

Then struggling back, reseize the musket bare,
Club the broad breech, and headlong whirl to war.
Ranks rush on ranks with equal slaughter gored;
Warm dripping streams from every lifted sword
Stain the thin carnaged corps, who still maintain,
With mutual shocks, the vengeance of the plain.
At last where Williams fought and Campbell fell,
Unwonted strokes the British line repel.
The rout begins,' &c. p. 227, 228.

There is a sea-fight given with still greater detail; but more horribly crammed with bloodshed and bombast; and exhibiting, in a very striking way, the greatness of this author's mistake as to the true fountains of force and grandeur in description. The first four lines are laudable.

' So, hazing thro the void, at first appear
White clouds of canvass floating on the air,
Then frown the broad black decks, the sails are stay'd,
The gaping portholes cast a frightful shade,
Flames, triple-tier'd, and tides of smoke, arise,
And fulminations rock the seas and skies.
From van to rear the roaring deluge runs,
The storm disgorging from a thousand guns;
Each like a vast volcano, spouting wide
His hissing hell-dogs o'er the shuddering tide,
Whirls high his chainshot, cleaves the mast, and strows
The shiver'd fragments on the staggering foes;
Whose gunwale sides with iron globes are gored,
And a wild storm of splinters sweeps the board.
Nor sun nor sea nor skyborn lightning gleams,
But flaming Phlegethon's asphaltic steams
Streak the long gaping gulph; where varying glow
Carbonic curls above, blue flakes of fire below.
The huddling troops, infuriate from despair,
Tug at the toils of death, and perish there;
Grenadoes, carcasses their fragments spread,
And pikes and pistols strow the decks with dead.
Now on the Gallic board the Britons rush,
The intrepid Gauls the rash adventurers crush.
There swells the carnage; all the tar-beat floor
Is clogg'd with spatter'd brains and glued with gore;
And down the ship's black waist fresh brooks of blood
Course o'er their clots, and tinge the sable flood.' p. 233–235.

The final surrender of Cornwallis is described with considerable pomp of numbers; and is perhaps among the most unexceptionable passages in this division of the poem.

' Cornwallis first, their late all-conquering Lord,
Bears to the victor chief his conquer'd sword,
Presents the burnisht hilt, and yields with pain
The gift of kings, here brandisht long in vain.

Then bow their hundred banners, trailing far
Their wearied wings from all the skirts of war.
Battalion'd infantry and squadron'd horse
Dash the silk tassel and the golden torse;
Flags from the forts and ensigns from the fleet
Roll in the dust, and kiss Columbia's feet.
Here Albion's crimson Cross the soil o'erspreads,
Her Lion crouches and her Thistle fades;
Indignant Erin rues her trampled Lyre,
Brunswick's pale Steed forgets his foamy fire,
Proud Hessia's Castle lies in dust o'erthrown,
And venal Anspach quits her broken Crown.
Long trains of wheel'd artillery shade the shore,
Quench their blue matches and forget to roar;
Along the encumber'd plain, thick planted rise
High stacks of muskets glittering to the skies,
Numerous and vast. As when the toiling swains
Heap their whole harvest on the stubbly plains,
Gerb after gerb the bearded shock expands,
Shocks, ranged in rows, fill high the burden'd lands;
The joyous master numbers all the piles,
And o'er his well-earn'd crop complacent smiles:
Such growing heaps this iron harvest yield,
So tread the victors this their final field.' p. 243, 244.

These, upon the whole, are very favourable specimens of Mr Barlow's modern heroics. When he proceeds to immortalize the worthies of the revolution war, his inferiority to Homer becomes rather more conspicuous. Take the following sample of his muster-roll.

'Wythe, Mason, Pendleton with Henry join'd,
Rush, Rodney, Landon, friends of humankind,
Persuasive Dickinson, the farmer's boast,
Recording Thomson, pride of all the host,
Nash, Jay, the Livingstones, in council great,
Rutlege and Laurens held the rolls of fate.' p. 157.

His picture of modern war *spitting* out pikes, muskets, and mortars, is not less preposterous; nor can we say much for such couplets as the following.

'Blaze-trailing fuses vault the night's dim round,
And shells and langrage lacerate the ground.' p. 223.

The most absurd passage, however, of the whole poem, is that in which the river Delaware is represented as opposing Washington's passage, and calling in the aid of Frost to render his waves innavigable. The gross stupidity of the fiction can only be surpassed by the heavy turbulence of the execution. Mr Barlow must submit to have part of this precious passage extracted.

'The god perceived his warning words were vain,
And rose more furious to assert his reign.
. . . .

Lash'd

Lash'd up a loftier surge, and heaved on high
A ridge of billows that obstruct the sky;
And, as the accumulated mass he rolls,
Bares the sharp rocks and lifts the gaping shoals.
Forward the fearless barges plunge and bound,
Top the curl'd wave, or grind the flinty ground,
Careen, whirl, right, and sidelong dasht and tost,
Now seem to reach and now to lose the coast.
Still unsubdued the sea-drench'd army toils,
Each buoyant skiff the flouncing godhead foils;
He *raves and roars*, and, in delirious woe,
Calls to his aid his antient hoary foe,
Almighty Frost, &c.
Roused at the call, the Monarch mounts the storm;
In myriat flakes he robes his nitrous form,
Glares thro the compound, all its blast inhales,
And seas turn crystal where he breathes his gales.
Earth heaves and cracks beneath the alighting god;
He gains the pass, bestrides the roaring flood,
Shoots from his nostrils one wide withering sheet
Of treasured meteors on the struggling fleet;
The waves *conglaciate* instant, fix in air,
Stand like a ridge of rocks, and shiver there.
The barks, confounded in their headlong surge,
Or wedged in crystal, cease their oars to urge;
Some with prone prow, as plunging down the deep,
And some remounting o'er the slippery steep.' p. 184–186.

Then comes the angel Hesper, who mauls the poor god of frost with the trunk of a tough fir tree, and knocks the ice to pieces in which the boats had been entangled.

'Stroke after stroke with doubling force he plied,
Foiled the hoar Fiend and pulverized the tide.
The baffled tyrant quits the desperate cause;
From Hesper's heat the river swells and thaws,
The fleet rolls gently to the Jersey coast,
And morning splendors greet the landing host.' p. 189.

The philosophic or prophetic part of the poem, in which the author, reviewing the past destiny of man, ventures to delineate his future progress, is far superior, in our estimation, to the narrative or historical part. His retrospects have far more breadth and dignity, and his anticipations far more spirit than his chronicle. We take the following passage almost at random.

'At last, a soil more fixt and streams more sweet
Inform the wretched migrant where to seat;
Euphrates' flowery banks begin to smile,
Fruits fringe the Ganges, gardens grace the Nile;
Nile, ribb'd with dikes, a length of coast creates,
And giant Thebes begins her hundred gates;

Mammoth of human works! her grandeur known
These thousand lustres by its wrecks alone;
Wrecks that humiliate still all modern states,
Press the poised earth with their enormous weights,
Refuse to quit their place, dissolve their frame,
And trust, like Ilion, to the bards their fame.
Memphis amass'd her piles, that still o'erclimb
The clouds of heaven, and task the tooth of time;
Belus and Brama tame their vagrant throngs,
And Homer, with his monumental songs,
Builds far more durable his splendid throne,
Than all the Pharaohs with their hills of stone.
High roll'd the round of years that hung sublime
These wondrous beacons in the night of time;
Studs of renown! that to thine eyes attest
The waste of ages that beyond them rest;
Ages how fill'd with toils! how gloom'd with woes!
Trod with all steps that man's long march compose.' p. 286.

The origin and progress of Superstition is drawn with the same strong hand.

'And where the mosque's dim arches bend on high,
Mecca's dead prophet mounts the mimic sky;
Pilgrims, imbanded strong for mutual aid,
Thro dangerous deserts that their faith has made,
Train their long caravans, and famish'd come
To kiss the shrine, and trembling touch the tomb,
By fire and sword the same fell faith extend,
And howl their homilies to earth's far end.
Phenician altars reek with human gore,
Gods hiss from caverns, or in cages roar;
Nile pours from heaven a tutelary flood,
And gardens grow the vegetable god.
Suns, stars and planets round the earth behold
Their fanes of marble and their shrines of gold;
The sea, the grove, the harvest and the vine
Spring from their gods, and claim a birth divine;
While heroes, kings and sages of their times,
Those gods on earth, are gods in happier climes.' p. 292, 293.

The following reflections on the sad alternation of light and darkness, of civilization and barbarism, that has marked the past history of the species, are expressed with power and feeling.

'What strides he took in those gigantic times
That sow'd with cities all his orient climes!
Did not his Babylon exulting say,
I sit a queen, &c.
Where shall we find them now? the very shore
Where Ninus rear'd his empire is no more:

The

The dikes decay'd, a putrid marsh regains
The sunken walls and tomb-encumber'd plains.
The fox himself has fled his gilded den,
Nor holds the heritage he won from men;
Lapwing and reptile shun the curst abode,
And the foul dragon, now no more a god,
Trails off his train; the sickly raven flies;' &c. p. 295–6.

After a transient glimpse of the glories of Greece, the author proceeds—

'Yet from that splendid height o'erturn'd once more,
He dasht in dust the living lamp he bore.
Dazzled with her own glare, decoy'd and sold
For homebred faction and barbaric gold,
Greece treads on Greece, subduing and subdued,
New crimes inventing, all the old renew'd;
Canton o'er canton climbs; till, crush'd and broke,
All yield the sceptre, and resume the yoke.' p. 296–7.

These and other instances awake in the mind of Columbus some sad forebodings, that the returning tide of violence and superstition may again blot out the intelligence which seems so firmly established.

'Tho two broad continents their beams combine
Round his whole globe to stream the day divine,
Perchance some folly, yet uncured, may spread
A storm proportion'd to the lights they shed,
Veil both his continents, and leave again
Between them stretch'd the impermeable main;
All science buried, sails and cities lost,
Their lands uncultured, as their seas uncrost.
Till on thy coast, some thousand ages hence,
New pilots rise, bold enterprize commence,
Some new Columbus (happier let him be,
More wise and great and virtuous far than me)
Launch on the wave, and tow'rd the rising day
Like a strong eaglet steer his untaught way,
Gird half the globe, and to his age unfold
A strange new world, the world we call the old.
From Finland's glade to Calpe's storm-beat head
He'll find some tribes of scattering wildmen spread;
But one vast wilderness will shade the soil,
No wreck of art, no sign of antient toil
Tell where a city stood; nor leave one trace
Of all that honors now, and all that shames the race.'
p. 300–1.

The angel allays these apprehensions, by reminding him of the mighty changes that have been wrought on the frame of human society by the press, the magnet, and the spirit of commercial

independence; and proceeds to lay before him the enchanting scenes of human innocence and enjoyment which await those later times, when war shall have ceased, and self-interest and philanthropy been discovered to coincide.

'The Hero look'd; beneath his wondering eyes
Gay streamers lengthen round the seas and skies;
The countless nations open all their stores,
Load every wave and crowd the lively shores;
Bright sails in mingling mazes streak the air,
And Commerce triumphs o'er the rage of war.
From Baltic streams, from Elba's opening side,
From Rhine's long course and Texel's laboring tide,
From Gaul, from Albion, tired of fruitless fight,
From Green Hibernia, clothed in recent light,
Hispania's strand that two broad oceans lave,
From Senegal and Gambia's golden wave,
Tago the rich, and Douro's viny shores,
The sweet Canaries and the soft Azores,
Commingling barks their mutual banners hail,
And drink by turns the same distending gale.
Where Asia's isles and utmost shorelands bend,
Like rising suns the sheeted masts ascend;
Coast after coast their flowing flags unrol,
From Deimen's rocks to Zembla's ice-propt pole,
Where Behren's pass collapsing worlds divides,
Where California breaks the billowy tides,
Peruvian streams their golden margins boast,' &c. p. 321–2.

'Again he look'd. Another train of years
Had roll'd unseen, and brighten'd still their spheres;
Earth more resplendent in the floods of day
Assumed new smiles, and flush'd around him lay.
Green swell the mountains, calm the oceans roll,
Fresh beams of beauty kindle round the pole;
Thro all the range where shores and seas extend,
In tenfold pomp the works of peace ascend.
Robed in the bloom of spring's eternal year,
And ripe with fruits the same glad fields appear;
O'er hills and vales perennial gardens run,
Cities unwall'd stand sparkling to the sun;
The streams all freighted from the bounteous plain
Swell with the load and labour to the main,
Whose stormless waves command a steadier gale,
And prop the pinions of a bolder sail.' p. 337–8.

The last scene of the vision is the grand congress of sages, who are to assemble from all corners of the world, in the central plains of Egypt, to consult for the happiness of the federated universe; and, finally, to abjure all the prejudices by which men

are

are now divided and debased. A statue is erected to the genius of human kind, and

> 'Beneath the footstool all destructive things,
> The mask of priesthood and the mace of kings,
> Lie trampled in the dust; for here at last
> Fraud, folly, error all their emblems cast.
> Each envoy here unloads his wearied hand
> Of some old idol from his native land;
> One flings a pagod on the mingled heap,
> One lays a crescent, one a *cross* * to sleep;
> Swords, sceptres, mitres, crowns and globes and stars,
> Codes of false fame and stimulants to wars,
> Sink in the settling mass: since guile began,
> These are the agents of the woes of man.' p. 340.

Our readers, we suspect, have now enough of this performance. As a great national poem, it has enormous—inexpiable—and, in some respects, intolerable faults. But the author's talents are evidently respectable: and, severely as we have been obliged to speak of his taste and his diction in a great part of the volume, we have no hesitation in saying, that we consider him as a giant, in comparison with many of the puling and paltry rhymsters, who disgrace our English literature by their occasional success. As an Epic poet, we do think his case is desperate; but, as a philosophical and moral poet, we think he has talents of no ordinary value; and, if he would pay some attention to purity of style, and simplicity of composition, and cherish in himself a certain fastidiousness of taste,—which is not yet to be found, we are afraid, even among the better educated of the Americans,—we have no doubt that he might produce something which English poets would envy, and English critics applaud. In the mean time, we think it quite certain, that his present work will have no success in this country. Its faults are far too many, and too glaring, to give its merits any chance of being distinguished; and indeed no long poem was ever redeemed by the beauty of particular passages—especially if its faults were owing to affectation,

* We have put this word in italics, not to insinuate any charge of impiety against Mr Barlow, but to guard him against that imputation. From the whole strain of his poem, in which he speaks with warm approbation of reformed Christianity,—specifies the purity and evangelical charity of the priesthood as one of the prime blessings of his millennium,—and breaks out into a holy rapture on the prospect of the coming of the Redeemer,—we are satisfied that he here speaks of the cross merely as the emblem of the low and persecuting superstition of the crusaders, papists, and other sectaries, who make the crucifix an object of idolatrous veneration.

and its beauties addressed rather to the judgment than to the heart or the imagination. If it will be any comfort to Mr Barlow, we will add, that we doubt very much whether *any* long poem of the Epic character will ever again be very popular in Europe. All such works have necessarily so much of imitation about them, as nearly to extinguish all interest or curiosity in the reader, and at the same time to lead to dangerous comparisons. The style and title of an Epic poem immediately puts us in mind of Homer, Virgil, and Milton;—and who can stand against such competitors? We even suspect, if we must tell the whole truth, that the works of those great masters themselves were better suited to the times that produced them, than to the present times. Men certainly bore long stories with more patience of old, than they do now. Witness the genealogies and monkish legends and romances which delighted our remoter ancestors, and through which even vanity is now scarcely sufficient to drag a few of their descendants. Epic poetry is the stage beyond these; and though the inimitable merit of the composition, as well as traditionary fame, will insure the immorality of a few great models, we doubt very much whether it would be in the power, even of equal talents, to add another name to that illustrious catalogue. In the present state of society, we require, in poetry, something more natural or more impassioned, and, at all events, something less protracted and monotonous than the sober pomp and deliberate stateliness of the Epic.

There is one thing, however, which may give the original edition of Mr Barlow's poem some chance of selling among us,—and that is, the extraordinary beauty of the paper, printing and embellishments. We do not know that we have ever seen a handsomer book issue from the press of England; and if this be really and truly the production of American artists, we must say, that the infant republic has already attained to the very summit of perfection in the mechanical part of bookmaking. If her home sale can defray the expense of such a publication as the present, it is a sign that a taste for literature is spreading very widely among her inhabitants; and whenever this taste is created, we have no doubt that her authors will improve and multiply to a degree that will make all our exertions necessary to keep the start we now have of them.

ART. III. *Essays on Professional Education.* By R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. F. R. S. &c. 4to. pp. 446. London. 1809.

THERE are two questions to be asked respecting every new publication—Is it worth buying?—Is it worth borrowing? and

we

we would advise our readers to weigh diligently the importance of these interrogations, before they take any decided step as to this work of Mr Edgeworth; the more especially as the name carries with it considerable authority, and seems, in the estimation of the unwary, almost to include the idea of purchase. For our own part, we would rather decline giving a direct answer to these questions; and shall content ourselves for the present with making a few such slight observations as may enable the sagacious to conjecture what our direct answer would be, were we compelled to be more explicit.

One great and signal praise we think to be the eminent due of Mr Edgeworth: In a canting age he does not cant;—at a period when hypocrisy and fanaticism will almost certainly ensure the success of any publication, he has constantly disdained to have recourse to any such arts;—without ever having been accused of disloyalty or irreligion, he is not always harping upon Church and King, in order to catch at a little popularity, and sell his books;—he is manly, independent, liberal—and maintains enlightened opinions with discretion and honesty. There is also in this work of Mr Edgeworth an agreeable diffusion of anecdote and example, such as a man acquires who reads with a view to talking or writing. With these merits, we cannot say that Mr Edgeworth is either very new, very profound, or very apt to be right in his opinions. He is active, enterprizing, and unprejudiced; but we have not been very much instructed by what he has written, or always satisfied that he has got to the bottom of his subject.

On one subject, however, we cordially agree with this gentleman; and return him our thanks for the courage with which he has combated the excessive abuse of classical learning in England. It is a subject upon which we have long wished for an opportunity of saying something; and one which we consider to be of the very highest importance.

'The principal defect,' says Mr Edgeworth, 'in the present system of our great schools is, that they devote too large a portion of time to Latin and Greek. It is true, that the attainment of classical literature is highly desirable; but it should not, or rather it need not, be the exclusive object of boys during eight or nine years.

'Much less time, judiciously managed, would give them an acquaintance with the classics sufficient for all useful purposes, and would make them as good scholars, as gentlemen or professional men need to be. It is not requisite, that every man should make Latin or Greek verses; therefore, a knowledge of prosody beyond the structure of hexameter and pentameter verses, is as worthless an acquisition as any which folly or fashion has introduced amongst the higher classes of mankind. It must indeed be acknowledged, that there are some rare exceptions; but even party prejudice would allow,

low, that the persons alluded to must have risen to eminence, though they had never written sapphics or iambics. Though preceptors, parents, and the public in general, may be convinced of the absurdity of making boys spend so much of life in learning what can be of no use to them; such are the difficulties of making any change in the antient rules of great establishments, that masters themselves, however reasonable, dare not, and cannot make sudden alterations.

'The only remedies that can be suggested might be, perhaps, to take those boys, who are not intended for professions in which deep scholarship is necessary, away from school before they reach the highest classes, where prosody and Greek and Latin verses are required.

'In the college of Dublin, where an admirable course of instruction has been long established, where this course is superintended by men of acknowledged learning and abilities, and pursued by students of uncommon industry, such is the force of example, and such the fear of appearing inferior in trifles to English universities, that much pains have been lately taken to introduce the practice of writing Greek and Latin verses, and much solicitude has been shown about the prosody of the learned languages, without any attention being paid to the prosody of our own.

'Boarding houses for the scholars at Eton and Westminster, which are at present mere lodging-houses, might be kept by private tutors, who might, during the hours when the boys were not in their public classes, assist them in acquiring general literature, or such knowledge as might be advantageous for their respective professions.

'New schools, that are not restricted to any established routine, should give a fair trial to experiments in education, which afford a rational prospect of success. If nothing can be altered in the old schools, leave them as they are. Destroy nothing—injure none—but let the public try whether they cannot have something better. If the experiment do not succeed, the public will be convinced that they ought to acquiesce in the established methods of instruction, and parents will send their children to the antient seminaries with increased confidence.' p. 47—49.

We are well aware that nothing very new can remain to be said upon a topic so often debated. The complaints we have to make are at least as old as the time of Locke and Dr Samuel Clarke; and the evil which is the subject of these complaints has certainly rather increased than diminished since the period of those two great men. An hundred years, to be sure, is a very little time for the duration of a national error; and it is so far from being reasonable to look for its decay at so short a date, that it can hardly be expected, within such limits, to have displayed the full bloom of its imbecility.

There are several feelings to which attention must be paid, before the question of classical learning can be fairly and temperately discussed.

We

We are apt, in the firſt place, to remember the immenſe benefits which the ſtudy of the claſſics once conferred on mankind; and to feel for thoſe models on which the taſte of Europe has been formed, ſomething like ſentiments of gratitude and obligation. This is all well enough, ſo long as it continues to be a mere feeling; but, as ſoon as it interferes with action, it nouriſhes dangerous prejudices about education. Nothing will do in the purſuit of knowledge, but the blackeſt ingratitude;—the moment we have got up the ladder, we muſt kick it down;—as ſoon as we have paſſed over the bridge, we muſt let it rot;—when we have got upon the ſhoulders of the antients, we muſt look over their heads. The man who forgets the friends of his childhood in real life, is baſe; but he who clings to the props of his childhood in literature, muſt be content to remain as ignorant as he was when a child. His buſineſs is to forget, diſown and deny—to think himſelf above every thing which has been of uſe to him in time paſt—and to cultivate that excluſively from which he expects future advantage: in ſhort, to do every thing for the advancement of his knowledge, which it would be infamous to do for the advancement of his fortune. If mankind ſtill derive advantage from claſſical literature proportionate to the labour they beſtow upon it, let their labour and their ſtudy proceed; but the moment we ceaſe to read Latin and Greek for the ſolid utility we derive from them, it would be a very romantic application of human talents to do ſo from any feeling of gratitude, and recollection of paſt ſervice.

To almoſt every Engliſhman up to the age of three or four-and-twenty, claſſical learning has been the great object of exiſtence; and no man is very apt to ſuſpect, or very much pleaſed to hear, that what he has done for ſo long a time was not worth doing. His claſſical literature, too, reminds every man of the ſcenes of his childhood, and brings to his fancy ſeveral of the moſt pleaſing aſſociations which we are capable of forming. A certain ſort of vanity, alſo, very naturally grows among men occupied in a common purſuit. Claſſical quotations are the watchwords of ſcholars by which they diſtinguiſh each other from the ignorant and illiterate; and Greek and Latin are inſenſibly become almoſt the only teſt of a cultivated mind.

Some men through indolence, others through ignorance, and moſt through neceſſity, ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed education of the times; and ſeek for their children that ſpecies of diſtinction which happens, at the period in which they live, to be ſtamped with the approbation of mankind. This mere queſtion of convenience, every parent muſt determine for himſelf. A poor man, who has his fortune to gain, muſt be a quibbling theologian, or a claſſical pedant, as faſhion dictates; and he muſt vary his error with the

error

error of the times. But it would be much more fortunate for mankind, if the public opinion, which regulates the purſuits of individuals, were more wiſe and enlightened than it at preſent is.

All theſe conſiderations make it extremely difficult to procure a candid hearing on this queſtion; and to refer this branch of education to the only proper criterion of every branch of education—its utility in future life.

There are two queſtions which grow out of this ſubject; 1ſt, How far is any ſort of claſſical education uſeful? 2d, How far is that particular claſſical education, adopted in this country, uſeful?

Latin and Greek are, in the firſt place, uſeful, as they inure children to intellectual difficulties, and make the life of a young ſtudent what it ought to be, a life of conſiderable labour. We do not, of courſe, mean to confine this praiſe excluſively to the ſtudy of Latin and Greek; or to ſuppoſe that other difficulties might not be found which it would be uſeful to overcome: but though Latin and Greek have this merit in common with many arts and ſciences, ſtill they have it; and, if they do nothing elſe, they at leaſt ſecure a ſolid and vigorous application at a period of life which materially influences all other periods.

To go through the grammar of one language thoroughly, is of great uſe for the maſtery of every other grammar; becauſe there obtains, through all languages, a certain analogy to each other in their grammatical conſtruction. Latin and Greek have now mixed themſelves etymologically with all the languages of modern Europe—and with none more than our own; ſo that it is neceſſary to read theſe two tongues for other objects than themſelves.

The two antient languages are as mere inventions—as pieces of mechaniſm incomparably more beautiful than any of the modern languages of Europe: their mode of ſignifying time and caſe by terminations, inſtead of auxiliary verbs and particles, would of itſelf ſtamp their ſuperiority. Add to this, the copiouſneſs of the Greek language, with the fancy, majeſty and harmony of its compounds; and there are quite ſufficient reaſons why the claſſics ſhould be ſtudied for the beauties of language. Compared to them, merely as vehicles of thought and paſſion, all modern languages are dull, ill contrived, and barbarous.

That a great part of the Scriptures have come down to us in the Greek language, is of itſelf a reaſon, if all others were wanting, why education ſhould be planned ſo as to produce a ſupply of Greek ſcholars.

The cultivation of ſtyle is very juſtly made a part of education. Every thing which is written, is meant either to pleaſe or to inſtruct. The ſecond object it is difficult to effect, without attending

ing

ing to the first; and the cultivation of style is the acquisition of those rules and literary habits which sagacity anticipates, or experience shows to be the most effectual means of pleasing. Those works are the best which have longest stood the test of time, and pleased the greatest number of exercised minds. Whatever, therefore, our conjectures may be, we cannot be so sure that the best modern writers can afford us as good models as the antients;—we cannot be certain that they will live through the revolutions of the world, and continue to please in every climate—under every species of government—through every stage of civilization. The moderns have been well taught by their masters; but the time is hardly yet come when the necessity for such instruction no longer exists. We may still borrow descriptive power from Tacitus; dignified perspicuity from Livy; simplicity from Cæsar; and from Homer some portion of that light and heat which, dispersed into ten thousand channels, has filled the world with bright images and illustrious thoughts. Let the cultivator of modern literature addict himself to the purest models of taste which France, Italy and England could supply, he might still learn from Virgil to be majestic, and from Tibullus to be tender: he might not yet look upon the face of nature as Theocritus saw it; nor might he reach those springs of pathos with which Euripides softened the hearts of his audience. In short, it appears to us, that there are so many excellent reasons why a certain number of scholars should be kept up in this and in every civilized country, that we should consider every system of education from which classical education was excluded, as radically erroneous, and completely absurd.

That vast advantages, then, may be derived from classical learning, there can be no doubt. The advantages which are derived from classical learning by the English manner of teaching, involve another and a very different question; and we will venture to say, that there never was a more complete instance in any country, of such extravagant and overacted attachment to any branch of knowledge, as that which obtains in this country with regard to classical knowledge. A young Englishman goes to school at six or seven years old; and he remains in a course of education till twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. In all that time, his sole and exclusive occupation is learning Latin and Greek: * he has scarcely a notion that there is any other kind of excellence; and the great system of facts with which he is the most perfectly acquainted, are the intrigues of the Heathen Gods;—with whom Pan slept?—with whom

* Unless he goes to the University of Cambridge; and then classics occupy him entirely for about ten years; and divide him with mathematics for four or five more.

whom Jupiter?—whom Apollo ravished? These facts the English youth get by heart the moment they quit the nursery; and are most sedulously and industriously instructed in them till the best and most active part of life is passed away. Now, this long career of classical learning, we may, if we please, denominate a foundation; but it is a foundation so far above ground, that there is absolutely no room to put any thing upon it. If you occupy a man with one thing till he is twenty-four years of age, you have exhausted all his leisure time: he is called into the world, and compelled to act; or is surrounded with pleasures, and thinks and reads no more. If you have neglected to put other things in him, they will never get in afterwards;—if you have fed him only with words, he will remain a narrow and limited being to the end of his existence.

The bias given to men's minds is so strong, that it is no uncommon thing to meet with Englishmen, whom, but for their grey hairs and wrinkles, we might easily mistake for schoolboys. Their talk is of Latin verses; and it is quite clear, if men's ages are to be dated from the state of their mental progress, that such men are eighteen years of age, and not a day older. Their minds have been so completely possessed by exaggerated notions of classical learning, that they have not been able, in the great school of the world, to form any other notion of real greatness. Attend, too, to the public feelings—look to all the terms of applause. A learned man!—a scholar!—a man of erudition! Upon whom are these epithets of approbation bestowed? Are they given to men acquainted with the science of government? thoroughly masters of the geographical and commercial relations of Europe?—to men who know the properties of bodies, and their action upon each other? No: this is not learning; it is chemistry or political economy—not learning. The distinguishing abstract term, the epithet of Scholar, is reserved for him who writes on the Œolic reduplication, and is familiar with Sylburgius his method of arranging defectives in ω and μι. The picture which a young Englishman, addicted to the pursuit of knowledge, draws—his *beau-ideal* of human nature—his top and consummation of man's powers—is a knowledge of the Greek language. His object is not to reason, to imagine, or to invent; but to conjugate, decline and derive. The situations of imaginary glory which he draws for himself, are the detection of an anapæst in the wrong place, or the restoration of a dative case which Cranzius had passed over, and the never-dying Ernesti failed to observe. If a young classic of this kind were to meet the greatest chemist, or the greatest mechanician, or the most profound political economist of his time, in company with the greatest Greek scholar, would the slightest comparison between them ever come across his mind?—would he ever

dream

dream that ſuch men as Adam Smith and Lavoiſier were equal in dignity of underſtanding to, or of the ſame utility as, Bentley and Heyné? We are inclined to think, that the feeling excited would be a good deal like that which was expreſſed by Dr George about the praiſes of the great King of Pruſſia, who entertained conſiderable doubts whether the King, with all his victories, knew how to conjugate a Greek verb in μι.

Another misfortune of claſſical learning, as taught in England, is, that ſcholars have come, in proceſs of time, and from the effects of aſſociation, to love the inſtrument better than the end;—not the luxury which the difficulty encloſes, but the difficulty;—not the filbert, but the ſhell;—not what may be read in Greek, but Greek itſelf. It is not ſo much the man who has maſtered the wiſdom of the antients, that is valued, as he who diſplays his knowledge of the vehicle in which that wiſdom is conveyed. The glory is to ſhow I am a ſcholar. The good ſenſe and ingenuity I may gain by my acquaintance with antient authors, is matter of opinion; but if I beſtow an immenſity of pains upon a point of accent or quantity, this is ſomething poſitive: I eſtabliſh my pretenſions to the name of Scholar, and gain the credit of learning, while I ſacrifice all its utility.

Another evil in the preſent ſyſtem of claſſical education, is the extraordinary perfection which is aimed at in teaching thoſe languages: a needleſs perfection; an accuracy which is ſought for in nothing elſe. There are few boys who remain to the age of eighteen or nineteen at a public ſchool, without making above ten thouſand Latin verſes;—a greater number than is contained in the *Æneid:* and after he has made this quantity of verſes in a dead language, unleſs the poet ſhould happen to be a very weak man indeed, he never makes another as long as he lives. It may be urged, and it is urged, that this is of uſe in teaching the delicacies of the language. No doubt it is of uſe for this purpoſe, if we put out of view the immenſe time and trouble ſacrificed in gaining theſe little delicacies. It would be of uſe that we ſhould go on till fifty years of age making Latin verſes, if the price of a whole life were not too much to pay for it. We effect our object; but we do it at the price of ſomething greater than our object. And whence comes it, that the expenditure of life and labour is totally put out of the calculation, when Latin and Greek are to be attained? In every other occupation, the queſtion is fairly ſtated between the attainment, and the time employed in the purſuit;—but, in claſſical learning, it ſeems to be ſufficient if the leaſt poſſible good is gained by the greateſt poſſible exertion; if the end is any thing, and the means every thing. It is of ſome importance to ſpeak and write French; and innumerable delicacies would be gained by

writing ten thouſand French verſes: but it makes no part of our education to write French poetry. It is of ſome importance that there ſhould be good botaniſts; but no botaniſt can repeat, by heart, the names of all the plants in the known world; nor is any aſtronomer acquainted with the appellation and magnitude of every ſtar in the map of the heavens. The only department of human knowledge in which there can be no exceſs, no arithmetic, no balance of profit and loſs, is claſſical learning.

The prodigious honour in which Latin verſes are held at public ſchools, is ſurely the moſt abſurd of all abſurd diſtinctions. You reſt all reputation upon doing that which is a natural gift, and which no labour can attain. If a lad won't learn the words of a language, his degradation in the ſchool is a very natural puniſhment for his diſobedience, or his indolence; but it would be as reaſonable to expect, that all boys ſhould be witty, or beautiful, as that they ſhould be poets. In either caſe, it would be to make an accidental, unattainable, and not a very important gift of nature, the only, or the principal, teſt of merit. This is the reaſon why boys, who make a very conſiderable figure at ſchool, ſo very often make no figure in the world;—and why other lads, who are paſſed over without notice, turn out to be valuable important men. The teſt eſtabliſhed in the world, is widely different from that eſtabliſhed in a place which is preſumed to be a preparation for the world; and the head of a public ſchool, who is a perfect miracle to his contemporaries, finds himſelf ſhrink into abſolute inſignificance, becauſe he has nothing elſe to command reſpect or regard, but a talent for fugitive poetry in a dead language.

The preſent ſtate of claſſical education cultivates the imagination a great deal too much, and other habits of mind a great deal too little; and trains up many young men in a ſtyle of elegant imbecility, utterly unworthy of the talents with which nature has endowed them. It may be ſaid, there are profound inveſtigations, and ſubjects quite powerful enough for any underſtanding, to be met with in claſſical literature. So there are; but no man likes to add the difficulties of a language to the difficulties of a ſubject; and to ſtudy metaphyſics, morals, and politics in Greek, when the Greek alone is ſtudy enough without them. In all foreign languages, the moſt popular works are works of imagination. Even in the French language, which we know ſo well, for one ſerious work which has any currency in this country, we have twenty which are mere works of imagination. This is ſtill more true in claſſical literature; becauſe what their poets and orators have left us, is of infinitely greater value than the remains of their philoſophy; for, as ſociety advances, men think more accurately and deeply, and imagine more tamely; works of reaſoning

ing advance, and works of fancy decay. So that the matter of fact is, that a classical scholar of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, is a man principally conversant with works of imagination. His feelings are quick, his fancy lively, and his taste good. Talents for speculation and original inquiry he has none; nor has he formed the invaluable habit of pushing things up to their first principles, or of collecting dry and unamusing facts as the materials of reasoning. All the solid and masculine parts of his understanding are left wholly without cultivation; he hates the pain of thinking, and suspects every man whose boldness and originality call upon him to defend his opinions and prove his assertions.

A very curious argument is sometimes employed in justification of the learned minutiæ to which all young men are doomed, whatever be their propensities in future life. What are you to do with a young man up to the age of seventeen?—Just as if there was such a want of difficulties to overcome, and of important tastes to inspire, that, from the mere necessity of doing something, and the impossibility of doing any thing else, you were driven to the expedient of metre and poetry;—as if a young man within that period might not acquire the modern languages, modern history, experimental philosophy, geography, chronology, and a considerable share of mathematics;—as if the memory of things was not more agreeable, and more profitable, than the memory of words.

The great objection is, that we are not making the most of human life, when we constitute such an extensive, and such minute classical erudition, an indispensable article in education. Up to a certain point we would educate every young man in Latin and Greek; but to a point far short of that to which this species of education is now carried. Afterwards, we would grant to classical erudition as high honours as to every other department of knowledge, but not higher. We would place it upon a footing with many other objects of study; but allow to it no superiority. Good scholars would be as certainly produced by these means, as good chemists, astronomers, and mathematicians are now produced, without any direct provision whatsoever for their production. Why are we to trust to the diversity of human tastes, and the varieties of human ambition, in every thing else, and distrust it in classics alone? The passion for languages is just as strong as any other literary passion. There are very good Persian and Arabic scholars in this country. Large heaps of trash have been dug up from Sanscrit ruins. We have seen, in our own times, a clergyman of the University of Oxford, complimenting their Majesties in Coptic and Syrophœnician verses; and yet we doubt whether there will be a sufficient avidity in literary men to get at the beauties of the finest writers which the world has

yet ſeen; and though the *Bagvat Gheeta* has (as can be proved) met with human beings to tranſlate, and other human beings to read it, we think that, in order to ſecure an attention to Homer and Virgil, we muſt catch up every man—whether he is to be a clergyman or a duke;—begin with him at ſix years of age, and never quit him till he is twenty; making him conjugate and decline for life and death; and ſo teaching him to eſtimate his progreſs in real wiſdom, as he can ſcan the verſes of the Greek tragedians.

The Engliſh clergy, in whoſe hands education entirely reſts, bring up the firſt young men of the country, as if they were all to keep grammar ſchools in little country towns; and a nobleman, upon whoſe knowledge and liberality the honour and welfare of his country may depend, is diligently worried, for half his life, with the ſmall pedantry of longs and ſhorts. There is a timid and abſurd apprehenſion, on the part of eccleſiaſtical tutors, of letting out the minds of youth upon difficult and important ſubjects. They fancy that mental exertion muſt end in religious ſcepticiſm; and, to preſerve the principles of their pupils, they confine them to the ſafe and elegant imbecility of claſſical learning. A genuine Oxford tutor would ſhudder to hear his young men diſputing upon moral and political truth, forming and pulling down theories, and indulging in all the boldneſs of youthful diſcuſſion. He would augur nothing from it, but impiety to God, and treaſon to kings. And yet, who vilifies both more than the holy poltroon, who carefully averts from them the ſearching eye of reaſon, and who knows no better method of teaching the higheſt duties, than by extirpating the fineſt qualities and habits of the mind? If our religion is a fable, the ſooner it is exploded the better. If our government is bad, it ſhould be amended. But we have no doubt of the truth of the one, or of the excellence of the other; and are convinced that both will be placed on a firmer baſis, in proportion as the minds of men are more trained to the inveſtigation of truth. At preſent, we act with the minds of our young men, as the Dutch did with their exuberant ſpices. An infinite quantity of talent is annually deſtroyed in the Univerſities of England, by the miſerable jealouſy and littleneſs of eccleſiaſtical inſtructors. It is in vain to ſay we have produced great men under this ſyſtem. We have produced great men under all ſyſtems. Every Engliſhman muſt paſs half his life in learning Latin and Greek; and claſſical learning is ſuppoſed to have produced the talents which it has not been able to extinguiſh. It is ſcarcely poſſible to prevent great men from riſing up under any ſyſtem of education, however bad. Teach men dæmonology or aſtrology, and you will ſtill have a certain portion of original genius, in ſpite of theſe or any other branches of ignorance and folly.

There

There is a delusive sort of splendour in a vast body of men pursuing one object, and thoroughly obtaining it; and yet, though it is very splendid, it is far from being useful. Classical literature is the great object * at Oxford. Many minds, so employed, have produced many works, and much fame in that department; but if all liberal arts and sciences useful to human life had been taught there,—if some had dedicated themselves to chemistry, some to mathematics, some to experimental philosophy,—and if every attainment had been honoured in the mixt ratio of its difficulty and utility,—the system of such an University would have been much more valuable, but the splendour of its name something less.

When an University has been doing useless things for a long time, it appears at first degrading to them to be useful. A set of lectures upon political economy would be discouraged in Oxford, probably despised, probably not permitted. To discuss the enclosure of commons, and to dwell upon imports and exports,—to come so near to common life, would seem to be undignified and contemptible. In the same manner, the Parr, or the Bentley of his day, would be scandalized in an University to be put on a level with the discoverer of a neutral salt: and yet, what other measure is there of dignity in intellectual labour, but usefulness? And what ought the term University to mean, but a place where every science is taught which is liberal, and at the same time useful to mankind? Nothing would so much tend to bring classical literature within proper bounds, as a steady and invariable appeal to utility in our appreciation of all human knowledge. The puffed up pedant would collapse into his proper size; and the maker of verses, and the rememberer of words, would soon assume that station which is the lot of those who go up unbidden to the upper places of the feast.

We should be sorry, if what we have said should appear too contemptuous towards classical learning, which we most sincerely hope will always be held in great honour in this country, though we certainly do not wish to it that exclusive honour which it at present enjoys. A great classical scholar is an ornament, and an important acquisition to his country; but, in a place of education, we would give to all knowledge an equal chance for distinction; and would trust to the varieties of human disposition, that every science worth cultivation would be cultivated. Looking always to real utility as our guide, we should see, with equal pleasure, a studious and inquisitive mind arranging the productions

* We speak merely of reputation. Sad, indeed, is the fate of this University, if its object has been classical literature alone; and it has failed even in that.

of nature, investigating the qualities of bodies, or mastering the difficulties of the learned languages. We should not care whether he were chemist, naturalist, or scholar; because we know it to be as necessary that matter should be studied, and subdued to the use of man, as that taste should be gratified, and imagination inflamed.

In those who were destined for the church, we would undoubtedly encourage classical learning, more than in any other body of men; but if we had to do with a young man going out into Public Life, we would exhort him to contemn, or at least not to affect, the reputation of a great scholar, but to educate himself for the offices of civil life. He should learn what the constitution of his country really was,—how it had grown into its present state,—the perils that had threatened it,—the malignity that had attacked it,—the courage that had fought for it, and the wisdom that had made it great. We would bring strongly before his mind the characters of those Englishmen who have been the steady friends of the public happiness; and, by their examples, would breathe into him a pure public taste, which should keep him untainted in all the vicissitudes of political fortune. We would teach him to burst through the well paid, and the pernicious cant of indiscriminate loyalty; and to know his Sovereign only as he discharged those duties, and displayed those qualities, for which the blood and the treasure of his people are confided to his hands. We should deem it of the utmost importance, that his attention was directed to the true principles of legislation,—what effect laws can produce upon opinions, and opinions upon laws,—what subjects are fit for legislative interference, and when men may be left to the management of their own interests;—the mischief occasioned by bad laws, and the perplexity which arises from numerous laws,—the causes of national wealth,—the relations of foreign trade,—the encouragement of manufactures and agriculture,—the fictitious wealth occasioned by paper credit,—the laws of population,—the management of poverty and mendicity,—the use and abuse of monopoly,—the theory of taxation,—the consequences of the public debt. These are some of the subjects, and some of the branches of civil education to which we would turn the minds of future Judges, future Senators, and future Noblemen. After the first period of life had been given up to the cultivation of the classics, and the reasoning powers were now beginning to evolve themselves, these are some of the propensities in study which we would endeavour to inspire. Great knowledge, at such a period of life, we could not convey; but we might fix a decided taste for its acquisition, and a strong disposition to respect it in others. The formation of some great scholars we should certainly prevent, and hinder many from

from learning what, in a few years, they would necessarily forget; but this loss would be well repaid,—if we could show the future rulers of the country that thought and labour which it requires to make a nation happy,—or if we could inspire them with that love of public virtue, which, after religion, we most solemnly believe to be the brightest ornament of the mind of man.

ART. IV. *A View of Spain; comprising a descriptive Itinerary of each Province, and a general Statistical Account of the Country.* Translated from the French of Alexander de Laborde. 5 vol. 8vo. London, 1809.

THIS work is not without value; though its faults and defects greatly overbalance its merits. It contains some useful, and much minute information, interspersed with reflections, that are often judicious and well founded; but it is, on the whole, a dull, prolix, tasteless performance, without life or spirit, and full of the grossest errors and inconsistencies. The author, a Mr Alexander de Laborde, whom his translator has converted into 'an elegant scholar and erudite antiquary, possessed of a highly cultivated taste, and extensive information on all literary and philosophical subjects,' is editor of an expensive, showy publication, called *Voyage Pittoresque de l'Espagne*, which was undertaken, some years ago, by the banking-house of Laborde at Paris, as a commercial speculation, to be executed by artists paid and employed under its direction. As the superintendance of a publication of this sort, which was to derive its chief value, not from the authors that compiled, but from the artists that decorated and embellished it, could add but little to Mr Laborde's literary reputation, he was induced, while preparing it for the press, to employ himself in collecting materials for a work of a more respectable description, in which he proposed to treat, not only of the present state of Spain, but of the causes that, in past times, had 'influenced the progress of its industry, civilization and prosperity.' Unfortunately, however, for this literary project, he was interrupted in the midst of it by the revolution of Bayonne, the nomination of Joseph Bonaparte to the vacant throne of Spain, and the unexpected resistance of the Spanish nation to a change of dynasty, which they foresaw must reduce their country to be a mere dependancy of France. The interest which these extraordinary events produced throughout Europe, and the sympathy so generally felt, even in France, for a people that had the courage or temerity to engage in so

unequal a contest, excited the regret of Mr Laborde that his work was not further advanced to its conclusion. 'Fortunate,' he exclaims, 'would be the author, who was prepared at this moment to trace the events which, through every period, have contributed their influence in the fate of this monarchy.' But regret was useless. So far from being ready to publish 'a philosophical and political history' of Spain, he had not even completed his statistical account of that country. 'It would have taken me three years,' he observes, 'to have executed this work tolerably, which it was necessary to finish in a few months. If I had delayed it, it would have been of no use.' As a mercantile speculation, we admit that it would have been of less value, had Mr Laborde's publication been kept back till it was rendered fit to meet the public eye. Possiby the fate of Spain might have been decided before it could have appeared; and certainly, in that case, it would have 'experienced a less favourable reception in France,' and might not have 'passed, in a short time, through several editions.' But, whatever it might have lost in the rapidity of its sale, we will venture to assure Mr Laborde, that it would have gained in the permanence of its reputation. It might not have been published till it had become to Spain 'what the antient ordinances of war, the arrêts of Parliament, and the liberties of the Gallican church are now to France:' But it would have been purged of anachronisms and historical blunders; freed from inconsistencies and contradictions; its errors corrected; its deficiencies supplied; its superfluities retrenched; and its plagiarisms more skilfully concealed, or, if that was impossible, more honestly acknowledged.

Mr Laborde's work consists of an introduction, which occupies about one fourth of his first volume, and is by far the best written and most entertaining part of his book; of short directions for travelling in Spain, which are chiefly taken from Fischer; of some interesting observations on the climate and physical geography of that country, furnished by M. Humboldt; of a descriptive itinerary of its provinces, which fills more than two volumes and a half, and is incredibly tedious, flat and uninteresting, without accuracy or fidelity to recommend it; and, lastly, of dissertations on the population, manufactures, commerce, government, laws, literature and manners of the country, which form the two concluding volumes. Each of these divisions requires that we should make such remarks upon it, as to enable our readers to appreciate the value of Mr Laborde's performance.

In his introductory discourse, Mr Laborde follows the opinion of Capmany, that Spain has been at no period so populous, industrious, commercial and opulent, as at the close of the 18th century.

century. * 'It will no doubt, he says, 'appear strange to assert, that Spain was never more flourishing, better cultivated, or, perhaps, more populous, than at present.' † He acknowledges, in a subsequent part of his book, that the same view of the subject had been taken by Capmany; ‡ and in a note annexed to his Introduction, he mentions the *quæstiones criticas* of that author, as a work which had been extremely useful to him. § But, when it is considered, that he has not only adopted the system of Capmany, but borrowed *all* the facts and proofs that he brings in support of it, from the works of that acute, learned and accurate historian, we cannot but think, that some more full and explicit acknowledgement was due to one from whom he had taken so much. As the matter stands in Mr Laborde's book, he assumes the merit of an original inquirer, and claims the indulgence of his countrymen for 'combating ideas generally received;' when he is, in fact, the mere copyist and translator of the Spanish historian, whom he only mentions incidentally, as one entertaining the same opinion with himself.

But, whether disposed to do justice to the original merit of Capmany, or inclined to take the credit of his inquiries to himself, it was at least to be expected, that, having adopted the system of that author, he would have spared us the repetition of those anile tales and extravagant exaggerations, with which the ordinary books on Spain are usually stuffed. It was not, therefore, without surprise that we found him affirming, in a subsequent part of his book, that, in the 16th century, Toledo had 200,000 inhabitants, ‖ and that Seville contained 16,000 silk looms, 130,000 silk weavers, and a population of 300,000 souls. ¶ We discovered, to our astonishment, that though Mr Laborde had adopted Capmany's opinion in his Introduction, and in some other parts of his book, he continued, in other parts, to assure us, with the utmost gravity, that the silk manufactures of Spain employed 1,100,000 persons in the 16th century; ** and to repeat such absurd fables, as that 300,000 Moors quitted Seville, when that city was surrendered to St Ferdinand; †† that in the kingdom of Granada, at the time of its conquest, there were three millions of inhabitants, 400,000 of whom lived within the walls of Granada; ‡‡ and that Cordova, under the Caliphs, contained a million, and Tarragona, under the Romans, two millions and a half of inhabitants. §§ That Mr Laborde, even before

* See our review of Capmany's book, No. 20, p. 422.
† Introd. p. 5. ‡ Vol. IV. p. 7. § Introd. p. 37.
‖ Vol. III. p. 295. ¶ Vol. II. p. 45 & 55.
** Vol. IV. p. 324. †† Vol. II. p. 22.
‡‡ Vol. II. p. 98 & 119. §§ Vol. IV. p. 11.

he met with Capmany's book, should ever have credited such idle fictions, gave us no favourable opinion of his judgment; but that, after embracing the system of Capmany, he should retain and publish these specimens of his former labours, could arise only from that mercantile avidity, which had made him hurry on the publication of his book, in order to catch the market before it was closed.

The inconsistencies and contradictions are infinite, into which this haste to come out with his book has plunged him. He tells us, in one place, that the population of Catalonia, Roussillon and Cerdagne, did not exceed 365,000 souls in 1365; * and yet he would make us believe, in another part, that, only eighty years before that period, the city of Tarragona alone contained 350,000 inhabitants. † Navarre has at present little more than 220,000 inhabitants; but Mr Laborde would persuade us, that, in the middle of the 14th century, its population amounted to 800,000 souls. He states the population of Spain at ten millions in 1688, and at eight millions in 1700; making a diminution of two millions, or of one-fifth of the whole population of the kingdom, in twelve years; during which the country suffered neither from pestilence nor from famine. ‡ But his credulity with respect to numbers is without bounds. No assertion startles him, if it is brought forward in the shape of figures He estimates the Jews expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella at 800,000; and reckons that two millions of Moriscoes were compelled to leave their country by the impolitic edicts of Philip III. § On this last subject, however, he is more excuseable in his errors; for the greatest authors have been equally careless and credulous when they touched upon it. Numbers swell in their hands in a manner almost incredible. Zurita, who lived in the time of Charles V., tells us, on the authority of a contemporary author, that the number of Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella was 170,000; though some authors, he adds, have magnified their number to 400,000. ‖ Mariana takes the number of 170,000 from Zurita, but converts it into families; making the exiles amount to 170,000 families, or 800,000 individuals; ¶ and later authors, improving on Mariana, have changed his 800,000 individuals into 800,000 families; augmenting, by that means, the total number of exiles to near four millions of souls. Exaggeration has not been less busy with the Moriscoes. From public registers it appears, that the Moriscoes expelled from Valencia, Aragon, Andalucia, Granada, Murcia, and Extremadura, did not much exceed 360,000 individuals; ** and

* Vol. I. p. 105. † Vol. IV. p. 6. ‡ Vol. IV. p. 27.
§ Vol. IV. p. 18. ‖ Zurita, Vol. V. p. 9.
¶ Mariana, I. 26. cap. 1. ** Bleda, p. 1041–1060.

and allowing 50,000 for Catalonia, the whole number banished may be reckoned at 410,000; instead of 900,000, which is the common calculation; or of two millions, the number assigned by Mr Laborde.

It has been a common opinion, that the discovery of America was prejudicial to Spain; though there are not wanting authors who have maintained the contrary with great plausibility and force of argument. Mr Laborde is of the latter party, and undertakes to prove, 'that the discovery of America was never injurious either to the population or industry of Spain.' * He observes sarcastically of his opponents, that 'there was something acute in maintaining that the country of gold had produced poverty;' † and adds, 'that, on the contrary, if any thing could have roused the Spaniards from their beloved indolence, it was the discovery of a new continent, which, providing a more prompt allurement to speculation, opened a new career to all adventurers, and taught them, that the advantages of commerce and property are greater than those of a military and wandering life.' ‡ This reasoning is not without plausibility; but when we look into facts, and recur to history, we find little to countenance or support it. It was not by their example that the adventurers, who discovered and conquered the new world, could inspire their countrymen with the love of industry, or wean them from their immoderate attachment to the unsettled habits and precarious enjoyments of a military life. These adventurers acquired wealth, not by industry, but by rapine; not by cultivating the soil, but by plundering the cultivators. It was not by their skill and labour in peaceful pursuits, but by their sagacity and boldness in military enterprizes, that they amassed those riches, which dazzled the eyes and excited the emulation of their countrymen. Mining was the only branch of industry with which they were acquainted; but mining was in their hands a gaming adventure, in which they embarked without capital or knowledge,—allured by the riches, which sometimes rewarded, and undeterred by the ruin that more frequently attended such speculations. Nor was there such demand for her manufactures in the new world as could give, for some time at least, any considerable stimulus to the industry of the mother country; for we are informed, that sixty years after the discovery of America, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces did not exceed 15,000. § Gold and silver, it is true, were poured in abundance into Spain; but when we consider through what hands they passed, and in what objects they were consumed, it ceases to surprise us that they were

* Introd. p. 6. † Ibid. p. 62. ‡ Ibid. p. 74.
§ Robertson's America, Book 8.

were of little effect in rousing a spirit of industry among its inhabitants. The more opulent of the adventurers who returned from America, finding no materials of refined luxury in the rude industry and coarse manufactures of their native country, had recourse to the finer productions of Italy and Flanders, for objects to please their taste, and gratify their vanity. Those who came back with moderate fortunes, were of greater use to their country, by increasing the demand for its productions, and, as Ustariz informs us, by assisting the relations whom they had left at home, with capital to invest in cultivation, or embark in manufactures.* That some encouragement was given to industry,—that some progress was made in opulence, in consequence of the wealth remitted from the colonies to the mother country, cannot be denied; but the effect was slight and transient. Before industry had taken root, or capital accumulated in Spain, oppression and prejudice interfered to check the one, war and taxation concurred to exhaust the other. The Crown, indeed, was enriched by the new world, and enabled to engage in vast and expensive enterprises, till then unheard of among the States of Europe. But, what were the consequences to Spain? Her strength was consumed in unnecessary wars, excited by the bigotry, or undertaken to gratify the ambition of her sovereigns. Her free constitution was subverted by the American revenue, which rendered her Kings independent of the Cortes. It was not the defeat of Padilla, but the victory over Montezuma, that gave the deathblow to her liberties. Whatever evils she has suffered from arbitrary government, Spain owes them to the followers of Cortez and Pizarro. The same hands that slaughtered the Indians, forged shackles for their countrymen at home. Mr Laborde asks, whether 'Charles V. or Philip II. would have been less ambitious, if America had not been discovered?' We answer,—their ambition might have been the same, but their power would have been less.

We are far from denying, that, for the last century, the intercourse of Spain with America has been highly beneficial to her. But we are now considering, not the present advantages of that connexion, but the influence which it exerted on the mother country during the 16th and 17th centuries.

To prove that emigration to America has not been prejudicial to population in Spain, Mr Laborde argues, that during the period when America is supposed to have produced the most fatal effects on the population of the mother country, the provinces of Arragon were in as deplorable a state as those of Castille, though none but Castillians were allowed to trade or settle in the new world

* Ustariz. p. 21.

world for two centuries after its diſcovery.'* This argument would not be without weight, provided the fact on which it reſts had any foundation in truth. But ſo far is that from being the caſe, that natives of Arragon had a right to trade with the new world from the date of its firſt diſcovery;† and, long before the period mentioned by Mr Laborde, an act was ſolemnly paſſed by Philip II. declaring the natives of Arragon equally admiſſible with his Caſtillian ſubjects to all honours and employments, civil or eccleſiaſtical, in the new world.‡ Had Mr Laborde taken the trouble of only looking into the *recopilacion de las Indias*,§ he would have found there a law as early as 1596, declaring that all perſons ſhould be conſidered as foreigners in the Spaniſh colonies, except natives of Caſtille, Leon, Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Navarre, and the iſles of Majorca and Minorca as appendages of the crown of Arragon; a law evidently intended not to confer any new privileges on the natives of Arragon, but to exclude from all participation in the commerce or ſettlement of the Indies the Italian and Flemiſh ſubjects of the King of Spain. Such is the accuracy of Mr Laborde's facts, and ſuch the confidence to be placed in his reſearches.

He next proceeds to inform us, that from the ſtatements publiſhed by his friend Baron Humboldt, it appears that the population of New Spain doubles itſelf every 19 years; and as it does not conſiſt at preſent of more than 1,200,000 perſons of European deſcent, he concludes that the number of emigrants from Europe, who have ſettled in the colony ſince its firſt diſcovery, cannot have been great.‖ But he who proves too much, proves nothing. If Mr Humboldt's tables are exact, and the rate of increaſe has been the ſame ſince the firſt ſettlement of the colony, it would follow, that the preſent population of New Spain, derived from an European ſtock, was deſcended from 38 individuals; but ſurely Mr Laborde will not maintain that the number of emigrants from the mother country has not been greater than this?

On the queſtion itſelf, whether emigration to America has been a cauſe of depopulation in Spain? we conceive it almoſt unneceſſary to offer an opinion. We have always conſidered that belief as a popular error of the moſt vulgar ſort. It was unneceſſary for Mr Laborde to have argued at ſo much length againſt it, and unfortunate to have argued with ſo little ſkill or effect. He has not even availed himſelf of the important obſervation of Uſtariz, that Gallicia, Aſturias, Biſcay and Navarre, the provinces

* Introd. p. 63. † Antunez, Mem. hiſt. p. 268.
‡ Fueros de Arragon, 1585. § Lib. 9. tit. 27. law 29.
‖ Introd. p. 65.

vinces which ſend moſt emigrants to America, are the beſt peopled provinces of the mother country. *

After combating the opinion, that Spain has been impoveriſhed and depopulated by her American poſſeſſions, Mr Laborde proceeds to the refutation of what he is pleaſed to term another paradox of the philoſophers, viz. that the Inquiſition in Spain has been "the nurſe of ignorance." † His argument is, that the Inquiſition was the conſequence, not the cauſe of the bigotry of Spain. But, when he acknowledges that for the laſt ſixty years the Inquiſition has been actively employed in preventing the circulation of the beſt French and Engliſh books in that country, ‡ we apprehend that he unwarily admits the very fact againſt which he has been contending. The lenity with which he judges of the Inquiſition in paſt times, is truly edifying. He juſtifies the burning of Jews and Moriſcoes, on grounds of political expediency; and though he appears to have more compaſſion for the Spaniſh Lutherans, becauſe they were old Chriſtians, he cannot help applauding the government that puniſhed them, for its ſteadineſs in repreſſing, and ſagacity in foreſeeing the conſequences of herefy among its ſubjects. But, while he is the apologiſt of atrocities which none of his countrymen for centuries paſt have mentioned without horror, he is unjuſt towards the Inquiſition when he repreſents it as having become of late years a mere inſtrument in the hands of the government. He muſt have known that the attempts of the late profligate court of Spain to convert its members into ſtate inquiſitors were uniformly unſucceſsful, and that this much decried and ill conſtituted tribunal diſplayed a firmneſs and rectitude of conduct, on theſe occaſions, which would have done honour to the pureſt and moſt reſpectable courts of juſtice. The principle of the Inquiſition is ſo bad, that we rejoice at its abolition; but when we conſider the quarter from which it has been ſtruck, we muſt believe that its virtues and not its vices have haſtened its diſſolution.

The itinerary or deſcription of the provinces of Spain, which forms the body of Mr Laborde's book, contains, beſides general remarks on each province in particular, a minute deſcription of every thing to be ſeen in its moſt remarkable towns and villages, with an account of the principal roads, and even of the croſs roads, that lead from one place to another. Such a road book, if well executed, would be an uſeful and amuſing companion to a traveller in Spain, though to every one elſe it muſt be dull and tireſome in the extreme. We ſhould therefore have confined our obſervations on this part of Mr Laborde's performance

* Ustariz, p. 21. † Introd. p. 62. ‡ Ibid. p. 94.

ance to the general topics on which it occasionally dilates, if we had not by chance discovered, in looking into his itinerary, that, instead of being a work which had cost him 'many years labour, and many thousand pounds expense,' it is little else than a compilation from Ponz; a patch-work composition, collected and put together with infinite pains and industry, by the help of a common post book, from the tedious and prolix volumes of that unsparing and indefatigable traveller. Our suspicion of this deceit which Mr Laborde has practised on his readers, was first excited by his account of the road from Almaraz to Truxillo, in which he places the Puerto de Miravete, not between the bridge of Almaraz and Jaraicejo where it is really situated, but farther on, between Jaraicejo and Truxillo; * a mistake of the same nature as if a tourist, in giving his route from London to Edinburgh, were to place Highgate hill to the north of Barnet. The Puerto de Miravete is so conspicuous a point in the geography of that country, and so important as a military position, commanding the passage of the Tagus, and overlooking the extensive plain from Talavera to the Tietar, that no one who had ever travelled over the road could have fallen into such a blunder. We were therefore convinced that Mr Laborde had described a journey which he had never performed; and, looking into Ponz, we found the secret of his travels, and the source of his mistake, explained to us. Ponz happens never to have travelled along the great road from Almaraz to Truxillo, and has therefore given no account of it in his book; but, having arrived at Truxillo by a different route, he thought proper to introduce a short description of Jaraicejo which he had left behind; and, in giving some account of the adjacent country, he mentions the Puerto de Miravete; and his description being dated from Truxillo, he naturally says that the Puerto is 1½ league on the other side of the river Almonte. † Mr Laborde follows, and borrows his description; but, not adverting to the supposed course of his own travels, which are in the opposite direction, he places the Puerto not 1½ league to the north, but two leagues to the south of the Almonte, within an equal distance of Truxillo.

After detecting Mr Laborde in this attempt to impose upon his readers, we were led to a more minute examination of his itinerary, in the course of which we discovered innumerable instances where he has described journeys that, in our opinion, he never made, and criticized objects which we are satisfied he never saw. We found, for instance, 'though he had been laboriously employed in Extremadura in tracing the Roman ways decribed in

* Vol. I. p. 342. † Ponz, tit. 7. p. 177.

In the itinerary of Antoninus,' * that, from misapprehension of a passage in Ponz, he conducts his reader from Galisteo to Coria, along 'a road almost entirely covered with wrecks of Roman grandeur;' † while Ponz, who really performed the journey, assures us, that at Galisteo we quit the Roman way, which does not proceed to Coria, but goes off to Canaveral and Caceres. ‡ In his account of the road from Anduxar to Cordova, Mr Laborde informs us, that, passing the bridge of Alcolea, and proceeding afterwards to Cordova, along the banks of the Guadalquivir, it is necessary to cross the river a second time before we enter that city; § a mistake into which no one could have fallen who had ever made the journey, or reflected on the situation of Cordova upon the north side of the river. At Xerez, Mr Laborde places the Carthusian convent 'in a charming situation in the town,' though it happens to be at nearly a league's distance. ‖ In his journey to Cadiz, he follows the same route with Ponz, though new and better roads have been since constructed; and, in his description of that city and its environs, he finds the same public buildings, and the same improvements going on, as in the time of that painstaking traveller. Ponz is an invaluable assistant for a tourist of Mr Laborde's description; but he is also a very dangerous guide. He is constantly hunting after pictures, statues, altar-pieces, or buildings; and often quits the high road without giving warning to his reader, and pursues zigzag ways of his own in pursuit of these objects. It requires a vigilant attention to maps and post-books, not to be misled. Mr Laborde has, on the whole, followed him with laudable caution. But who can be equally on his guard at all times? Ignorance of the country, and confidence in Ponz, have made him conduct his traveller by a break-neck road from Madrid to San Ildefonso; ¶ and the haste of a copyist has led him, in his route from Malaga to Anteguera, to make choice of one road for his journey, and inadvertently to give the description of another. ** This is not the only inconvenience attending the use of Ponz. Many places have undergone great changes since the publication of his travels, and therefore it is not always safe to copy his remarks, or trust to his descriptions. Mr Laborde, for example, admires the statue of St Jerome in the convent of Buena Vista near Seville, but laments that 'it is in a bad place to judge of its merits.' †† He is not aware, that since that remark was made by Ponz, ‡‡ the statue has been placed in an excellent situation for being seen. In his journey

* Introd. p. 52. † Vol. I. p. 369. ‡ Ponz, tom. 8. p. 44.
§ Vol. II. p. 24. ‖ Vol. II. p. 64. ¶ Vol. III. p. 156.
** Vol. II. p. 93. †† Vol. II. p. 57. ‡‡ Ponz, t. 9. p. 146.

journey from Madrid to Talavera, he crosses the Guadarrama by a wooden bridge; * but, though there was a wooden bridge over the river where Ponz passed it in 1778, † he ought to have known that many years ago it was replaced by one of stone. Some of his mistakes are mere errors of translation, which his haste to come out with his book prevented him from seeing and correcting. He has given his readers two descriptions of the village of Tarancon: in the first he states its population at 4000; ‡ in the second he reduces it to 1000, § from a mistake of the word *vecinos* in Ponz, ‖ which means not inhabitants, but householders. He has fallen into the same error in his account of the population of Guadalcaval. ¶ At Plasencia he has confounded the subject of a bust with the artist; ** and at Ecisa he has removed the statue of the infant Don Lewis from its pedestal, and placed that of the Apostle Paul in its stead. ††

We shall not fatigue our readers by multiplying examples of such mistakes, nor accumulate further proofs of the charge we have brought against Mr Laborde. We have no doubt of his having travelled in Spain; and though his descriptions of Catalonia and Valencia are not free from very gross errors, we think we see in them internal evidence of his having resided for some time in these provinces. But we have no hesitation in asserting, that his itinerary is not what it pretends to be,—a transcript from his journal, 'left nearly as it was committed to paper on the very spots where it was written;' ‡‡ but, on the contrary, a compilation of notes and extracts from Ponz and other authors, collected and put together with an industry that would have merited praise, if its object had been commendable.

It is due to Mr Laborde to add, that he acknowledges, in his Introduction, that he has taken his account of 'some roads which he had not travelled, from the Abbé Ponz. §§ But our charge against him is this, that wherever he could borrow from Ponz, he has compiled his itinerary from the travels of that author. Where Ponz was silent, Mr Laborde was necessarily compelled to draw his materials from other sources. To what extent his own travels have been used for that purpose, we pretend not to have ascertained. But, we think, there is internal evidence in the volumes before us, that he has not, any more than Ponz, travelled over the northern provinces of Gallicia, Asturias, and Biscay. On the other hand, as we have not traced his account of

* Vol. III. p. 206. † Ponz, t. 7. p. 5. ‡ Vol. III. p. 178.
§ Vol. III. p. 189. ‖ Ponz, t. 3. p. 172. ¶ Vol. II. p. 2.
** Vol. II. p. 366. †† Vol. III. p. 41. ‡‡ Introd. p. 121.
§§ Introd. p. 124.

of Murcia to any other author, we are inclined to think that part of his Itinerary is original.

Mr Laborde has intermixed, with his itinerary, general remarks upon the provinces, in which he has been particularly careful to furnish us with the most minute details respecting their agricultural productions, their commerce and manufactures. We should have been better pleased, we confess, if these details had been made the foundation of some political or statistical conclusions. Unconnected facts upon these subjects are of little utility; and, unless they have been sifted and examined with judgment, they are little to be relied upon. Mere collectors of facts, without general views or principles to direct them, are apt to be credulous, and sure to be incorrect. Instead of exercising their judgment on the information they receive, they enter in their note-books whatever they are told, and believe it afterwards, because they find it there. They begin with being deceived, and end with deceiving others. Mr Laborde has concealed from us the sources from which he has derived his information, and has therefore withheld from us the means of estimating its value. His statistical tables of produce, and those printed in 1804 by authority of the Spanish government, are perpetually at variance. But it is not impossible that Mr Laborde's tables may be the more accurate of the two; for we have understood that the others are extremely inexact. We must confess, however, that in the only instance in which we have been able to judge of the accuracy of his information, we have found it incorrect. He states the annual exportation of wine from Xeres at 50,000 quintals;* but we happen to know, from the best authority, that, for the last few years, the exportation of wine from that territory has varied from 11,000 to 13,000 butts a-year; that is, from 84,000 to 99,000 quintals. Mr Laborde's information is in this instance derived from Ponz.†

In his journey through Catalonia, Mr Laborde is led to make some observations on the Catalans, which show that he has studied their character with attention. His account of the Valencians is more diffuse, but not without merit. His picture of the Murcians, though executed with ability, is evidently delineated by one, who has no disposition to soften or conceal the defects of his subject. His description of the processions, festivals, and other religious ceremonies of these provinces, though meant to be lively and amusing, is, on the contrary, insufferably flat, tedious, and unentertaining. His allusions to history, which frequently occur in the course of his narrative, betray an ignorance, or

* Vol. II. p. 127. † Ponz, t. 17. p. 262.

or carelessness, which is quite inexcusable. His mistakes and blunders upon subjects of that sort, are so numerous, and so gross, that, had he not been held up to us as 'an erudite antiquary,' who was only prevented by other avocations from composing a 'philosophical and political history of Spain,' we should have thought it a waste of time to expose them. As it is, a few specimens will be sufficient. He talks of the battle of Munda, as one fought between the sons of Pompey and *Augustus* Cæsar.* He tells us gravely, that 'the *Alani* founded a *Gothic* dynasty, and fixed their court at Toledo.'† In his enumeration of Gothic sovereigns, he 'includes neither Athanaric, nor Alaric, who reigned in some parts of Spain, the former in 309, the latter in 382, because their reigns were precarious; they left no successors.'‡ These worthy monarchs left no successors, for the best of all reasons, that they had no existence; for the first irruption of the Barbarians into Spain was in 411; and the Goths did not enter the Peninsula till 417, and then in the character of friends and allies of the Romans. Euric, a Gothic king, who reigned in Spain from 467 to 483, and abolished the authority of the Romans in that country, is said by Mr Laborde to have conquered Catalonia in 712.§ Nor is he more correct, or better informed, in his account of the Saracens. Spain, he tells us, was 'at length made subject to the Caliphs of Bagdad.'‖ He ought to have known, that Spain had shaken off the yoke of the Caliphs, before the seat of their government was transferred from Damascus. He confounds the Ommiades, Almoravides, and Almohades;¶ and criticises the pretension of the Valencians to have had bishops from 517 to 862, because 'we know that the Moors allowed of no bishopric in the beginning of their dominion.'** Where Mr Laborde acquired this piece of knowledge, we are curious to know; for the contrary is so notoriously the fact, that no one who has the slightest acquaintance with the history of Spain under the Moors can be ignorant of it. But if Mr Laborde is sceptical about the Valencian bishops, he makes up for it by his credulity with regard to Theudimer's treaty, the *original* of which he believes is still extant, and preserved in the library of the Escurial.†† To follow him in his course of blundering through the middle ages, would be a task equally irk-

* Vol. III. p. 381. † Ibid. p. 59. ‡ Ibid. p. 60.
§ Vol. I. p. 4. ‖ Vol. III. p. 60.
¶ Vol. II. p. 19, 20. ** Vol. I. p. 152.
†† Vol. II. p. 155. Theudimer's treaty of peace with the Saracens, concluded in 715, has been published, with a Latin translation, by Casiri, from an Arabic history preserved in the Escurial.

some and unprofitable. We shall mention only two of his mistakes, which are of a nature more ludicrous than the others. He converts Alcala de Henares into a celebrated divine, who flourished in the 4th century; * and makes the Catalan word *remença*, which means ransom, the name of a town, the inhabitants of which, he tells us, were enfranchised by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1483. †

The two last volumes of Mr Laborde's book are entitled, 'A Sketch of the different Departments of Government, and of the various Branches of productive Industry in Spain;' and are divided into chapters on Population, Agriculture, &c.; on which we shall make a few observations in the order in which they succeed.

In his first chapter, which is on *population*, Mr Laborde repeats all the fabulous accounts of the antient populousness of Spain, which he had held so cheap in his Introduction; and though he admits, that these 'pompous' statements 'have been reduced to their proper value' by Capmany, he thinks it 'not devoid of probability,' that 'in the time of Julius Cæsar, Spain contained at one time forty millions of people; and at another time, fifty-two.' ‡ To explain the wonderful decrease which is now observed, he has recourse, among other causes, to the multitude of persons killed during the internal warfare that raged without intermission in Spain from the 8th to the 16th century; not to speak of the vast armies that have since perished in Flanders, Italy, and Germany; the whole 'number of victims,' as he justly remarks, being 'beyond calculation.' § What a pity he had not taken also into the account the vast number of persons who died a natural death during the same period, as his calculation must in that case have been still more formidable, and left us in amazement that there were any persons still alive in Spain! We observed with surprise, that he makes the number of Spanish grandees, in 1768, to be 722,794; and the number of married persons, at a later period, to be 3,890,661. We explained the first error, from his mistaking the meaning of the word *Hidalgo*; but what to make of the *odd* married person, was a puzzling matter to us. Sometimes we were inclined to think, that he had adopted the vulgar story of the Prince of Peace having two wives; but on maturer reflection we are of opinion, that he alludes to the *half marriage* of the Infant Don Lewis; for as two halves make a whole, so two half-married persons may be justly held to make a whole one.

The

---

* Vol. III. p. 318.
† Vol. I. p. 6.
‡ Vol. IV. p. 4.
§ Vol. IV. p. 14, 15, 16.

The chapter on *agriculture*, which follows that on population, contains a tranſlation of the valuable report of Jovellanos on the obſtacles to the progreſs of agriculture in Spain; and had that report been tolerably well tranſlated, we ſhould have forgiven the innumerable errors with which every other part of the work is filled. But juſtice to the excellent and truly philoſophical author of that report, compels us to ſtate, that the tranſlation is in every reſpect unworthy of its original,—without eloquence—without ſpirit—and without preciſion. If any of our readers have had the misfortune to peruſe Macpherſon's Homer, or Trapp's Virgil, they and they only can judge of its demerits.

We ſhould have beſtowed a more patient attention on Mr Laborde's account of Spaniſh agriculture, if he had condeſcended to inform us from what ſources it was derived; for as to his own agricultural attainments, we held them very cheap, from the moment we diſcovered that he miſtook the Eſporto ruſh for Spaniſh broom. * Nor do we think that his powers of reaſoning upon theſe ſubjects, are calculated to inſpire us with much confidence in his concluſions. Lamenting the deficiency of horned cattle in Spain, he ſagaciouſly remarks, that if they were uſed in huſbandry, inſtead of mules, they 'would be ſtill leſs adequate to the demand.' † Now, we apprehend, with ſubmiſſion to Mr Laborde, that the very reaſon why there are ſo few horned cattle in Spain, is, the preference of mules to oxen in the labour of huſbandry.

He gives an intereſting account of the *positos*, or public granaries, in which the peaſants were invited, and finally commanded to depoſit their grain, as a ſecurity againſt bad ſeaſons, and a reſource for ſeed-time. ‡ But he forgets to add, that the late regular government, at the inſtigation of his own countryman General Leclerc, and to feed a French army, ſeized upon the corn ſo depoſited, and gave the peaſants, in return, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that it would be replaced, whenever the times were more favourable.

Mr Laborde is a violent enemy of the Merino ſheep; and, to make them more odious, he pretends, that their cuſtom of travelling, and the ſervitudes ariſing from it, were introduced after the great plague in 1349, when there were not people left in the country to cultivate the fields. § Admitting this to be the caſe, it proves little againſt the Merinos. But Mr Laborde ought to have known, that, beſides traces of ſimilar migrations in the laws of the Viſigoths, mention is made, as early as 1311, in the proceedings

* Vol. II. p. 153, 184.
† Vol. IV. p. 62.
‡ Vol. IV. p. 87.
§ Ibid. p. 52.

ceedings of the Cortes, of the *canadas* or paths for the travelling Merinos; and, as early as 1329, there were *Alcaldes* and *Entregadores* of the Meſta.

The chapter on *manufactures* is a repetition of the vulgar errors which he had treated with ſuch ſcorn in his Introduction. Among other inſtances of credulity, he tells us, that the woollen manufactures of Segovia employed 34,189 perſons, * at a time when, contemporary authors inform us, that city contained only 5000 families, and conſequently, not 25,000 inhabitants. † But no aſſertion is too extraordinary for Mr Laborde, when he is in one of his believing moods. He tells us, for example, that the city of Toledo uſed to make ſeven millions of red woollen night caps annually; and that the weavers of Segovia manufactured twenty-five thouſand pieces of cloth from forty-five thouſand pounds of wool. ‡

In a manufacturing country like ours, it is natural to have reſpect for manufacturing induſtry; but we apprehend Mr Laborde's admiration of woollens muſt appear exceſſive even in Yorkſhire. Arts, arms, and letters, have each, in their turn, conferred immortality upon nations; but, in Mr Laborde's judgment, 'general opinion conſiders the reign of Charles I. as the moſt brilliant period in the annals of Spain; *for that was the epoch when the exportation of cloths, ſerges, and other ſtuffs commenced.*' §

Mr Laborde's chapter on *commerce* is not exempt from the defects which we have been compelled to notice in the other parts of his book. Beſides a total deficiency of general views in his reaſonings, we meet in every page with inconſiſtencies in his ſtatements, and errors in his facts. He tells us, for example, that 'Galicia exports none of its proviſions;' and, in the ſentence that immediately follows, he adds, that 'it abounds with cattle, and the inhabitants are principally occupied with fiſhing and curing pilchards, both of which are exported in quantities to different parts of Spain;' and after enumerating its other branches of trade, he concludes with the following profound remarks—'Hence reſults an export trade, which exceeds the import, to the great advantage of Galicia.' ‖

As Mr Laborde has been at evident pains to collect information for his reader on the commerce of Spain, it is ſurpriſing that he never met with the *Balanza del Comercio de Eſpana* for 1792, printed by the Spaniſh government in 1803, where he would have found tables long enough and numerous enough for his purpoſe. Having had the curioſity to compare ſome of the ſtatements, in Mr

* Vol. IV. p. 327. † Sandoval—Carlos, &c. Vol. I. p. 224.
‡ Vol. IV. p. 338. § Ibid. p. 331. ‖ Ibid. p. 332, 333.

Mr Laborde's general table, of the foreign commerce of Spain * with those of the *Balanza*, reducing the quantities in both to the same denominations, we shall present our readers with the result; leaving them to decide, whether most credit is due to Mr Laborde or to the Spanish customhouse.

	Exports,	
Articles.	*according to the Balanza.*	*according to Mr Laborde.*
Wine from Valencia,	272,683 arrobas.	971,500 arrobas.
Ditto from Xerez, -	306,536	200,000
Ditto from Malaga,	385,214	1,600,000
Brandy from all Spain,	1,094,609	1,534,375
Raisins from Malaga,	640,000	1,000,000
Barilla, Soda, &c. -	214,000	329,000
Washed Wool, -	417,266	500,000
Unwashed ditto, -	28,530	60,000

We shall only add, that, according to Mr Laborde's table, Malaga alone exports one third more of wine than, according to the *Balanza*, the whole of Spain does; but, in return, Mr Laborde states the price of Malaga at little more than one third of the price of Sherry.

The chapter on *roads*, *bridges* and *causeways*, and that on *canals and inland navigation*, contain little that calls for our animadversion. We observe, however, that several important roads are omitted in Mr Laborde's enumeration; particularly the magnificent one from Corunna to Astorga, and the spacious and excellent one from Badajoz to Seville. Mr Laborde is unreasonable in complaining of a deficiency of bridges in Spain; and when he states that there are only two over the Guadalquivir, he forgets the one at Anduxar, which he must have passed, if he had ever travelled from Madrid to Cadiz by the great post road.

In his chapter on *government*, Mr Laborde exerts himself, for the third or fourth time in the course of his book, to prove to the Spaniards, that, in general, they have been governed by royal families of French extraction. We shall not stop to examine the accuracy of his historical deductions, though we observe, by the way, that he confounds the first house of Burgundy with the house of Bourbon. But for what purpose, we ask, is he so anxious to establish so unimportant a point? It cannot be meant as a reproach to Spaniards, by any Frenchman of the present day, that their ancestors submitted to be governed by princes of a foreign origin. Nor can it be intended as an indirect recommendation of Joseph Bonaparte; for, not to speak of the weakness of

* Vol. IV. p. 408.

the argument, if so frivolous a consideration were entitled to any weight at all, it ought to operate to his prejudice; his family, though seated on the French throne, being indisputably Corsican.

The account of the *Camara* and *Council of Castille* in the same chapter, is not quite correct; but we suspect that this is, in part at least, the fault of the English translator; to whom we beg leave to suggest, that there is no *Cabinet*, no court of *Common-pleas*, no *high constables* in Spain; and that a *Fiscal* is not a *cashier*, but a sort of attorney-general.

The two following chapters, which treat of the *Military Establishments* and *Finances*, are chiefly remarkable for being behind hand in their information. A state is given of the army for 1798, and one of the navy for 1793. The account of the finances is not brought lower down than 1791. We know, from experience, how difficult it is to procure satisfactory and consistent information upon Spanish finances; and can therefore excuse Mr Laborde more readily in this, than in any other part of his work, for the deficiencies of its execution. But we own, we are surprised, that he has not been able to obtain more recent accounts than those which he has published: and we cannot pay him the compliment of saying, that he has placed the subject in a clearer light than he found it; or that he appears to have given himself the smallest trouble to digest the information he had collected.

The fourth volume concludes with tables of *Measures*, *Weights*, and *Coins*.

The fifth volume begins with a chapter on *Ecclesiastical Government*, in which, we confess, that we have met with rather more of what the French call *onction*, than suits our palate. We have found also the usual proportion of historical blunders; and, recollecting that Mr Laborde, in his Introduction, abuses ordinary historians for their attention to unimportant facts, we begin to suspect that he has formed a theory about writing history, without any regard to facts at all. His account of the Muzarabic ritual, is the fruit either of gross ignorance or of great prejudice. Whether *that* or the Roman ritual ought to have been preferred, we pretend not to decide; but, that it was untainted with Mahometanism, requires no further argument to convince us, than that it was reestablished by Cardinal Ximenes, and is still preserved in the metropolitan church of Toledo.

The next chapter, on the *Administration of Justice*, contains a very tolerable account of the judicial establishments of Spain, with some good observations on the defective administration of justice in that country; but we observe with regret, that, like the other parts of Mr Laborde's book, it is contaminated with historical blunders. He supposes, that the code of Alaric, called *Breviarium*

viarium Aniani, is the same with the *Fuero Juzgo*; and denominates the *recopilacion* or digest of the Spanish law, a collection of occasional edicts by the Kings of Spain.

The chapters on *Nobility*, *Royal and Military Orders*, and *Mayorazgos*, require no particular animadversion. From an expression in the chapter on Nobility, it appears to have been written before the French revolution. Many passages, indeed, in Mr Laborde's book, have convinced us, that it is not so recent a compilation as the Introduction would give us to understand. A great part of it, we are satisfied, was put together a long time since, in the same state in which it is now presented to the world. The census of 1797, which appeared in 1801, had not been published when Mr Laborde wrote his chapter on population, as he acknowledges in a passage, which certainly shows that he was then unacquainted with its results.

In his chapters on the *State of Science* and *State of Medicine*, Mr Laborde gives a melancholy, and, we fear, not exaggerated description, of the deficiencies of the Spanish seminaries of education. He sums up his account of them in the following paragraph.

'Such are the establishments in Spain for the advancement of science: in number fully adequate to the wants of the nation; but in spirit, activity, and acquaintance with modern discoveries, miserably deficient. Their schools of astronomy are destitute of instruments and observatories; their courses of natural philosophy are without experiments; their teachers of natural history are unfurnished with cabinets; their professors of anatomy give no demonstrations; their schools of chemistry are without laboratories and apparatus; and their libraries are destitute of modern books.'

To the general truth of this picture, we apprehend that little objection can be offered. Some exception might be made in favour of particular schools of education. The University of Salamanca, for example, is no longer in the state described by Mr Laborde. His information upon this, as upon many other subjects, is often singularly behind hand. He mentions, for instance, the *Colégios Mayores* in his account of Salamanca, but seems not to be aware that they have been suppressed for many years. There occurs also, in this chapter, which is certainly none of the worst of his book, a blunder of the most ridiculous kind. 'Lewis Velasquez,' he observes, 'wrote on coins; and Burriel published an able and interesting work on the weights, measures, writing, and antient laws *of California*.' Burriel, it is true, wrote a very curious and learned report, which was published in the name of the city of Toledo, on the antient weights and measures of Castille, containing many interesting particulars, and some original views, on the antient legislature and municipal constitu-

tion of the kingdom: he wrote also a very ingenious essay on the origin of the Spanish language, entitled, *Paleografia Espanola;* and he edited a description of California, compiled by Padre Venegas. These works Mr Laborde has embodied into one, and imagined for it a title compounded of the titles of all three.

The chapters on the *Spanish Literature, Theatre and Language,* demand a much longer commentary than we have leisure or inclination to bestow. Mr Laborde has afforded few materials for criticism; but left ample room for dissertation upon these subjects. His catalogue of authors is full of names; but his estimate of their merits is vague, and seldom extends beyond a general praise or disapprobation of their works. He has contrived, however, in the few remarks he has offered, to console us for their brevity. What regard, in fact, is due to a critic, who pronounces Herrera to be one of the best of the Spanish historians; or what impression does he give of his acquaintance with Spanish literature, when he crowds his pages with obscure names, and omits that of Fray Lewis de Leon, whom his countrymen esteem one of their first poets, and the purest certainly, and best, of their writers in prose? Fray Lewis de Leon is not the only author of celebrity, whom we have missed in Mr Laborde's ample, though ill furnished catalogue. We looked in vain among his poets for Rioja, and among his historians for Moncada, Santæ Colomæ, Mondejar, Sandoval, Lopez de Ayala, Pulgar, and, if we dare place him in that list, for Antonio Perez. As to the authors of the present day, we very soon discovered that it was idle to look for them. A passage, which Mr Laborde, in the hurry of publication, had neglected to eraze from his original notes, satisfied us, that, whoever was the author of his chapter on Spanish literature, it was composed before 1779, when the poem of the Cid was published by Sanchez, and probably soon after 1758, when Fray Gerundio first made its appearance. *

In his account of the Spanish stage, Mr Laborde has given the following description of that amusing species of drama peculiar to Spain, called *Saynete.*

'Saynetes,' he observes, 'are short prose comedies in one act, which very naturally represent the manners, habits and customs of the common people, with their modes of life, and the grotesque and comic scenes to which these may be supposed to give rise. Every thing in these pieces is natural; every thing is imitated with so much fidelity and truth, that the spectator imagines himself a witness of real transactions. The plot is usually simple, but lively; and the dialogue abounds with point and repartee. The acting greatly assists

* See Vol. V. p. 172 & 189.

sists the effect. The Spanish performers have an inimitable talent for this kind of low comedy; they appear to have been born and bred in the different conditions they represent; and the illusion produced is complete.'

To the truth and accuracy of this description, we can bear ample testimony. A stranger, who is desirous of studying the peculiarities of character, manners, customs, or dress, that prevail in the different provinces of Spain, will not easily find a shorter or better school, and certainly cannot find a more amusing one, than the theatre, when these saynetes are represented.

In his chapter on the *State of the Arts*, we meet with the following remarks on the Spanish school of painting, which appear to us to convey a just and not exaggerated idea of its merits.

'Of all the liberal arts,' observes Mr Laborde, 'painting is that which has been most cultivated in Spain, and in which its natives have best succeeded. The Spanish school is little known, and deserves to be more so. It holds a middle place between the Italian and Flemish schools. It is more natural than the first, more noble than the second, and participates in the beauties of both. It is not in the correctness of design, or nobleness of form, that the Spanish artists usually excel; but in the pure imitation of nature,—in grace, truth, effect, and expression of feeling.'

But, even upon this subject, where Mr Laborde seems more at home than in any other part of his work, he cannot, by some strange fatality, mention a date, without committing a blunder. Velasquez, whose portraits of Philip III. and IV., and of the Count Duke of Olivares, are among the most valuable of the pictures in the Royal Palace at Madrid, he tells us, was born in 1653, and died in 1725; that is, was born thirty-two years after the death of Philip III., eight years after the death of the Count Duke, and only twelve years before the death of Philip IV. The real dates of the birth and death of Velasquez, were 1599 and 1660.

The concluding chapters, on the *Physical Constitution of the Spaniards*, on their *Character and Manners*, their *Usages and Customs*, their *Dress*, their *Ceremonies*, and *Public Festivals*, are executed, on the whole, with judgment and discrimination. We select the following observations on the Spanish character, as affording, with the extracts which we have made in these last pages, the most favourable specimens we have been able to give of Mr Laborde's performance.

'Some customs and some traits of character run through all the provinces. The national pride is everywhere the same. The Spaniard has the highest opinion of his nation and himself; which he energetically expresses in all his gestures, words and actions. This opinion is discovered in all ranks of life and classes of society; in crimes

crimes and in virtues; among the great and the small; under the rags of poverty, as much as in the royal palace. Its result is a kind of haughtiness, repulsive sometimes to him who is its object, but useful in giving to the mind a sentiment of nobleness and self-esteem, which fortifies it against all meanness. This pride may be considered as one cause of the great number of persons who quit the world, and embrace the ecclesiastical profession; the slightest contempt, the least constraint, often produces on these haughty dispositions the effect of real misfortunes.

'The Spaniards are extremely reserved; they have little of those exterior demonstrations, of that deceitful show which is called politeness. They do not make advances to a stranger; they wait for him to begin; they watch his conduct; and do not give him their confidence, till they think they know him. Their address is serious, cold, sometimes even repulsive; but, under this unpromising exterior, they conceal a worthy heart, and a great disposition to oblige; they scatter around their benefits, without endeavouring to make a merit of them; and grant, without having promised.

'The Spaniard is very slow in all his operations. He often deliberates when he ought to act, and spoils affairs as much by his temporizing, as other nations by their precipitation. They have a proverb contrary to one of ours;—they say, that one should never do to-day what may be put off till to-morrow. This slowness of the Spaniards appears incompatible with the vivacity of their imagination; it is the consequence of the distrust and circumspection that are natural to them; but when their pride is irritated, their anger provoked, or their generosity stimulated, they wake in a moment from their apathy, and are capable of the most violent and the most noble actions.'

We apprehend, that, in the last paragraph, Mr Laborde has hit upon the true defect of the Spanish character,—the one certainly the most prejudicial to them in the arduous conflict in which they are at present engaged. This disposition of mind makes them confound procrastination with deliberation; and imagine that, when they have put off an important determination, they have acquired some security, that, when taken, it will be a right one. To the activity, knowledge, and foresight of their assailants, they have nothing to oppose, but an invincible constancy and firmness, which reverses have never shaken for a moment. If they have not achieved victories, they have not suffered themselves to be dispirited by defeats. If they have been improvident in success, they have not been despondent in misfortune. Their armies have been dispersed, and their towns pillaged; but the possessions of their enemy are still limited by the immediate terrors of his power; and extend not, after all his victories, beyond the precincts of his camps and garrisons.

'The hypocrisy with which Mr Laborde bewails the misfortunes of a war, the most unjust and unprovoked of any undertaken in

an age fruitful in injustice, deserves to be exhibited in his own words. 'Good Spaniards!' he exclaims, 'who have thus heaped kindnesses on me without even looking for my gratitude, who have rendered those unhappy times so easy to me,—may you, in your turn, find some asylum amidst the troubles which rend your country! Alas! perhaps flames are about to consume those houses in which I have been received! perhaps cannon are already destroying those monuments of your religion and history, of which you are so proud!' Who would believe, that this Mr Laborde, with such sentiments of gratitude on his lips, has lately repaired to Madrid, and there resumed his former connexions with the literary men of that capital, not for the purpose of assisting or consoling them in their misfortunes, but in order to extort from them certain valuable manuscripts, which, in hours of former confidence, they had unwarily made known to him? It is but fair to add, that, in one attempt of that sort, he was checked by the interference of a French officer of rank.

Before bringing this article to a conclusion, we owe to Mr Laborde the justice to state, that we have not been able to see his original work, and that our remarks have therefore been necessarily founded on a translation, which bears evident marks of having been hastily executed, and by one who, we apprehend, is but imperfectly acquainted with many of the subjects treated in the work. But, in justice to ourselves, we have also to add, that we have suppressed many unfavourable criticisms that had occurred to us, when it appeared to us, on further reflection, that the fault might lye, not with the author, but with the translator.

ART. V. *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, with some of the Letters of her Correspondents. Part the First; containing her Letters from an early Age to the Age of Twenty-three.* Published by Matthew Montagu, Esq. M. P. her Nephew and Executor. 2 vol. 12mo. pp. 630. London, 1809.

THESE two sizeable volumes contain a selection from the letters written by Mrs Montagu while under the age of twenty-three. Now, considering that this celebrated lady lived to be upwards of eighty, and probably did not grow less communicative as she grew older and better known, it certainly was not without some alarm that we ventured to calculate, by this scale, the probable bulk of the whole publication. We have read through this introductory part of it, however, without any extraordinary impatience; and trust that, when the time comes, we shall be endowed

dowed with strength sufficient to do the same duty to the successive parts which may be awaiting us.

A considerable portion of the letters now before us are published, we should suppose, rather as curiosities, than on account of their intrinsic excellence. Several of them—and by no means the worst in the collection—were written, it seems, while the author was under fifteen years of age; and would certainly be considered as extraordinary performances—even in this age of premature womanhood and infant accomplishment. The subsequent letters, indeed, scarcely keep the promise that is held out by those early effusions. They are not at all more lively or more natural; and are all the worse, we think, for being more plentifully garnished with moral reflections and morsels of elaborate flattery. If the correspondence does not improve faster in its subsequent stages, we fear greatly that there will be no climax in the reader's admiration.

The merit of the pieces before us seems to us to consist mainly in the great gaiety and vivacity with which they are written. The wit, to be sure, is often childish, and generally strained and artificial; but still it both sparkles and abounds: and though we should admire it more if it were better selected, or even if there were less of it, we cannot witness this profuse display of spirits and ingenuity, without receiving a strong impression of the talents and ambition of the writer.

The faults of the letters, on the other hand, are more numerous. In the first place, they have, properly speaking, no subjects. They are all letters of mere idleness, friendship, and flattery. There are no events,—no reasonings,—no anecdotes of persons who are still remembered,—no literature, and scarcely any original or serious opinions. The whole staple of the correspondence consists of a very smart and lively account of every-day occurrences and every-day people,—a few common-places of reflection and friendship,—and a considerable quantity of little, playful, petulant caricatures of the writer's neighbours and acquaintances. All this has a fine familiar effect, when interspersed with more substantial matter,—or when it drops from the pen of a man of weight and authority; but whole volumes of mere prattlement from a very young lady, are apt, however gay and innocent, to produce all the symptoms of heavier reading.

A second, and perhaps a greater fault, is want of nature and simplicity; and this, in so far as we can judge, pervades the whole strain of the correspondence. There is an incessant effort to be witty or eloquent, which takes away from the grace of success, and makes failure ridiculous. There is no flow from the heart, —no repose for the imagination,—no indolent sympathy of confidence.

fidence. Every thing is gilded and varnished in the most ostentatious manner, and exposed in the broadest light. It is not the learning only, or the ridicule, that is introduced for effect;—all the familiarity must be brilliant, and all the trifling picturesque. It is evident, in short, that Mrs Montagu wrote rather from the love of her own glory, than from any interest in the subjects of her correspondence; and the less we can sympathize with this feeling, the less we shall be delighted with her performance.

The last, and the most serious want we shall notice in this girlish correspondence, is the want of heart and affection. We naturally reckon upon a little romance in the confidential epistles of a damsel of eighteen; or, at any rate, upon some warmth of attachment: but, in these letters, though we have plenty of eloquent professions of friendship, we confess that we have looked in vain for this common bloom of sensibility. There is no softness,—no enthusiasm,—nothing which could, for one moment, be mistaken for the language of tenderness or emotion. Yet these are letters to chosen friends and early associates; and embrace the period in which the writer became a wife and a mother. It is not enough that the letters of a woman should be lively and witty;—female gaiety loses both its charm and its dignity, when it is not shaded with softness;—even female intellect is not quite respectable without it. The readers of Mad. de Sevigné complain, indeed, of the vehemence and anxiety of her attachment to her daughter; yet, importunate as that feeling is, we verily believe, that it gives the chief charm to her correspondence. The image of that warm and watchful affection is constantly impressed upon our recollection; it redeems all the levities, and gives an interest to all the details of her letters; and carries us, with ready good nature, into all the anecdotes which appear to have amused a creature at once so sprightly and so kindhearted. Mrs Montagu, on the other hand, no doubt appears very good natured and obliging; but without any devotedness of affection, or much concern, beyond that of admiration and amusement. On the whole, we think her professions of friendship and serious morality the least attractive parts of her performance. Her ludicrous descriptions and witty remarks, except that they are always too elaborate, are often tolerably successful; but the most entertaining of all, we think, are her lively personalities,—those half malicious, half playful delineations of common acquaintance, by which the merriment and the jealousies of polite society have been chiefly maintained, ever since the period of its first formation.

Those who like the prattlement of young ladies, must naturally have some curiosity to know how they prattled seventy years ago. Those volumes will certainly gratify that curiosity; and, indeed, are

are so completely devoted to its gratification, that we scarcely know upon what ground to recommend them to those who do not feel it. One other thing, however, they may serve to illustrate; and that is, the very little change that has taken place, during all that time, in the style and tone of familiar intercourse among the polite part of society. There is certainly nothing written so long ago, which is so little antiquated as these letters, or the letters of any other woman of high rank and good education. Taste in literature and in the arts has fluctuated and advanced in many ways in that long interval; and the manners and habits of the lower and middling orders have been slowly improving through a long series of affectations and absurdities. But the language and manners of the old aristocracy, and especially of the female part of it, have been the same, it appears, for upwards of a century. The style of Lady Mary Wortley and of Mrs Montagu, is as modern as that of their great grandchildren; and not only carries in it that charm of ease and purity which is so often wanting in the writings of professed authors, but still bears the stamp of good society so fresh upon it, that their jokes, and scandals and pleasantries, might generally be used as they stand, to enliven the correspondence of any fashionable chronicler of the current year. If there be any distinction between the style of a modern lady, and that of a lady in the time of George I., it is, that the former had a still greater freedom, and perhaps broadness of allusion, than would generally be ventured on by the latter. This slight degree of additional reserve or delicacy, we are not, however, disposed to ascribe to any recent improvement either in purity of manners or refinement of taste; but rather to that great dissemination of opulence which has made fashionable society less select and less safe; and to that intrusion of the half-bred, which has made greater caution necessary, both to avoid vulgar misconstruction, and to repress gross imitation. There are some traits of this freedom in the letters before us, for which even these considerations may not be everywhere received as an apology in the works of a virgin of nineteen, though, for our own part, we certainly consider them as no impeachment either of her innocence or her delicacy. There are a few other traits of antiquity, too, as to which it is proper to put the reader on his guard. He will hear of lace-heads and ruffles—of beaux with high toupees—of drums and tea-drinkings—of dutchesses dining at two o'clock—of mothers and intimate friends addressed by the lofty title of Madam—and a few other things equally strange and contemptible: but the general strain of the correspondence he will find very consonant to modern usages and conceptions;—the same proportion of derision directed against the same kind of imperfections—the same tone of familiarity and light-

light-hearted philosophy—the same selfishness and desire of distinction.——But it is quite time that the said reader should be enabled to judge for himself.

Her chief correspondents, at this early period, were, the Dutchess of Portland, who was a few years older than herself, and Mrs Donellan, a lady who was honoured with the notice of Swift in his later days. The following passages, in a letter to the former, were written under the age of fourteen; and show the first stirrings of her derisive and ambitious spirit, even before her intercourse with society had supplied it with living objects.

'One common objection to the country is, one sees no faces but those of one's own family; but my papa thinks he has found a remedy for that, by teaching me to draw; but then he husbands these faces in so cruel a manner, that he brings me sometimes a nose, sometimes an eye at a time; but on the King's birth-day, as it was a festival, he brought me out a whole face with its mouth wide open. If I could draw well enough, I would send Miss W. her own musty face. I am sorry Le Brun has not seen it, that he might have put it in his book of drawings among the faces that express the several passions; for he has none that express mustiness.'—

'If you design to make any proficiency in that art, I would advise you not to draw old men's heads. It was the rueful countenance of Socrates or Seneca that first put me out of conceit with it. Had my papa given me the blooming faces of Adonis and Narcissus, I might have been a more apt scholar; and when I told him I found those great beards difficult to draw, he gave me St John's head in a charger; so to avoid the speculation of dismal faces, which by my art I dismalized ten times more than they were before, I threw away my pencil. If I drew a group of little figures, I made their countenances so sad, and their limbs so distorted, that, from a set of laughing Cupids, they looked like the tormented infants in Herod's cruelty, and smiling Venus like Rachel weeping for her children. I have heard of some who have been famous landscape painters; others who have been famous battle painters; but I take myself to have been the best hospital painter; for I never drew a figure that was not lame or blind, and they had all something of the horrible in their countenances; and, by the arching of their eyebrows, and the opening their mouths, they looked so frightened, you would have thought they had seen their own faces in the glass.

'I am very sorry I have made so very free with your cousin; but how could I imagine any person who was neither handsome nor agreeable, was your relation! I dare say she is a very distant one; Had she been within four or five degrees, she must have been both. I believe Miss D——— and her Fubbsey are now one flesh, or rather one fat. I am,' &c. I. 14, 19—21.

The next, which contains her earliest observations on life and characters, is of the age of seventeen.

'Our assembly, in full glory, has ten coaches at it; and Lady H———, to make up a number, is pleased, in her humility, to call in all the parsons, apprentices, tradesmen, apothecaries, and farmers, milliners, mantuamakers, haberdashers of small wares, and chambermaids. It is the oddest mixture you can imagine: Here sails a reverend parson, there skips an airy apprentice, here jumps a farmer. And then every one has an eye to their trade: The milliner pulls you by the hand till she tears your glove; the mantuamaker treads upon your petticoat till she unrips the seams; the shoemaker makes you foot it, till you wear out your shoes; the mercer dirties your gown; the apothecary opens the window behind you that you may be sick; and the parson calls out for Joan Saunderson. I must tell your Grace that my papa forgets twenty years and nine children, and dances as nimbly as any of the quorum; but is now and then mortified by hearing the ladies cry, "Old Mr Robinson! Hay sides and turn your daughter." Other ladies who have a mind to appear young, say, "Well! there is my poor grandpapa, he could no more dance so!" Then comes an old batchelor of fifty, and shakes him by the hand, and cries, "Why, you dance like one of us young fellows." Another, more injudicious than the rest, says, by way of compliment, "Who would think you had six fine children taller than yourself? I protest, if I did not know you, I should take you to be young." Then says the most antiquated virgin in the company, "Mr Robinson wears mighty well; my mother says he looks as well as ever she remembers him; he used to come often to the house when I was a girl."

'I have not heard any thing of Lady A—— since her wedding. Sir Robert had an apoplectic fit at Sir Philip B——'s a little before they married. Sir Philip is so fond of him and his lady, that it is thought he will leave him some part of his estate, which is very considerable. I don't know from whence the friendship arises: there may indeed be a sympathy in the souls of Sir Philip and Sir Robert; but there never was less resemblance of body. Sir Robert Austin's shadow, by moonlight, would made a dozen of the other. The apothecary in Caius Marius is a corpulent man in comparison of him. I cannot describe him to your Grace;—a shadow is too material, and a skeleton too fat. He is really the grim king of the ghosts: he will be president of the court of Death. His wife and he are literally but *one flesh*—for she has all the flesh herself.' I. 43—46.

We give the following letter, which seems to have been written at eighteen, for two reasons;—first, because it affords the earliest, and by no means the least favourable, specimen of the writer's more sententious and serious manner; and, secondly, because it seems to have had the singular distinction of being written on *two* several occasions, to the same noble friend, at the distance of four years. It appears first at p. 54. of the first volume, under date of the year 1738; and again at p. 281, under date of September

25th, 1741. The only difference is, that, in this laſt edition, it has a few additional ſentences interſperſed—to the ſenſible deterioration, we think, of the compoſition. In all other reſpects, the two letters are *verbatim* and *literatim* the ſame. There is ſomething very ridiculous, we think, in this duplication, however it may be explained. If the fair writer actually made the ſame letters do duty twice over, after a certain interval for oblivion—as economical preachers are ſaid to do with their ſermons,—it gives us rather a lower idea of her inventive powers than we ſhould otherwiſe be diſpoſed to entertain; and, even if it be repeated by miſtake, in conſequence of two copies being found among her papers, ſtill the variations and the diſtance of the dates ſhow that ſhe paid a degree of attention to theſe performances which their intrinſic importance ſcarcely appears to merit. The letter itſelf, as it ſtands in its earlieſt and beſt form, is as follows.

'As your Grace tenders my peace of mind, you will be glad to hear I am not ſo angry as I was. I own I was much moved in ſpirit at hearing you neglected your health; but ſince you have had advice, there is one ſafe ſtep taken. As for me, I have ſwallowed the weight of an apothecary in medicine; and what I am the better, except more patient and leſs credulous, I know not. I have learnt to bear my infirmities, and not to truſt to the ſkill of phyſicians for curing them. I endeavour to drink deep of philoſophy, and be wiſe when I cannot be merry—eaſy when I cannot be glad—content with what cannot be mended—and patient where there is no redreſs. The mighty can do no more, and the wiſe ſeldom do as much. You ſee I am in the main content with myſelf, though many would quarrel with ſuch an inſignificant idle inconſiſtent perſon; but I am reſolved to make the beſt of all circumſtances around me, that this ſhort life may not be half loſt in pains, "well remembering and applying the neceſſity of dying." Between the periods of birth and burial I would fain inſert a little happineſs, a little pleaſure, a little peace: to-day is ours, yeſterday is paſt, and to-morrow may never come. I wonder people can ſo much forget death, when all we ſee before us is but ſucceſſion; minute ſucceeds to minute, ſeaſon to ſeaſon; ſummer dies as winter comes. The dial marks the change of hour; every night brings death-like ſleep; and morning ſeems a reſurrection; yet, while all changes and decays, we expect no alteration; unapt to live, unready to die, we loſe the preſent, and ſeek the future; aſk much for what we have not; thank Providence but little for what we have: our youth has no joy, our middle age no quiet, our old age no eaſe, no indulgence: ceremony is the tyrant of this day; faſhion of the other; buſineſs of the next. Little is allowed to freedom, happineſs, and contemplation; the adoration of our Creator; the admiration of his works; and the inſpection of ourſelves. But why ſhould I trouble your Grace with theſe reflections? What my little knowledge can ſuggeſt, you muſt know better: what my

short experience has shown, you must have better observed.' I. 54—56.

We add the following short passages from Bath in the year 1740; to show that the fair writer's vivacity was not chilled by arriving at the mature age of twenty.

'I hear every day of people's pumping their arms or legs for the rheumatism; but the pumping for wit is one of the hardest and most fruitless labours in the world. I should be glad to send you some news; but all the news of the place would be like the bills of mortality; palsy, four; gout, six; fever, one, &c. &c. We hear of nothing but Mr Such-a-one is not abroad to-day. Oh! no, says another; poor gentleman, he died to-day. Then another cries, My party was made for quadrille to-night; but one of the gentlemen has had a second stroke of the palsy, and cannot come out. There is no depending upon people; nobody minds engagements. Indeed, the only thing one can do to-day, we did not do the day before, is to die; not that I would be hurried, by a love of variety and novelty, to do so irreparable a thing as dying,' &c.—'As for modern marriages, they are great infringers of the baptismal vow; for 'tis commonly the pomps and vanities of this wicked world on one side, and the sinful lusts of the flesh on the other. For my part, when I marry, I do not intend to enlist entirely under the banners of Cupid or Plutus, but take prudent consideration and decent inclination for my advisers. I like a coach and six extremely; but a strong apprehension of repentance would not suffer me to accept it from many that possess it. I had little acquaintance with ——; for I never run into Aaron's idolatry, nor could I ever bow the knee to Mammon. To say the truth, he is the god of our fathers, and the god of our mothers. As the Israelites made their children pass through the fire to Baal, there are few good Christians who would not make their children pass through misery to Mammon.' I. 76. 77. 89.

This last extract will give our readers some idea of the fashionable freedom, from which, we have hinted, that our more prudish age has shrunk back. There is a great deal more of a decided character, after she comes to be married;—but we shall satisfy ourselves with adding this lively hint to her sister, upon the first appearance of a fashion which we had thought far more modern.

'I do not know what will become of your fine shape; for there is a fashionable make which is very strange. I believe they look in London as they did in Rome after the rape of the Sabines.' I. 126, 127.

And this little anticipation of the exploits of some of her military beaux, who had been ordered on foreign service.

'I think they will die of a panic, and save their enemies' powder. Well, they are proper gentlemen. Heaven defend the nunneries! As for the garrisons, they will be safe enough. The father confessors will have more consciences to quiet than the surgeons will have wounds

wounds to dress. I would venture a wager Flanders increases in the christenings more than in the burials of the week.' I. 183.

These, upon the whole, we think are favourable specimens; and if the whole book were of the same quality, it would be very entertaining. The greater part of it, however, is far inferior; and, though we have too great a regard for our readers to annoy them with many specimens of absolute dulness, we cannot do our duty without laying before them a few instances of that overlaboured and uneasy wit which has afflicted us so often in the course of our reading. We find ourselves just at this description of the furniture of an old mansion.

'There are long tables in the room, that have more feet than the caterpillar you immured at Bullstrode. Why so many legs are needful to stand still, I cannot imagine, when I can fidget upon two. There is a goodly chest of drawers in the figure of a cathedral, and a looking-glass, which Rosamond or Jane Shore may have dressed their heads in. Amongst the old furniture, I must not forget the clock, who has indeed been a time-server. It has struck the blessed minutes of the Reformation, Restoration, Abdication, Revolution, and Accession, and, by its relation to time, seems too to have some to eternity. It is like its old master, only good to point the hour to industry,—to wake the slothful soul to labour,—to mark the time by voice, though not by action. It is the minister of old care,' &c. —'If age be honourable, why should I neglect the fane of antique structure, which shook with the wind that blew the Danes to Britain; turned with the blast that sent our hero Richard to the holy wars, and then stood fair for France with Edward; moved with the glorious gale that brought a conquered king from France with our young victor the Black Prince. It pointed out the hour for gallant Henry to attempt a kingdom greater than his own; it obeyed the wind that brought over the chastiser of wicked Richard; then turned full to the happy wind that scattered the Armada, and moved as readily to the fair gale that wafted over our glorious William: but of late days it has seldom stirred; tired of bringing terror to nothing but a timorous valetudinarian, or informing the spleen when the wind is in the east; and, loath to have the idleness of some admiral imputed to its advice, it moves no more, but seems indeed to be founded upon steady and fixed principles, and I believe will turn no more, except it be for Vernon. What will your Grace say to this inventory? I am ashamed: but I observe people are apt to converse like the company they keep; and really I see hardly any thing but this poor fane planted on an aged oak just over against my window, and I hear nothing but the clock telling me how I kill time, while I unhappily reflect the sad revenge it will take upon me; therefore, what can I repeat but what I learn? I am spinning out a happy hour; such I account it when I write to you; and really I have not the art of abbreviation.' I. 141–144.

The same outrageous determination to be witty dictated the following description of a sea captain.

'The good captain is so honest and so fierce, a bad conscience and a cool courage cannot abide him. He thinks he has a good title to reprove any man that is not as honest, and to beat any man that is not as valiant as himself. He hates every vice of nature but wrath, and every corruption of the times but tyranny. A patriot in his public character, but an absolute and angry monarch in his family, he thinks every man a fool in politics who is not angry, and a knave if he is not perverse. Indeed, the captain is well in his element, and may appear gentle, compared to the waves and wind; but on the happy quiet shore he seems a perfect whirlwind. He is much fitter to hold converse with the hoarse Boreas in his wintry cavern, than to join in the whispers of Zephyrus in Flora's honeymoon of May. I was afraid, as he walked in the garden, that he would fright away the larks and nightingales; and expected to see a flight of seagulls hovering about him. The amphibious pewet found him too much a water animal for his acquaintance, and fled with terror.' I. 181, 182.

The reader may also take this picture of a country family, as a partner, in the same style of drawing.

'His wife he has always kept in the country to nurse seven or eight daughters, after his own manner; and the success has answered the design. He has taught them that all finery lies in a pair of red-heeled shoes; and as for diversion (or, as I suppose they call it, fun), there is nothing like blind man's buff. Thus dressed and thus accomplished, he brought them to our races, and carried them to the ball, where, poor girls, they expected to be pure merry, and to play at puss in the corner, and hunt the whistle; but seeing there was nothing but footing, which they had never been suffered to do in their shoes, and right hand and left, which their father thought too much for women to know, they fell asleep, as they had often been used to do, without their supper.'—'You have no such good folks in Buckinghamshire. There your Grace saw a fine importation of S——'s. They had not one article of behaviour so untaught as to appear natural. These have not one manner that seems acquired by art. The two families would make a fine contrast. Pray do but figure the Mademoiselles Catherinas advancing in state to meet these jumping Joans. To be sure, seeing Madame courtesy so low, they would think she meant to play at leap-frog, and would jump over her head before she got to the extremest sink of her courtesy.' I. 236, 238.

The following, as it nods a little towards seriousness, is considerably worse.

'One sees a good deal of the world at Tunbridge. There is one man drinking waters to cure him of the ill consequences of sloth and avarice, and the melancholy remembrance of having denied himself the

the benefits of his time, and others the assistance of his money. There the splendid South-Sea Director would wash away the recollection of his iniquity, and, by magnificence, gild his crime till fools admire and envy it. How many adorn their guilt and misery to catch that approbation from others their own heart denies! These waters would indeed be of great use, could they but make Directors void the worm that never dies; but conscience is a dragon not to be charmed by all the sweetest songs of the syren Pleasure; and in the midst of these diversions, and the gaiety of company, they seem to me not to be able to speak peace to their souls,' &c. I. 247–8.

The following short passage is in far better taste. She is speaking of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

'I am as fatigued with his hero's adventures, as if I had rode behind him. He out-quixotes Quixote; knights, brave or miscreant, are unhorsed; ladies, fair or foul, chaste or wicked, fall in love with him: between the lance of Mars and the arrow of Cupid, no age or sex escape him unhurt. Then the fair Princess bathing for the good of the public! I took great care no such accident should happen at Mary-le-bone.——Every one is in wrath at Sir John Norris's return. I hope the next expedition will be in mackarel season, and then we shall take something.' II. 54–5.

The following remarks upon the effect of Sir Robert Walpole's downfal are more interesting, because more applicable to other times, than most of her occasional moralization.

'I imagine the study of physiognomy must be very entertaining at present. One might see Hope sitting in a dimple, Fear skulking in a frown, Haughtiness sitting on the triumphal arch of an eyebrow, and Shame lurking under the eyelids; then in wise bystanders we might see Conjecture drawing the eyebrows together, or Amazement lifting them up. A man in place bringing his flexible countenance to the taste of the present times, smiling about the mouth as if he was pleased with the change, but wearing a little gloom on the forehead that betrays his fear of losing by it. Men that never were of any consequence wrapping themselves up in the mystery of politics, and seeming significant; as if, when times alter, they had a right to expect to be wise. Then the vacant, smiling countenances of those civil people that would intimate they would do any thing for any body. The asses that, in lions' skins, have brayed for their party, throwing off their fierceness, and appearing in their proper shape of patient folly, that will carry a heavy burden through dirty roads. Then the state swallows, that have ever lived in the sunshine of favour, withdrawing from the declining season of power. Then the thermometers, weathercocks, and dials of the state, will scarce know what to say, how to turn, or which way to point. They who have changed their coat with every blast, what must they do till they know which way the wind blows? Unhappy ignorance, that knows not if preferment comes from the east or from the west, or yet from the south! Then what will these noble pa-

tr'o's do whose honesty consists in being always angry, now they know not whom to be angry with? These occurrences give one too great an insight into mankind; for one receives bad impressions of them by seeing them in these hurries; while, for haste, they leave the cloak of hypocrisy behind, and show the patched, stained, and motley habit of their minds.'—

'All I expect, is, to see those that lately have appeared as knaves look like fools; those that have looked like fools appear as knaves. I would the good precept, Be angry and sin not, were divided between the parties in power and out of it; that the first would not sin, and the second would not be angry: but between the wickedness of the powerful, and the wrath of the disappointed, there is no peace in Israel.' II. 152–3.

This is about the best of her seriousness; but her vocation is decidedly for satirical trifling. For example—

'I want to know how the world goes on: we stand still here. Dulness, in the solemn garb of wisdom, wraps us in its gentle wing; and here we dream that others do ill, and happy are we that do nothing. One yawns there is peace in solitude; another stirs the fire, and cries how happy is liberty and independence; another takes a pinch of snuff, and praises leisure; another pulls a knotting shuttle out of her pocket, and commends a little innocent amusement; their neighbour, more laborious, making a lace with two bobbins, says business should be preferred to pleasure and diversions. How wise is every body by their own fire-side, and how happy every one in their own way! What glorious things do the ambitious say of ambition, and what mighty phrases do they adorn the giant with! How civilly do the indolent speak of idleness, and how prettily do the trifling express trifles! how cunning do those think themselves who live in cities, and how innocent do they look upon themselves to be who dwell in the country!' II. 150–1.

'Among many reasons for being stupid, it may be urged it is being like other people, and living like one's neighbours; and indeed without it, it may be difficult to love some neighbours as oneself; now, seeing the necessity of being dull, you won't, I hope, take it amiss that you find me so. But, consider, I am involved in mists from the sea, and that the temperament of the air and the manners of the place contribute to my heaviness. It provokes me to hear people that live in a fog talk of the smoke of London, and that they cannot breathe there: a proper reason for them to stay away who were made for nothing but to breathe. But people in town have other signs of life. But to the good folks that talk in that manner, nothing is an obstruction of life but an asthma.' I. 235.

It would be very easy to cite fifty such passages; but for those who have not already determined to look into the book for themselves, we fear we have already cited too much. We ought, indeed, to have noticed some passages of profound erudition about Horus and Cerberus, Horatius Cocles, and Pythagoras;—and also

some

some of the elaborate eulogies bestowed on the Dutchess of Portland, and my Lord Duke and the infant Marquis. But, meritorious and characteristic as all these things are, we have no longer room for them. Upon the whole, we think the vivacity of these letters attractive;—though it is sometimes childish, and almost always theatrical. We think the familiar style excellent, and the eloquence abominable; and are of opinion, that they would have been infinitely more charming, if two thirds of the wit could have been exchanged for a few traits of simplicity and affection. Comparing them even with the earliest letters of Lady Mary Wortley, it is impossible not to be struck with the vast superiority of the latter, in sound sense, good taste, and facility. There is, in those delightful compositions, such a mixture of just thinking and solid sagacity, as gives both dignity and relief to the wit and trifling which intervenes; and the trifling itself is far more graceful and striking, both because it is less laboured, and infinitely less verbose. Mrs Montagu certainly comes nearest that admirable model in her lighter strokes of personal satire, and the purity of such parts of her diction as she had not determined to make splendid.

In making these strictures on the letters before us, we do not forget that they were all written under the age of twenty-three; and have even a reasonable degree of faith in the editor, when he assures us, that if we will only have patience, we shall find her hand improve astonishingly in the course of the next five or six volumes. All we say is, that there are great faults in the volumes before us; and that we do not exactly perceive the necessity of reading the bad letters before we are favoured with the good. If the letters were all as good as Lady Mary's, the editor may depend upon it, that the public will neither buy nor admire twenty volumes of them; and if there be ten or twelve volumes out of the twenty that are not quite so good, we are clearly of opinion, that the best thing he can do for his aunt's glory and his own credit, is to suppress these twelve,—together with four or five of the remaining eight. There are many works, besides those of the old Sybil, the value of which may be prodigiously increased by diminishing their number.

Art. VI. *Application de la Theorie de la Legislation Penale, ou Code de la Sureté Publique et Particuliere, fondé sur les Regles de la Morale Universelle, sur le Droit des Gens ou primitif des Societés, et sur leur Droit particulier dans l'État actuel de la Civilization; redigé en projet pour les Etats de sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière. Dedié à sa Majesté, et imprimé avec son Autorization.* Par Scipion Bexon, ancien Avocat, Officier du Ministère public, Commissaire du Roi, Juge de Paix, Accusateur militaire, Accusateur public, President du Tribunal Criminel de Paris; actuellement Vice-president du Tribunal Civil de la même Ville; ancien Professeur de Legislation Criminelle à l'Université de Jurisprudence, &c. &c. Folio. pp. 752. Paris, 1807.

We deem it of great importance to give some account of this book, while the penal code of our own country remains in a state of such extreme imperfection, and the community in general seems so indifferent about its amendment.

When a man like Blackstone, in whom education, profession, situation and prospects in life, combined to engender the admiration of whatever was established, and who, in his review of the laws of England, scarcely ever finds room for any thing but praise —when a man of this description appears the herald of blame, we may safely conclude that the evil is not only indisputable, but flagrant. This popular author, however, * after observing that, 'in proportion to the importance of the criminal law, ought also to be the care and attention of the legislature in properly forming and enforcing it; and that it should be conformable to the dictates of truth and justice, the feelings of humanity, and the indelible rights of mankind,' proceeds to tell us, that it has hitherto existed in all the countries of Europe, and England among the rest, in a very different situation; for, on the other hand, he adds, 'either from a want of attention to these principles, in the first concoction of the laws; and adopting, in their stead, the impetuous dictates of avarice, ambition and revenge; from retaining the discordant political regulations which successive conquerors or factions have established, in the various revolutions of government; from giving a lasting efficacy to sanctions that were intended to be temporary, and made (as Lord Bacon expresses it) merely upon the spur of the occasion; or from, lastly, too hastily employing such means as are greatly disproportionate to their end, in order to check the progress of some very prevalent offence; from some, or from all of

* See his Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. iv. ch. 1.

of these causes, it hath happened, that the criminal law is, *in every country of Europe*, more rude and imperfect than the civil.'

This is a remarkable passage; and deserving of the most profound meditation. It is a description, perfectly just, and, as far as it goes, accurate, of the manner in which a great part, not only of the criminal law, but of the whole body of law, civil, criminal and constitutional, has been built up in every country in Europe. To reason, seriously and sincerely endeavouring to trace out the footsteps of utility, or to discover the regulations by which the greatest prosperity might be secured to the whole community, nations hitherto have owed very little. It is to the accidental, but in several respects unavoidable connexion between the interests of the community, and the interests of the governing classes, that the nations of the world owe almost all that is excellent in the actual system of their laws.

Of the defects in our criminal code, Blackstone goes on to say,* 'These have chiefly arisen from too scrupulous an adherence to some rules of the antient common law, when the reasons have ceased upon which those rules were founded.' This, too, is an important observation, and one which we should scarcely have expected from the great champion of 'the wisdom of our ancestors;' and one of the great *abhorrers* of innovation. 'Those rules, the reasons for which have ceased to exist,' are they *all* to be discarded? This is rather a sweeping decision; especially if we include among them, as we plainly should, all those which never had any reason, or never any but a bad one. Such a proposition in a more modern author, would run some risk of being represented as absolutely revolutionary and jacobinical. We shall quote but one other passage from this great English lawyer, before proceeding to the work of his foreign disciple.

After exhibiting some samples of absurdity and mischievousness in our criminal laws, and dwelling with lamentation upon the obvious necessity of amendment, he adds, 'Were *even* a committee appointed, but *once in an hundred years*, to revise the criminal law, it could not have continued to this hour a felony, without benefit of clergy, to be seen for one month in the company of persons who call themselves, or are called, Egyptians,'† &c. &c. With these few, but striking, admonitions, as to the wisdom and the necessity of looking at home in all our reflections upon subjects of universal importance, we pass at once to the consideration of the work before us.

The king of Bavaria, like our Edward the First, is a never-ending reformer. During the few months of peace which succeeded the

* Commentaries, B. iv. ch. 1.

† Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. iv. ch. 1

the treaty of Amiens, the periodical publications of the Continent were filled with the accounts of the plans which he was pursuing for the improvement of his government, and for meliorating the condition of his subjects. We find, by the publication before us, that he has not abandoned the work, even in the season of war; that he has not shrunk from a fundamental reform of the condition of his people in that cardinal point, on which their condition so eminently depends—the administration of justice.

The course, too, which he has pursued, is one which, in its general bearing, is distinctly traced by the hand of wisdom. He looked out for an individual whom reputation designated as eminently fit, and whom particular recommendation, no doubt, singled out as the most fit, to draw up a code of laws; and to him he gave a commission to execute the important task. * The code, as proposed by the author, was printed and published; that whatever the observations of the people for whom it was designed, or of the enlightened men of all Europe, might offer for its improvement, might be received before it was finally adopted; and, if not rejected upon such a trial, that it might afterwards be established with all the advantages which those means of perfecting it could supply. Had the choice of the man, to whom the primary operations were entrusted, been as fortunate as the plan was prudent, our present task would have been much easier, and more delightful, than it is likely to be.

The work to which our attention is now directed, is intended to exhibit a complete set of *penal enactments*, and of regulations or enactments of *police*; together with such elucidations of the general principles of law, as may show the reasons of the several enactments proposed, and afford the instruction most necessary to estimate justly what has here been performed.

The system of penal enactments, together with such provisions as M. Bexon thinks belong to the head of police, he designates by the general title of 'Legislation de la Sureté.' The idea he seems to have entertained, that police and penal law fell both, and to the exclusion of other branches of law, under this denomination, is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his joining the legislation of police with that of crimes and punishments,—as possessing, with each other, a connexion more intimate than subsists between either of them and any other branch of law,—and as forming, together, one great and entire department of legal regulation.

An

* Not one individual only has undertaken the work. There is a 'Projet redigé pour les etats de S. M. le Roi de Bavière, par M. Klinschrod.'

An indication is afforded thus early, of what is but too fully confirmed in the sequel,—that M. Bexon's manner of thinking is far too vague, for much improvement in the science of legislation to be expected from his best exertions. *Security* is *not* the object of penal laws and laws of police alone. Civil and constitutional laws contribute to it quite as essentially, and, in many instances, as directly, as penal laws themselves. Security is the joint result of the whole system of legislation; and cannot be obtained where any part is wanting or defective. What, for example, would be the security of property, though the penal laws against theft and robbery were ever so perfect, if there were no civil laws to compel the payment of debts, and the performance of contracts? On a distinction thus perfectly inapplicable, it is melancholy to observe the stress which is laid by M. Bexon. He regards it as a discovery of his own making, of the greatest consequence, and as forming one of the most remarkable characteristics of his book. Formerly, nations, he tells us, were too little enlightened to have any just conception of it. Civil laws occupied, to great purpose, their attention; but the great, and still more interesting subject, 'la legislation de la sureté, n'a guères été, dans l'antiquité, l'objet des méditations des écrivains et de la sollicitude des Gouvernemens.'

I. Police.—This, as forming the branch of the subject undertaken by M. Bexon, which in his large volume is first presented to our view, is the part on which we shall first submit our observations. He has traversed the ground with sufficient minuteness; and few, among the particulars which called for his notice, have escaped it; but the sort of eye with which he surveyed it, was that of a man better disposed, than qualified, to find out the improvements capable of being effected in it. A few sentences, or articles, as he calls them, from the commencement of his 'Code de Police Administrative,' will afford some means of judging of the species of instruction which, on this head, he has afforded us.

'Art. I. Definition de la Police Administrative.—La police administrative est instituée pour veiller au maintien de la sureté générale et de la paix publique, à la conservation des personnes et des choses.'

He must have had a very singular conception of what a definition is, who could call this a definition—'Administrative police is instituted for the purpose of watching over the maintenance of general security and public peace, over the preservation of persons and things.' Now, though this may be perfectly just and true, it is no more a definition of the peculiar functions and objects

objecté of *police*, than of any other power or institution in society. The executive power of the King, for example—Is not that also set up for the purpose of watching over the general security and the public peace, and for the preservation of persons and things? Is not the *judicative power*, in all its branches, instituted for the same purposes? For what is the *legislative power* appointed, but to watch over the maintenance of the general security and the public peace? Even the *military power* itself is instituted for no other purpose; by being ever ready to aid in suppressing all enemies, both internal and external, by whom that security may be threatened to be disturbed. Let us try another article.

'L'action de la police administrative précede necessairement celle de la justice: elles sont liées entre elles, consequentes l'un de l'autre, et les contraventions aux reglemens de la première entrainent des peines qui sont prononcées par la seconde.'

This is another piece out of the same mint, and from under the same die;—puerility, prattle, an identical proposition, or a proposition little better than identical. If the business of police be, as M Bexon defines it to be, to bring criminals before the judgment seat, and that of judicature to pronounce upon them, how could it happen, but that the one of these operations should precede the other; that they should be connected together; and, as the first precedes the last, so the last must be consequent upon the first? All, however, fortunately is not so bad. The fourth article is as follows.

'Elle ne prononce sur aucune infraction aux lois, mais elle en recherche les auteurs; elle constate les actions defendues, et ressemble les indices et les preuves des faits que sa surveillance n'a pu empêcher.'

Here at last, then, we have some tangible distinction brought into view. What the police does not, is, to exercise judicial power. What it does, is, to find out delinquents, take notice of delinquencies, and obtain proofs. So far as these operations extend, and so far as they are left to be performed by police, she is strictly the handmaid of judicial power; and the service which she renders is twofold: 1. Service in securing the person of the delinquent; 2. Service in securing the evidence of his guilt. These two services, however, are part of the general business of criminal procedure, and, strictly speaking, do not belong to police. Criminal tribunals, if properly constituted, would be the best depositaries of all the powers, whether antejudiciary or postjudiciary, immediately necessary to their own decisions. As matters, however, are still situated all over Europe, we can see convenience and utility in employing the powers established for purposes

of

of police, in the antejudiciary part of criminal process; and, accordingly, we are not much displeased to see this employment assigned so them by M. Bexon. We are sorry, however, to observe the limits between the powers of judicature and the powers of police so little understood by this lawgiver, as to find him confounding criminal procedure with police, and representing the offices of the former, if not as the exclusive, at least as the principal and distinctive, offices of the latter.

The points on which M. Bexon's code of police is intended to bear, are classed and denominated in the following manner. 1. The several kinds of officers, with their respective functions, necessary to carry the provisions of police into execution; 2. Prisons; 3. Beggars, vagabonds, and the means of providing them with work; 4. Religion; 5. Manners and public decency; 6. The *state* of persons,—under which title are included registration of births, deaths, and acts, the burial of the dead, the cognizance of sudden or secret deaths, &c.; 7. The honour and reputation of persons; 8. Health of persons; 9. Security of persons; 10. Security of persons at the moment of their birth; 11. Commerce in general; under which title the author describes a board of superintendance of commerce, and the functions which he destines it to perform; 12. Sale of commodities; 13. Rural property, of its different kinds; 14. Damage and destruction; 15. Instruction of the people, and in the country. These subordinate heads the author places in three grand divisions. I. The first five go under the title of 'GENERAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC PEACE;' II. The succeeding five under the title of 'PERSONS;' III. And the last five under that of 'THINGS.'

Such is the nature of M. Bexon's endeavours in legislation, that it is impossible to gain any notion of his general views, except by travelling minutely through all the particulars on which he has thought proper to enlarge; and then endeavouring to combine those particulars according to their general relations;—a labour which he as little thinks of performing for his reader as for himself. To do this, even for that department of his work which relates to police, would far exceed the limits which are necessarily assigned to our present observations; and, therefore, we can say little more with respect to its details, than that the author appears to have been most conscientiously industrious; that he has read the best books, and shows a sincere desire to recommend the best regulations. A number of important particulars are thus brought together; and on not a few of those particulars very good suggestions are presented; but, for the improvement of criminal legislation as a science, we greatly fear that higher and more imposing

posing qualifications than are united in M. Bexon will be found indispensable.

But though we cannot supply for M. Bexon those generalizations, without which his labours can be of little use to the advancement of science, we may attempt what, if we can accomplish it, will be of much more importance, viz. to trace accurately the true limits by which the functions of police are separated from that of criminal judicature. The confusion which we have found in the ideas of almost all writers on the subject, and the consequent imperfection which the practical arrangements founded on those ideas every where exhibit, sufficiently demonstrate the utility of offering some precise conceptions respecting this ill defined class of political functions.

In regard to the execution of the laws, the two primary offices are, 1. Those of civil judicature; 2. Those of criminal judicature. It is perfectly plain, in the fisrt place, that, as far as these extend, Police has no admission. The functions of judicature may be distinguished into three stages. 1. The antejudicial; 2. The judicial; and, 3. The postjudicial. In the antejudicial functions are included, the cognizance of the occasion for judicial decision; the securing the persons on whom the decision may operate; and the securing the forthcomingness of whatever, in the classes of persons or things, may be supposed capable of serving as evidence. In the judicial functions are included what, using the word in a general sense, may be denominated the trial, comprehending the whole judicial examination of the case, together with the decision. In the postjudicial functions are included whatever is necessary, in the ordinary course of things, to carry the sentence of the law into execution. With the antejudicial, as with the postjudicial, though most frequently with the latter, it has been common for the functions of Police to be confounded. That courts of justice, however, if established in the best form, could, with peculiar advantages, exercise all the functions immediately subservient to the distribution of justice, there seems to be no doubt; and, if so, whatever is immediately subservient, either to the collation of rights, or the punishment of offences, is the business of judicature, and *not* of police.

But the security which may be obtained by compelling such as are unwilling to fulfil the obligations imposed upon them by the laws, and by punishing those who transgress the laws, is still an imperfect security; and it is found that certain measures may be adopted for *preventing* injuries, by which that security may be greatly increased. Whatever is commanded by the law to be done, and has not been done; whatever is commanded by the law not to

be done, and has been done; the cure of these evils, already existing, belongs to the head of judicature. But certain things may be done to prevent these evils before they come into existence; and these, as far as they consist in direct interference, constitute what is strictly the business of police. Good laws, for example, for the punishment of housebreakers, if well executed, would afford a certain degree of security to us in our beds; but, add to these a well regulated watch, by which the intention to break houses is prevented from being carried into execution, and how greatly is that security augmented!

But evils arising from the lawless actions of their fellow-creatures, are not the only evils which men have to dread. There are physical calamities, and these, in many instances, susceptible, wholly or in part, of prevention. Such are, inundations, fires, contagions, tempests, nuisances, want of the means of subsistence, and various other evils. The prevention or removal of these, or of their effects, as far as it is desirable that government should employ direct means for those ends, forms a class of operations which may be usefully united with the former.

Hitherto there is little or no difficulty. Police is that branch of government, through which measures are taken for *preventing* lawless designs from being carried into execution, and for preventing or removing physical calamities. But besides the prevention of evils, there are various ways in which government, by very simple operations, may promote the welfare of the community; and accordingly, part, at least, of these ameliorating functions have commonly been regarded as entering into the business of police, and have been executed by police establishments with manifest advantage. Such are, the superintendance and improvement of public diversions, of the roads, and other means of internal communication. There are, however, other branches of ameliorative administration, which seem of a different class from the functions of preventive police,—the superintendance and improvement of education,—the superintendance and improvement of religious instruction, and various others: and no line of distinction between these and the former can easily be drawn. Now this, it appears to us, has given rise to an unfortunate confusion: for one of the most effectual among the indirect expedients for insuring good government, is to assign a clear and well defined class of duties to every distinct set of public functionaries. It is, by this means, much more readily and much more strongly perceived when the business is done well, and when it is done ill. The honour is raised to a much higher pitch which is bestowed upon good conduct, and the infamy to a much higher pitch which falls upon bad conduct. To assign, on the other hand, a confused and ill-

ill-defined mass of duties to any set of public functionaries, is to create a temptation for negligence and misconduct; it is to hold up a screen between them and the public eye; it is even to shelter them in a great measure from the operation of the political sanction; for the same cause that renders inefficacious the superintendance of the people, imbecilitates, at the least, the superintendance of their official superiors. For these reasons, we are inclined to think that there would be no inconsiderable advantage in keeping the preventive operations of police, and the ameliorative functions of government entirely distinct; and as there ought to be a department for preventive operations, so, there ought to be another for ameliorative operations, each under its separate head, that in this, as in all other branches of government, responsibility, and individual responsibility, whenever it is possible, may be secured. But this topic, how important soever, has already detained us too long from the still more important subject, to which the greater part of M. Bexon's work is necessarily devoted.

II. Principles of Penal Legislation.—In laying down the general principles of penal legislation, and in constructing a penal code, we find, unhappily, the same vaccillation in the conceptions of M. Bexon, as the specimens of legislation he afforded us on the subject of Police. An extensive acquaintance with particulars is certainly displayed, and the ideas of the best writers are frequently adopted and applied; but powers to discriminate and combine,—to trace extensive diversities and agreements,—to pursue general principles to the ultimate limit in every direction,—in short, to do, in any respect, what can be called service, in putting a complex, and, as yet, a confused subject into order, we must not look to meet with. His plan here, as in the case of Police, is to adopt the common division which he finds established, and, with little, if any, endeavour to trace connexions, to crowd together, under each of the heads he has chosen, as many particulars as his mind or other helps can suggest to him, assigning them to this head or to that, by any casual point of relation which happens to present itself.

A specimen of the vague generalities with which the pages of speculation which precede his penal code are filled, will be no less necessary than in the case of his philosophizings on the subject of Police.

'The first rule of men's actions is morality.' This is one proposition. 'Men's principal obligation is to respect the law of nations.' This is the next proposition. Are *morality* and *the law of nations* here spoken of as the same thing, or as different things? If they are the same thing, why call it by two

names, and speak of it in two propositions? This is an express contrivance to confuse and mislead. If they are not the same, but different, let us observe what is said of them. 'The first rule of action is morality.' Well; to say that any thing is a rule of action, is merely to say, in other words, that there is an obligation to obey it. If the first rule of men's actions, then, be morality, it follows, that it is their first obligation to respect, that is, to obey, morality. But we are told, in the next sentence, that it is their *principal* obligation to obey the law of nations. *First* and *principal*, therefore, must mean different things. But after morality is *first* obeyed, how will it be in our power to obey the law of nations *principally*? There are many pages of this sort of misty metaphysics; but we pass on to the article in which he gives us the definition of civil and penal law.

'Art. 8. La loi civile est le tableau des devoirs que l'homme doit remplir dans l'état de societé; elle est la serie et la classification des droits que conserve, ou que confére le pacte social, et elle en regle l'exercice et l'usage.

'La loi penale est le moyen que la societé oppose à la volonté de s'écarter de ses devoirs; elle prononce la privation, ou la perte d'un ou de plusieurs droits, proportionellement aux divers degrés de la violation du pacte, et des atteintes portées aux droits qu'il assure ou qu'il accorde.'

There are, in the first clause, two definitions of civil law, separate and independent. 1. 'The civil law is the picture of the duties which man ought to fulfil in the state of society.' But, according to this account, civil law covers the whole field of morality; and this is what M. Bexon positively denied only a few sentences before. 2. 'Civil law is the series and the classification of the rights which the social compact preserves or confers; and it regulates the exercise and the use of them.' Civil law, the series and classification of rights! Civil law is surely something more than this. A mere enumeration and classification would be no law. Any man that has talents for it may enumerate and classify rights, or what he chuses to consider as rights; but any man cannot make laws. To regulate the exercise and use of rights, the next thing ascribed to civil law, is no doubt part of its business; but what is it that constitutes rights? They must be created, before they are ready for regulation. 'Created!' says M. Bexon, 'they are preserved or conferred by the social compact.' The social compact, then, according to M. Bexon, found some rights ready made; others there were which itself made. Now, what were those rights which existed before the social compact, and which the social compact preserved? and what, again, were those which the social compact added to them? and what is

the social compact itself? On these questions, totally unanswered, or rather, on a wretched and exploded theory, assumed as true, does this definition of civil law depend. Let us see, however, how he makes out the limits of penal law, the very subject which he has assumed the task of putting in order.

'Penal law is the means which society opposes to the will of departing from those duties.' The first question to be asked here, is, what are 'those duties,' the transgression of which, penal law is the means of preventing? They must be those duties spoken of in the preceding sentence, 'the duties which man ought to fulfil in the state of society.' But man ought to fulfil *all* the duties of morality in a state of society. Therefore penal law, by this definition, is commensurate with the obligations of morality; which the author, as we have seen above, contradicts.

Penal law, continues the definition, 'pronounces the privation, or the loss of one or of several rights, in proportion to the different degrees of the violation of the compact, and of the attempts made against the rights which it secures or bestows.' Well,—here is something intelligible. Penal law is that which punishes. But what does it punish? Why, *the violation of the social compact!* But as no man ever showed, or can show, what are the rights which the social compact either secured or bestowed;—to tell us that penal law is that which punishes the violation of these rights, is to tell us that penal law is any thing which any body pleases.

Were we ever so much disposed, or ever so much qualified to afford, on this occasion, the instruction which M. Bexon unfortunately has not afforded, our limits would not permit. A few reflections may, however, be introduced, for drawing the line of distinction between the penal and other branches of law, and for reducing, to something approaching to precision, the vague ideas which float in the heads even of the best instructed men, on this most important, but little comprehended subject.

We take it for granted, that it can only be those actions of mankind, from which good or evil may arise, that can be the objects of regulation, or of any denomination of law; and that the end of all law is, to raise the good to its highest, and to reduce the evil to its lowest quantity.

Of these actions, one part is of such a nature, that any coercive measures which the law would employ to produce those of the one sort, and to prevent those of the other, would create more evil, than all the good, which could be thus effected, would be sufficient to compensate. Utility is therefore consulted, by leaving all this class of actions to the motives which society itself presents

possents for their regulation, by no further attempting to influence them than by such indirect means—instruction, for example—praise, blame, reward, discredit, &c.—as the uncoercive powers of the community can employ. This we consider as the proper description of the ground which is occupied by *morality*.

But of these same actions, which are the sources of happiness or misery, another class is of such a nature, that coercive measures may be employed by the law to produce the one, and to prevent the other; the evil produced by the coercion being overbalanced by the good of which it is the occasion. Of the actions, however, which are thus distinguished, part are of such a nature, that if, to the bare compulsion requisite to produce the act, any punishment were added, viz. for not having done it without compulsion, this punishment would produce more evil than good. This, therefore, is the domain of non-penal law. This is the class of actions, of which the legislator commands that one part should be done, and another should not be done—and of which he appoints *force* to cause the one part to be done, and the other not to be done—but, in regard to which, he appoints nothing in the shape of *punishment* to follow the non-fulfilment of his command. Thus, it is the command of the legislator that debts shall be paid; and he appoints force to compel this payment, wherever it is not voluntarily performed; but no punishment is inflicted for the non-payment of debts; and all the measures which are employed against the debtor, are intended merely, however they may sometimes operate, to compel him to pay. As soon as he has paid, the hold of the law upon him is immediately relaxed.

Another class of these actions still remains; a class, in regard to which, it is not only useful to employ force to compel the performance of the good part, and prevent the performance of the bad; but in regard to which, if in any particular instance the good action is omitted, or the evil action is performed, punishment, wisely inflicted upon the author of the mischief, may be productive of more good than evil. Thus, to take an example that will at once designate the province of penal, and that of non-penal law:—A man has a purse in his pocket; an acquaintance comes up and borrows it of him, but afterwards refuses to return it: The law compels him to pay; but, after payment, inflicts no punishment. If, instead of receiving the purse in loan, he had taken it away by stealth, the law would not have been satisfied with the restoration of the purse; it would have superadded punishment.

This delineation, general as it is, of the field of coercive law, conveys, we think, ideas at once clear and precise, both of its limits, and of its two grand divisions; 1. its first division, law simply coercive; 2. its second division, law coercive and punitive. *

By

* To the common legal reader, we are aware, that many things in this draught, more especially in the part which relates to the civil branch of the law, will appear to be wanting. But let it be considered, that the fundamental idea of a law is, that it is A COMMAND; —the command of the legislature,—a command sanctioned by the eventual application of force. Now, of such commands, a division into those that are sanctioned by force unaccompanied with punishment, and those that are sanctioned by force accompanied with punishment, seems to be sufficiently complete and comprehensive.

To render the will of the legislature clear and precise, in regard to the actions which it commands or forbids, a variety of definitions are no doubt required. The command, for example, 'Thou shalt not steal,' *i. e.* thou shalt not, in such and such a manner, take from another man his property,—is altogether unintelligible and inefficacious, till the legislature has accurately defined what it is that is to be considered as property. But to define property is a most tedious operation, and requires the designation of all those circumstances by which property is in the first instance acquired, and afterwards transferred. It is very evident, that these definitions are altogether as necessary and essential to the penal branch of law, as to the non-penal; but, as society presents many more occasions for the operations of non-penal, than of penal laws, the non-penal branch presented, of course, the most numerous occasions for the definitions in question; and hence it was, and not from any thing in the nature of the case, that, in the book of laws, they came to be joined with the civil branch, rather than with the penal. This conjunction, arbitrary as it is, has had the effect of making these definitions be considered, as themselves, a part of the civil law. And this it is which, to the legal eye, in the draught of civil law above exhibited, where, to these definitions no place is allotted, may present the appearance of a blank.

Amid the obscurity and confusion in which the ideas respecting law have hitherto been involved, it is no wonder that these definitions have been mistaken for law itself. So intimate has the association at last become, that it will require an effort of reflection from most of our readers, to perceive the distinction by which they are so widely and essentially divided from one another. By confounding the ideas, even the modes of expression have been confounded, and definitions presented in the language of commands. Thus, *property in land shall be conveyed by livery of seisin*;—this, though merely an evidentiary

By this account it appears, that the primary operation of the legislator, in regard to coercive law, is to calculate goods and evils. From this it follows, that minute and careful analysis is the only road by which he can arrive at the knowledge of the regulations, by which it is in his power to increase to the utmost the one, and diminish to the utmost the other. Generalization and synthesis are, no doubt, the operations which he employs for putting his laws into order,—for reducing them into the arrangement and form best adapted to general comprehension and recollection; for the construction, in short, of his code. But it is to analysis, and that of a species the most extensive, difficult and laborious, to which the faculties of man can be applied, that he must be indebted for the materials, of which a perfect code must be composed. And here lies the mistake of those who have hitherto applied themselves to the work of legislation. Their great business, they conceived, was that of code-making,—was that of generalization and synthesis,—putting together such crude or ready-made materials, as obvious considerations had suggested to others or to themselves; and introducing, perhaps, such detached amendments or supplements, as detached suggestions of utility recommended to them. But, to trace the ramifications of good and evil through the whole field of human action; and upon complete and accurate knowledge, thus derived, and thus alone derivable, to found complete and accurate rules for the augmentation of good, and the diminution of evil, has been a task which legislators and code-makers have, from the first of them, down to M. Bexon inclusive, never so much as thought of performing.

Mr Bentham, indeed, (of whose system we have given a very full account in the first article of our 4th volume), is the only author who has attempted this most difficult and most important analysis; and, imperfect as his success has necessarily been, we have no hesitation in saying, that he has done more to elucidate the

 true

evidentiary formality, is talked of as the command of the legislature. What, however, the law says on this occasion, is in the way of definition solely. In defining property in land, it was necessary to specify, both what was essential to its first constitution, and what to its subsequent transmission;—and this latter, by the law of England, cannot be accomplished without *livery of seisin*. But, that this maxim is laid down substantially in the way of definition, and not of command, is evident from this, that the legislature commands no one either to give or take seisin. What it commands is merely, that land, of which seisin has been taken, shall be considered as the property of the man to whom it is so conveyed; that land, of which seisin has not been thus taken, &c. shall not be so considered.

true grounds of legislative interference, than all the jurists who had gone before him.

When, according to this plan, the legislator sits down to compose a code of simply coercive, or of non-penal laws, his object is, to find out all those actions of men, the doing of which, and all those the not doing of which, would be followed by so much evil, as to surpass what would follow from the means necessary to compel, in each instance, the doing of the one, and the not doing of the other. In this investigation, he has two main points to consider; first, the evil to which each action has a tendency to give birth; next, the evil to which those coercive means he would employ for preventing it, would have a tendency to give birth. These, it is his business to compare; and, wherever he finds the evil produced by the action, to surpass the evil producible by the means necessary to prevent it, there to establish his coercive law.

Of those actions which are the object of coercion without punishment, the principal class are of the negative kind; the non-payment of debts, the non-performance of contracts in general. The principal part of them, too, refer to property; the non-performance of investitive acts, interception of property, various instances of the usurpation of property, and so on. In regard to acts, the tendency of which is to produce mischief with respect to person, with respect to reputation, or to condition, punishment may, in general, be employed with advantage; and by consequence, they belong to the head of penal law. There are certain acts fit to be commanded for the service of the community; of which the payment of taxes is the principal: these are, for the most part, the object of simply coercive law. There are certain other acts, which may be denominated semi-public; such as contributing to maintain the parochial poor, removing nuisances, &c.; which are likewise the object of coercive non-penal law.

Of the whole field of action, the tendency of which is to produce good or evil, having thus disposed of two great divisions, that to which even coercion cannot be applied with profit, and that to which coercion may be applied with profit, but punishment cannot, there remains one other division, that to which both coercion and punishment may be applied with profit; that is to say, of which the tendency to produce evil is so great, that the prevention of them by punishment will prevent more evil than that to which the punishment is likely to give birth.

In drawing the line by actual law between those cases in which coercion would be useful, but punishment not, as well as between those in which coercion would be useful, and those in which it would not, there must always be something arbitrary; as nature

has

has pointed out no strongly marked boundary between them. But, provided the general principle is followed faithfully as a guide, any small encroachment upon the one side or the other cannot be of great importance. If the legislator, for example, in drawing up the list of actions which he deems meet for punishment, should include a few cases which it would have been better to have left for simple coercion; as these will be among the most mischievous of the kind belonging to the head of simple coercion, and among the least mischievous of the kind marked out for punishment, the slight penalty which the legislator will apply will not produce evil beyond the good, in any but the slightest degree. On the other hand, if he should leave under the coercive head a few of those cases to which it would have been good to have applied punishment; as these would have been among those to which the gentlest punishment would have been assigned, the degree of evil which can take place through want of it, and which coercion cannot prevent, can never be of much importance.

In the account which M. Bexon has rendered of the principles which guided him, and which ought to guide others in the construction of a penal code, the principal topics are the following.

'I. Principes Generaux; * II. Des Auteurs, des Complices et des Fauteurs, des Delits et des Crimes; III. Des Peines en general, et du mode de leur execution; IV. De la Recidive; V. De l'influence de l'age sur le caractere et la durée des Peines; VI. De l'autorité paternelle et de famille, dans ses rapports avec le Code Criminel, et d'un tribunal de famille; VII. Du Devoir des Juges, dans l'application et la graduation des peines; des Circonstances excusantes, attenuantes, et aggravantes; VIII. Des Actions et de leur prescription; IX. Des Absens ou Contumax, et de la prescription des condemnations; X. Des Frais des Procés Criminels, et des dommages—interêts; XI. De la Grace; XII. De la diminution de la durée des peines, pendant leur cours, ou de la remission que le coupable peut obtenir par son travail et son repentir; XIII. De la Rehabilitation.'

The very order in which these topics are set down for consideration, affords sufficient indication of the confusion in which his ideas on the subject floated in the head of the author. The Second, the Fourth, the Ninth topics, refer to offenders, to certain shades of delinquency. The Third, the Fifth, the Eleventh, and from that to the end, refer to punishments. The Sixth has a joint reference to crimes, the crimes of a particular class of persons, and a particular tribunal for the correction of them. The Seventh has a joint reference to delinquency and punishments.

* Of these we have presented a specimen in the leading articles, on which we made some observations in a preceding page.

The Eighth and Tenth refer, principally, neither to crimes nor punishments, but to procedure.

Into the numberless particulars of so extensive a field the nature of the present undertaking absolutely prohibits us from entering. The deficiencies of M. Bexon may be shortly characterized; but to supply them, or to trace them minutely in detail, would be a task to which our limits are far from commensurate. The particulars which here, as elsewhere, M. Bexon presents to view, will not be without utility to the man, who brings mind along with him, to extract from them, for himself, the conclusions which the philosophic survey of them is calculated to yield: but the reflections with which M. Bexon himself accompanies them, are of the same vague and insufficient sort of which we have already presented specimens, in sufficient, and more than sufficient, abundance.

III. Penal Code.—We come now to that of which, from the nature of the thing, it is possible for us, in the execution of such a duty as ours, to give but a very imperfect account,—the penal code itself. An idea of it, however, not altogether uninstructive, it will be, we think, in our power to convey, in a very moderate compass.

There are two principles of arrangement upon which a code may be drawn up. Crimes may be classified either according to their objects, or according to their malignity; that is, the degrees of punishment of which they appear to stand in need. M. Bexon has made use of both. His division according to the objects is threefold;—according to the degrees it is the same. According to the objects, it is into crimes, I. Against the Public; II. Against Persons; III. Against things. According to the degrees, it is into, 1. 'Contraventions et Fautes; 2. Delits; 3. Crimes.' The mode in which the two are united is as follows. The classification according to the objects, serves to divide the book, in the usual manner, into chapters, here called titles. Thus, Title I. containing crimes against the public, begins at p. 1. and runs on through a great number of pages. Title II. containing crimes against persons, begins where Title I. ends; and so with regard to Title III. All this is common and convenient. But M. Bexon, as he goes on with these titles, *divides each of his pages into three columns*; and according as he takes up one after another, each species of offence exhibits three diversities of it, provided it has so many, each in its separate column; one column being entitled 'Contraventions et Fautes;' another 'Delits;' and another 'Crimes.' Wherever the particular head of delinquency does not admit of so many varieties, one, or if it so happen, two, of the columns are left blank.

Both

Both divisions are imperfect in the highest degree; and the mode in which they are here united, produces complexity, without any corresponding advantage.

As to the division according to the objects of the crimes, it is taken from the old and hackneyed division of the Roman law, the *Jura personarum*, Jura rerum, &c.; with that distinction of crimes public from crimes private, which modern lawyers have since introduced. This antiquated arrangement, thus slavishly adopted by M. Bexon, has always appeared to us to be equally irreconcileable with the principles of logic and of utility. 'Crimes against the Public,' and 'Crimes against Persons,'—How are these to be distinguished? Are not many crimes against the public, crimes against persons? Are not many crimes against persons, crimes against the public? This is to confuse, not to divide. Accordingly, so completely confused is M. Bexon, that a large proportion of the crimes which he sets down as crimes against the public, are strictly crimes against individuals: false imprisonment, for example—rape, and so on. The same confusion has place between crimes against the public, and crimes against things. In fact, if persons and things are taken as the ground of arrangement, it is absurd to add the public as a separate head. Accordingly, the Roman lawyers fell into no such blunder. This invention was reserved for the enlightened and logical minds of the modern servants of justice. They did not perceive that public crimes would, upon this plan, be only a subdivision of the other heads, and were included under them; that crimes against persons, for example, were divided into, 1. Public; 2. Private; and that those, against things, admitted of a similar distinction.

It may not be without its use to take notice of a still more notable distinction between public and private wrongs, the most notable that ever was invented,—the grand distinction made by the English law. It is neither more nor less than this, that all those wrongs which are the object of non-penal law are private, and all those which are the object of penal law are public. How any thing so contrary as this to the distinctions which subsist among things could have been thought of, not to say introduced, would appear very extraordinary. But there is an engine in the hands of English lawyers, for which no triumph over reason is too hard. This potent instrument, we mean, is Fiction. Only feign that all acts of such a description as to require punishment are 'crimes against the king's peace, or his crown and dignity,' * and

* See Blackstone, B. I. ch. 7. and b. 4. ch. 1.

and that all acts which require only coercion and not punishment, are not 'offences againſt the king's peace, or againſt his crown and dignity,' and you have eſtabliſhed your diſtinction beyond the power of ſubverſion. The miſchief, however, which is wrought among the Engliſh people by this unnatural figment, might, if this were the proper place for it, be eaſily ſhown to be of great amount.

But, beſides this incongruity of making a head for public offences when they are included under other heads, there is an inconſiſtency no leſs glaring between the heads, of crimes againſt perſons, and crimes againſt things. In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech there can be no crimes againſt things: crimes againſt things, are crimes againſt perſons, as connected with things. It is obvious, upon the firſt hearing, that there can be no crimes but againſt ſentient beings; and the caſe of the inferior animals may be conſidered by itſelf.

In regard to the ſecond principle of claſſification, the degrees of malignity, or of demand for puniſhment in crimes, the author has only marked three diſtinctions; whereas the diverſities capable of being marked, and that ought to be marked, are exceedingly numerous. This diviſion, therefore, even if the lines of ſeparation were as well defined as they are ill defined,—goes ſo little a way, that it can be of ſcarcely any uſe, or rather, to ſpeak plain, of no uſe at all. A plain queſtion will ſet this in its proper light. Has M. Bexon only three diverſities of puniſhment, as he has but three diverſities of malignity in crime? On the contrary, he has a very great number; and as theſe are neceſſarily diſtributed among his columns without rule, this real confuſion, mixed with the pretended order of the threefold diviſion, rather thickens the perplexity, than in any degree ſerves to diſentangle it. A counterpart to this diviſion, in reſpect to the degrees of delinquency, if not the model from which it was borrowed, may be found indeed in the Roman law, in reſpect to the degrees of evidence; 1. Probatio plena; 2. Minus plena; 3. Semiplena; 4. Major ſemiplena; 5. Minor ſemiplena;—(See Heineccii Pand. P. iv. 117.) The copy, however, does not come up to the original; inaſmuch as the Roman names ſerve in ſome meaſure to mark the diſtinctive characters of the objects meant to be diſtinguiſhed. The French names have no ſuch effect; for, in common uſe, they are for the moſt part interchangeable.

This very want of clear and expreſſive names, appears to us to preclude all idea of arranging a penal code according to the magnitude or atrocity of the offences deſcribed in it. Yet it might be of uſe to annex to the code itſelf a table, exhibiting a liſt of the crimes, with their reſpective puniſhments, drawn up according

ing

ing to their degrees, beginning at the lowest degree, and ending at the highest. This would be an instructive monitor, exhibiting, at one view, the whole field of interdicted action, and the dangers which, at every part of that field, the infringement of the interdiction brings along with it.

To enter into any detail of particulars so numerous as those which enter into a criminal code, with a view to show its perfections on the one hand, or its defects on the other, would, it is manifest, be an undertaking too extensive by far, for any such design as that which at present engages us. A few very general reflections is all that we can now offer. The author's general notions of punishment are more nearly correct than those which he has expressed on any other branch of the subject. The beneficent ideas which the best authors have disseminated, are those which, for the most part, he has endeavoured to apply; and he has, at least, approximated towards a good application. From unqualified praise, however, even on this point, there are large deductions to be made. The pain of death, for example, is distributed with rather an unsparing hand. An instrument of punishment, so liable to do evil rather than good, so incapable to do any good which might not be better accomplished by other means, as the pillory, that characteristic invention of a barbarous age, he carefully retains, and puts to extensive use. He decides for the power of pardoning, that is, the power of weakening the efficacy of the laws; though, in a former work, he had violently condemned it. But at that time, he tells us, France had no sovereign!—Such is the apology which, upon taking notice, as he does, of his own inconsistency, he thinks it sufficient to make for it.

The vagueness of his notions leads him to mix with his penal enactments a variety of such as necessarily belong to the non-penal branch of law, and even a variety of such as belong to procedure merely. Nay, which is more heterogeneous still, mere elucidations, instead of being exhibited as elucidations, in notes, or according to any other convenient arrangement distinct from the text of the law, are engrossed into the code as part of that text, and are not easily distinguished from the penal mandates with which they are incorporated.

Of all qualities in a legislator, the faculty of defining with clearness and accuracy, of marking strongly, in words, the boundary of the legal prescription, so that all men may, as certainly as possible, distinguish the actions which it includes, and the actions which it does not include, is one of the greatest importance. A vague law, as far as its vagueness extends, is not merely equivalent to the absence of law, but is a great deal worse. It leaves the power of the judge arbitrary, and covers the arbitrary exercise of that power

power with the ſemblance of law. Were the judge called upon to decide without a law, his deciſion would be watched, and tied at the formidable bar of public opinion. When he can hold up a law, by the vague *words* of which, he can ſhow that his deciſion is in ſome ſenſe allowed, at whatever expenſe to juſtice he may thereby have gratified any of his ſiniſter deſigns, the blame is immediately ſuppoſed to be altogether, or nearly, removed from his ſhoulders. In this reſpect, the extent to which vagueneſs prevails among the mental habits of M. Bexon, diſqualified him, to a lamentable degree, for the taſk he has undertaken. Happily, of the caſes compoſing the object of penal law, by far the greater number are diſtinguiſhed by lines ſo broad and ſtrong, that almoſt any hand ſuffices to point them out. But in all theſe, in which the work of definition was a work of difficulty and ſkill, the performance of M. Bexon has little claim to applauſe. Among the inſtances of greateſt importance, we may ſpecify his laws relating to the liberty of conſcience in matters of religion, to the liberty of the preſs, the reſpect due to the ſovereign, &c. On theſe laws, all ſecurity for liberty ultimately depends. Yet M. Bexon ſo words his propoſed enactments, on thoſe important heads, as to place, by mere vagueneſs, at the power of the governing men, almoſt every thing over which they would wiſh to domineer.

'Quiconque blâme l'autorité publiquement, ou repand le ridicule ſur les lois et les réglemens établis dans l'etat, de maniere à affaiblir ou à faire mépriser le pouvoir, commet un delit.' (*Code de Sureté*, &c. liv. iv. tit. 1. art. 14).

Under theſe looſe and flexible phraſes—of 'publicly blaming authority'—of 'throwing ridicule on the regulations of the ſtate'—of 'weakening power, or of expoſing it to contempt,'—it is abundantly evident, that every ſpecies of criticiſm on public men and public meaſures may be puniſhed; and all the ſecurity for good government, which depends on the controul of public cenſure, cut off as effectually as it might be in England, by a law which ſhould inflict puniſhment, if ſuch a thing could be ſuppoſed, for publiſhing an opinion, that 'any high character, in a high ſituation, is unfit for his place,' or for publiſhing any thing 'by which the feelings of another might be hurt.' Again,

'Quiconque, par diſcours tenus publiquement, ou par des écrits, affichés ou diſtribués, imprimés ou non, ou par expoſition, vente, debit, ou diſtribution de chanſons, figures ou images, aura attaqué ou violé les principes de la ſureté générale, de la paix publique ou de la morale univerſelle, ou aura provoqué au delit ou au crime, eſt coupable d'un delit.' (*Ibid.* art. 92.)

Here, again, under the vague phraſes—of 'violating the principles of general ſecurity,'—or of 'public peace,'—or of 'univerſal

sal morality,'—a privilege is given to men in power to prosecute every writing which is disagreeable to them; and complete license is extended to the judge to give the colour of law to any decision by which men in power may be gratified; just as in England, the same privilege, and the same license, might be secured by a law, punishing any writing tending to 'disturb the public peace'—'contrary to good order'—or 'good morals'—or 'contrary to religion.'

Far, however, as this specimen of a penal code is from perfection—from that perfection which there is now light enough in Europe to bestow,—yet, compare it with the old systems—compare it, for example, with the *Lois Penales* of old France, or of any other continental country—and its excellence can hardly receive praises too strong. The utility of the whole community, not that of any particular classes, is the object constantly held in view, and to a considerable, though still imperfect degree, attained. Imaginary crimes are excluded. Punishment is not awarded according to the dictates of caprice, or of a blind antipathy, or a sinister interest, but of reason; calculating, with more or less exactness, but still sincerely, the greatest possible prevention of evil.

The greatest advantage, however, of all, and an advantage which—had the execution been many times more imperfect than it is—would have been beyond all price, is—the possession of the penal laws in an express, and (till altered by legislative authority) an exclusive set of words. Uncertainty, obscurity, and the range of arbitrary power in the hands of the judge—arbitrary power, in its very worst shape—masked with the vizard of the law,—are thus narrowed, how vague soever the definitions, to a compass, which is as nothing, when compared with the almost boundless dominion they usurp, while the law is unwritten, or common; while it is yet, as in the most barbarous states of society, fixed by no express form of words; and by consequence is, in many of the most important respects, whatever the judge chuses, by inference, from a vast and varying mass of decisions or cases, to say that former judges have made it.

ART. VII. *The Remains of Hesiod the Ascræan, translated from the Greek into English Verse; with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes.* By Charles Abraham Elton. 1809.

THE reputation of Hesiod has in all ages rested more upon another's merit than his own. Like that steed of mortal birth, who was matched with coursers of divine pedigree in the chariot of Achilles—

Ὁς κεν θνητὸς ων, επεσ' ἵπποις αθανατοιαι—

he

he has run his race to posterity in the best company. Homer and Hesiod have been familiarly named together, for more than two thousand years, as the twin parents of Grecian poetry. Yet this celebrity of his name has not altogether extended to his writings, which, in general, are not much noticed even by classical scholars.

The poems attributed to Hesiod are three: the Works and Days, the Theogony, and the Shield of Hercules. Of the poet himself, scarcely any thing is known. When the Greeks, about the sixth century before our era, awaked to science and letters, they were attracted by the excellence of some of their traditionary poetry. What bore the name of Homer, shone unrivalled: but, after Homer, they held in respect certain antient lays of a Bœotian, named Hesiod. But several ages of darkness had intervened; and as Greece had neither any history, nor even any public amusements so early as A. C. 600, there was nothing but the faint and vague light of tradition to direct their curiosity. How little this has availed to determine the character and age of Homer, is well known; and as much less solicitude was felt about Hesiod, it is natural that, with respect to him, at least equal ignorance should have prevailed. All that can be conjectured is from the evidence of his own writings. He lived, it seems, at Ascra near Helicon, which may perhaps have been the occasion of his devoting himself to serve the ladies of the manor. It may be inferred that his era was much later than that of the Trojan and Theban wars, since he ranks the heroes concerned in those exploits as a sort of demigods, who preceded the iron age of man's degeneracy. If, therefore, our common chronology can be trusted as to those obscure fragments of past times, we cannot place Hesiod earlier than 900 or 1000 years before Christ. On the other hand, there are in the whole poem of the Works and Days, obvious traces of an imperfect stage of society. The government of his country seems to have been a semi-patriarchal monarchy, in which the office of judge was the most prominent part of the kingly character. No allusion is found to any art, except those necessary to agriculture and clothing; while the moral precepts are partly uncouth and unintelligible superstitions, partly those simple rules of prudence and decency, which could hardly have been required beyond the infancy of civilized life. Compared with Homer, our Bœotian poet is indisputably more rude in these respects, as well as in his language and prosody: yet we cannot perhaps infer from hence his greater antiquity, since the same defects may have proceeded from the comparative barbarism of that part of Greece wherein he dwelt. Of the sea, though he gives some directions for shipbuilding, Hesiod professes himself ignorant: but we cannot doubt that Homer was acquainted with various regions, and master of whatever

whatever knowledge and politeness that age of the world afforded. This exceeding simplicity, indeed, is perhaps the chief recommendation of the Works and Days. It seems a relic of remote times and primitive manners, which strike us perhaps more in a philosophical view, thus nakedly displayed, than when shadowed out in the splendid fictions of the Odyssey.

As a poet, Hesiod is remarkably unequal. Nothing can be more stupid than his georgical precepts in the Works and Days, or his catalogue of divinities in the Theogony. Yet the Prosopopœia of Justice in the former, and the combat of Gods and Titans in the latter, rise to considerable sublimity. It must be confessed, that before the artifices of a poet's trade were discovered, the just dimensions of a plough, or even the fifty daughters of Nereus, were most impracticable themes. But his brother Bœotians took all in good part: bad verses, like black bread, will easily go down where the taste is unpalled by satiety of what is better; and indeed the early Greeks were so far from slighting Hesiod, that they coined a silly story of a poetical contest in which he carried the prize from Homer.

The present translator has had two predecessors in his task. Chapman, the first who made Homer English, produced a version also of the Works and Days. This, like his Homer, is executed with much fire and strength of language; but is obscure and uncouth, and not always faithful to the sense. It is now an exceedingly scarce book. Some extracts are given, in the Appendix to Mr Elton's translation. Another was made by Cooke about the middle of the last century. This is well known; and has been republished in Anderson's Collection of Poets. Cooke, however, was a hero of the Dunciad; and his translation of Hesiod will not remove him from 'that bad eminence.' Mr Elton pelts him unmercifully throughout his notes, and seems a little too solicitous to prove a superiority which no one is likely to question. It is a very poor triumph to excel a graduated *Dunce* like Cooke; and would not, we fear, of itself place the present translation on a respectable footing. It has, however, considerable intrinsic merit. What inducement a man of Mr Elton's apparent talents and power of versification can have had to so ungrateful a task, we do not divine; nor do we dare to flatter him with the hope, that Hesiod, who has long been neglected in Greek, will now become popular in English. But a few extracts, which we shall make, will evince, that Mr Elton is competent to more interesting works of translation.

No passage in the Theogony has been so justly celebrated as the battle of the Titans, in which it is not uninteresting to observe 'th' access of that celestial thief' Milton, who had obviously fill-

ed his imagination with it, before he wrote the sixth book of Paradise Lost.

'All on that day roús'd infinite the war,
Female and male; the Titan deities,
The gods from Saturn sprung, and those whom Jove
From subterraneous gloom releas'd to light:
Terrible, strong, of force enormous; burst
A hundred arms from all their shoulders huge:
From all their shoulders fifty heads upsprang
O'er limbs of sinewy mould. They then array'd
Against the Titans in fell combat stood,
And in their nervous grasps wielded aloft
Precipitous rocks. On th' other side alert
The Titan phalanx clos'd: then hands of strength
Join'd prowess, and display'd the works of war.
Tremendous then th' immeasurable sea
Roar'd; earth resounded; the wide heaven throughout
Groan'd shattering: from its base Olympus vast
Reel'd to the violence of gods: the shock
Of deep concussion rock'd the dark abyss
Remote of Tartarus: the shrilling din
Of hollow tramplings, and strong battle strokes,
And measureless uproar of wild pursuit.
So they reciprocal their weapons hurl'd
Groan-scattering; and the shout of either host
Burst in exhorting ardour to the stars
Of heaven; with mighty war-cries either host
Encountering clos'd.
Nor longer then did Jove
Curb his full power; but instant in his soul
There grew dilated strength, and it was fill'd
With his omnipotence. At once he loos'd
His whole of might, and put forth all the god.
The vaulted sky, the mount Olympian, flash'd
With his continual presence; for he pass'd
Incessant forth, and scatter'd fires on fires.
Hurl'd from his hardy grasp, the lightnings flew
Reiterated, swift; the whirling flash
Cast sacred splendour; and the thunderbolt,
Fell, roar'd around the nurture-yielding earth
In conflagration, far on every side.
Th' immensity of forests crackling blaz'd:
Yea, the broad earth burn'd red, the streams that mix
With ocean, and the deserts of the sea;
Round and around the Titan brood of earth,
Roll'd the hot vapour on its fiery surge;
The liquid heat, air's pure expanse divine

Suffus'd: the radiance keen of quivering flame
That shot from writhen lightnings, each dim orb,
Strong though they were, intolerable smote,
And scorch'd their blasted vision. Through the void
Of Erebus, the preternatural glare
Spread, mingling fire with darkness. But to see
With human eye, and hear with ear of man,
Had been, as if midway the spacious heaven,
Hurtling with earth, shock'd—e'en as nether earth
Crash'd from the centre, and the wreck of heaven
Fell ruining from high. So vast the din,
When, gods encountering gods, the clang of arms
Commingled, and the tumult roar'd from heaven.' p. 111.

This is very splendid poetry, and rendered with extraordinary spirit. There are, indeed, in this poem of Hesiod, several descriptions which deserve to be better known.

The fables of classical mythology lose great part of their impression upon our minds, from the long acquaintance which we have had with them, and their trivial or burlesque application. But those which are less familiar, as some in the Theogony, are full as wildly sublime as any of the Gothic romances which have lately become more popular. The images of Day and Night gliding alternately athwart the brazen portal of the wall that encircles the world, and of the murky prison in which the Titans were pent up by Jupiter, under the custody of strong-armed giants, are conceived with a vigorous fancy. Even Cerberus, of whom we are used to think as little worse than a vulgar mastiff, shows, in the following lines, a certain insidiousness of character, for which it is right to be prepared.

'A grisly dog,
Implacable, holds watch before the gates;
Of guile malicious. Them who enter there,
With tail and bended ears he fawning soothes;
But suffers not that they with backward step
Repass: whoe'er would issue from the gates
Of Pluto strong and stern Persiphone,
For them, with marking eye, he lurks; on them
Springs from his couch, and pitiless devours.' p. 118.

The Works and Days have been translated by Mr Elton in rhymed verse. We do not think him altogether so successful in this poem as in the Theogony; but the incredible obstinacy of his text may well be pleaded in excuse. What is dull, cannot be moulded into liveliness; what is absurd, cannot be clothed with meaning. In brief maxims of agriculture and domestic economy, we expect, indeed, a good deal of aridity; but the nonsense

of Hesiod is intolerable. The following is a just specimen of the poet of Asera in his worst moments.

'The twenty-ninth to broach the cask is best;
The prudent secret is to few confest.
Then yoke thy steers; thy mules in harness bind,
And coursers, hoof'd with fleetness of the wind.
Let the swift ship with numerous banks of oars
Be launch'd this day along the sandy shores.
Yet few this day entirely faithful deem.
Draw on the fourth thy wine's well-flavour'd stream;
Holy the fourteenth day beyond the rest;
The twenty-fourth o'er all at morning best;
Few know the secret truth: and worst the day
When great the fervour of the noon-tide ray.' p. 196.

Yet there are oases even in this poem, and frequent marks, that if Hesiod was prosaic, it was more from negligence than coldness of fancy. He even rises to philosophical observation, in his comparison of Emulation and Discord, the two Strifes, as he calls them, which are of sisterly birth, though the source of opposite effects upon mankind. But this poet, doomed to be unequal in reason as well as imagery, stoops from this flight to those senseless superstitions of which we have given an example. There are some excellent lines upon Winter; which Addison, as Mr Elton observes, has unjustly ridiculed. We will not quote them in the present translation, because we think it rather wordy. The last couplet but one, of the following extract, is liable to the same objection: the rest, however, is, we think, very elegant.

'When the green artichoke ascending flow'rs;
When in the sultry season's toilsome hours,
Perch'd on a branch beneath his veiling wings,
With shrill sweet note Cicade frequent sings;
Then the plump goat a savoury food bestows,
The poignant wine in mellowest flavour flows;
Wanton the blood then bounds in woman's veins,
But weak of man the heat-enfeebled reins;
Full on his brain descends the solar flame;
Unnerves the languid knees, and all the frame
Exhaustive dries away:—O then be thine
The grotto's arching gloom, the Byblian wine.
Let kneaded milk-cakes, and the milk that flows
Defrauded from the kid, thy feast compose;
Let heifers young their tender flesh afford,
Fed on the forest-browze, and kidlings crown the board.
With dainty food so saturate thy soul,
And drink the wine dark-mantling in the bowl;
While in the coolness of the shade reclin'd,
Thy face is turn'd to catch the breathing wind,

And

And feel the fresh'ning brook that sparkling glides
With living waters and transparent tides.
To fill the goblet from the wave be thine
Three parts; the fourth may flow with brimming wine.' p. 179.

There are a few instances of defective translation which have occurred to us in this poem: Αἰδὼς οὐκ ἀγαθὴ is improperly rendered Shame, p. 160; whereas it rather means, that diffidence and want of enterprize which unfits men from improving their fortune. In this sense it is opposed by Hesiod to Θαρσος, an active and courageous spirit. The following lines are not intelligible.

'In every compact be a witness near,
Though with thy brother, *for it shall appear*
As done in mirth; mistrust alike we find
And fond credulity destroy mankind.'

The original is sufficiently obscure; but it seems to convey an admonition, rather wary than generous, as is the custom of our Bœotian, not to suffer ourselves, in moments of good humour, to make a bargain even with our brother, unless in presence of a witness; and this sense is given by Cooke, whose translation of the passage is ridiculed by Mr Elton in a note.

Και τε κασιγνητῳ γελασας επι μαρτυρα θεσθαι.

Do not, by mirth betray'd, your brother trust;
Without a witness he may prove unjust. COOKE.

'He who trusts a woman,' says the uncivil poet, 'trusts to thieves.' It is a strangely affected way of expressing this dry sentiment, which Mr Elton has taken—'the thief is ambushed in her smile.'

There seems no reason to discredit the tradition of antiquity, that both these poems, the Theogony, and the Works and Days, proceeded from the same poet. They resemble each other in their inequalities of style, and in the cadence of their versification. Perhaps, too, we ought to believe, that such abuse of the fair sex as appears in each, and which is wholly unlike the courteous gallantry of Homer, could only proceed from one and the same ungracious pen. However, the introduction to the Theogony has been considered by many critics as a spurious addition, of an age much later than that of Hesiod; to which opinion we completely assent, not so much on account of its florid language, as a certain sweet and stately, but monotonous cadence, which characterizes almost all the later Greek poetry, and is easily distinguishable from that of Homer and Hesiod. But the third poem, attributed to the bard of Ascra, entitled, 'The Shield of Hercules,' is of a very different character from either of the others. Its authenticity has been judiciously discussed by the present translator, whose objections are founded upon its little resemblance to the general manner of Hesiod, and the strong marks of being ser-

vilely imitated from the Shield of Achilles. If any one should surmise, that Homer may have been the plagiary, it is sensibly replied by Mr Elton,

'Where two poems are found to bear so intimate a resemblance, as to preclude the belief of mere casual coincidence, the scale of originality must doubtless preponderate in favour of that which is the more simple in style and invention. Where a poem abounds with florid figures and irregular flights of imagination, it is inconceivable that a *copy* of that poem should exhibit a chaste simplicity of fancy; but it is highly natural, that an imitator should think to transcend his original by the aid of meritricious ornament; that he should mistake bombast for sublimity, and attempt to dazzle and astonish. Of this kind of elaborate refinement, a single instance will serve in illustration.

'Both poets encircle their buckler with the ocean. Robinson gives the preference to the author of the fragment; alleging, that his description is decorated with the utmost beauty of imagery, while that of Homer is not distinguished by any remarkable brilliancy, either of circumstance or diction. To the comparative simplicity of Homer I fully assent; and I consider it also as demonstrating the superiority of his judgment, and as thereby establishing, beyond dispute, the fact of his originality.' p. 24.

Yet he is inclined to consider the introductory passage, in celebration of Alcmena, and some other passages, as genuine fragments of Hesiodean poems, pieced together, as well as interpolated, by some later hand. Whatever may be the origin of the Shield of Hercules, it is, we think, a more pleasing poem than either of Hesiod's undisputed productions; and the translator has had to wrestle with comparatively few difficulties in giving it an English dress, of which its dilated and ornamental diction renders it easily susceptible. The following lines present a favourable specimen, both of the original and the version; they will recal to the poetical reader, several passages of Adam's vision in the 11th book of Paradise Lost, as well as in the prototype of both, the Shield of Achilles.

'But next arose
A well-tower'd city, by seven golden gates
Enclos'd, that fitted to their lintels hung.
There, men in dances and in festive joys
Held revelry. Some on the smooth-wheel'd car
A virgin bride conducted: then burst forth
Aloud the marriage-song; and far and wide
Long splendours flash'd from many a quivering torch
Borne in the hands of slaves. Gay-blooming girls
Preceded, and the dancers follow'd blithe:
These, with shrill pipe inden.ting the soft lip,
Breath'd melody, while broken echoes thrill'd

Around

Around them; to the lyre with flying touch
Those led the love-enkindling dance.
A group
Of youths was elsewhere imag'd, to the flute
Disporting; some in dances and in song,
In laughter others. To the minstrel's flute
So pass'd they on: and the whole city seem'd
As fill'd with pomps, with dances, and with feasts.
Others again, without the city-walls,
Vaulted on steeds, and madden'd for the goal.
Others as husbandmen appear'd, and broke
With coulter the rich glebe, and gather'd up
Their tunics neatly girded.
Next arose
A field thick set with depth of corn; where some
With sickle reap'd the stalks, their spiry heads
Bent, as with pods weigh'd down of swelling grain,
The fruits of Ceres.
Others into bands
Gather'd, and threw upon the thrashing floor
The sheaves.
And some again hard-by were seen
Holding the vine-sickle, who clusters cut
From the ripe vines, which from the vintagers
Others in pails receiv'd, or bore away
In baskets thus up-pil'd the cluster'd grapes,
Or black, or pearly white, cut from deep ranks
Of spreading vines, whose tendrils curling twin'd
In silver, heavy-foliag'd: near them rose
The ranks of vines, by Vulcan's curious craft
Figur'd in gold. The vines leaf-shaking curl'd
Round silver props. They therefore on their way
Pass'd jocund, to one minstrel's flageolet,
Burthen'd with grapes that blacken'd in the sun.
Some also trod the wine-press, and some quaff'd
The foaming must.
But in another part
Were men who wrestled, or in gymnic fight
Wielded the cæstus.
Elsewhere men of chase
Were taking the fleet hares; two keen-tooth'd dogs
Bounded beside: these ardent in pursuit,
Those with like ardour doubling on their flight.
Next them were knights, who painful effort made
To win the prize of contest and hard toil.
High o'er the well-compacted chariots hung
The charioteers; the rapid horses loos'd
At their full stretch, and shook the floating reins.

Rebounding from the ground with many a shock
Flew clattering the firm cars, and creak'd aloud
The naves of the round wheels. They therefore toil'd
Endless; nor conquest yet at any time
Achiev'd they, but a doubtful strife maintain'd.
In the mid-course the prize, a tripod huge,
Was plac'd in open sight, insculpt of gold:—
These glorious works had Vulcan artful wrought.'

Upon the whole, we are disposed to give Mr Elton credit for considerable skill in versification. Indeed, though his translation is close, sometimes too close for perspicuity, it seems at least equal to the original. His blank verse, in which he excels more than in the couplet, is of a good structure; bearing a general, but not servile resemblance to Milton, with a little cast of some of Mr Southey's peculiarities of expression, and some of the daring expletives of Cowper. The notes appear to be chiefly compiled from the various editors of Hesiod; but some of the extracts from Bryant's Mythology might have been omitted without injury. If the conjectures of that scholar were as solid as they are ingenious, they are still but part of a great system of erudition, and seem misplaced by way of illustrating a single poet.

ART. VIII. *An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany.* By James Edward Smith, M. D. F. R. S., &c. &c., President of the Linnean Society. 8vo. pp. 557. Second Edition. Longman & Co. London, 1809.

IT is not very long since we took occasion to lay before our readers * an account of an elementary treatise on Botany by Professor Willdenow, of Berlin. We are now to make them acquainted with a similar book, of home manufacture; and, as we sincerely think, of still higher pretensions. Its author is not merely the President of the Linnean Society, as announced in the title-page, but he is the possessor of the herbarium, library, and manuscripts of Linnæus himself. He is also the author of the *Flora Britannica*,—perhaps the most complete and correct catalogue and description, ever published, of the plants of any country. He is, besides, the author or editor of an elegant book on foreign plants, entitled *Exotic Botany*; and he has published the first part of a *Flora Græca*, from materials left by his lamented friend Dr Sibthorpe. It is evident, that the habits and experience which are necessarily implied in the composition of such works, must have given

* Vol. xi. p. 73, et seq.

given Dr Smith peculiar advantages for the task which he has now undertaken; and when it is considered that he has also, for several years past, alternately filled the botanical chair at Liverpool, and at the Royal Institution, London, and must therefore have studied the best means of conveying popular information on the subject, it is impossible not to feel, that an elementary treatise, from his pen, if executed in a manner worthy of himself must prove a very acceptable present to all lovers of the science; and that an elaborate apology for multiplying such books, was something more than unnecessary from such a quarter. The work, accordingly, we observe, has already reached a second edition, and appears to us to deserve a pretty full analysis.

The first chapter treats 'of the distinction between animals, vegetables and fossils, and of the vital principle essential to the two former.' The author opens this trite, but somewhat perilous subject, with remarking, that 'those who, with a philosophical eye, have contemplated the productions of nature, have all, by common consent, divided them into *three* great classes, called the Animal, the Vegetable, and the Mineral Kingdom;' and that 'these terms are still in general use; and the most superficial observer must be struck with their propriety.' The old systematical writers, no doubt, employed this threefold division; but of late we have heard more of a *fourth* class, proposed, we believe, several years ago, by an acute and learned Professor in this University, to be called the Gaseous Kingdom; an addition which seems to be rendered indispensable by the wonderful progress of discovery in pneumatic chemistry. 'Superficial observers' we may possibly be accounted by Dr Smith; but we should like to know in which of his three great classes he would arrange those things called Hydrogen, Azote and Carbonic acid, about which he tells us so much in the course of his physiological chapters.

He appears to be duly aware of the wonderfully close analogy between the vegetable and animal creation; but, in stating the claims of the former, while he passes over in silence the Linnean dogma, 'Vegetabilia, corpora non sentientia,' he avoids the opposite extreme of the author of the Phytologia, and contents himself with this modest query, 'May not the exercise of the *vital* functions of plants be attended with *some* degree of sensation, however low, and *some* consequent share of happiness?' We are so far from objecting to the moderate postulate that is here made in behalf of vegetables, that we would answer, with our ingenious countryman Smellie,—that '*life*, without *some* degree of sensation, is an incomprehensible idea.' The plants which exhibit the greatest sensibility to external impressions, are the Mimosa sensitiva and pudica, Hedysarum gyrans, Oxalis sensitiva, and Smithia sensitiva,

all of which have pinnated leaves. An impression made on one of the leaflets is communicated in succession to all of them; 'convincing,' in Dr Smith's opinion, 'an exquisite irritability; for it is in vain to attempt any mechanical solution of the phenomenon.'

'The Hedysarum gyrans has a spontaneous motion in its leaves, independent of any external stimulus, even of light; and only requiring a very warm, still atmosphere, to be performed in perfection. Each leaf is ternate; and the small lateral leaflets are frequently moving up and down, either equally or by jerks, without any uniformity or cooperation among themselves. It is difficult to guess at the purpose which this singular action is designed to answer to the plant itself: its effect on a rational beholder cannot be indifferent.'

'Like all his predecessors, Dr Smith finds it exceedingly difficult to lay down a satisfactory criterion between animal and vegetable life. He is extremely delighted, however, with a remark of M. Mirbel, * which we shall lay before our readers, because the Doctor has declared that it exhibits a criterion to which he has in vain sought any exception. 'Plants alone,' says M Mirbel, 'have a power of deriving nourishment, though not indeed exclusively, from *inorganic* matter—mere earths, salts or airs; substances certainly incapable of serving as food for any animals, the latter only feeding on what is or has been organized matter, either of a vegetable or animal nature: so that it should seem to be the office of vegetable life alone, to transform dead matter into organized living bodies.' We are not sure but the vulgar and well known fact, of gold fishes, leeches, and some other animals, continuing lively and vigorous for great lengths of time, when confined in jars filled with pure spring water, is sufficient to invalidate M. Mirbel's hypothesis; for these *animals* seem to possess the power of deriving nourishment from inorganic matter. But, supposing M. Mirbel perfectly accurate, we are certainly far from regarding this as a test of easy application. It is evidently assumed, that we are always able to distinguish between the pabulum arising from the decomposition of organic, and that arising from inorganic matter. But this will, in very many cases, be found no easy task; and, indeed, will generally be quite impracticable when the pabulum presents itself in the gaseous form; and the infusory animalcula (if they be admitted to rank as animals) can scarcely be supposed capable of receiving aliment in any other form. Further, if plants alone have the power of deriving nourishment from *in*organic matter, 'mere earths, salts and airs,' it is rather puzzling that those *airs* and *salts* which have been considered as constituting the principal

* In his Traité d'Anatomie et de Physiologie Végétales.

cipal food of plants, should in reality arise chiefly from the decomposition of *organic* matters. We doubt much whether M. Mirbel's conclusion, that it is the office of vegetable life exclusively to transform dead matter into organized, be more admissible: for we have always considered it as more than probable, that the numerous tribes of corals must derive the means of forming their stems and branches (which in the tropical seas are of great size, and, considering the minuteness of the polypi, of a magnitude almost incredible) entirely from the calcareous matter held in solution in the waters of the ocean; and we think no one will dispute, that the quantity of lime found dissolved in the sea, can proceed only from the constant abrasion and decomposition of the great chains of 'inorganic' calcareous rocks along which it incessantly washes in different quarters of the globe.

We did expect that the great proportional abundance of nitrogen or azote in animal substances, would be fixed on as one mean of distinction. Accordingly, we find that this fact, though not directly stated, is indirectly alluded to; and is in reality the test to which the practical naturalist is ultimately referred. 'The simple expedient of *burning*,' says Dr Smith, 'will decide the question. The smell of a burnt bone, coralline, or other animal substance, is so peculiar, that it can never be mistaken, nor does any known vegetable give out the same odour.' (p. 6.) This expedient of burning is, it must be confessed, a very compendious method of solving a difficult problem. In a scientific book, however, it might have been explained, that the 'peculiar' smell here alluded to, is principally that of ammonia or volatile alkali; and that this ammonia is suddenly generated by the azote (which, as already noticed, is abundant in all animal substances) being here presented to hydrogen in a nascent state. It is, however, to be remembered, that some vegetable products, such as the gluten of wheat, caoutchouc, and the juice of the papaw-tree, give out, in burning, nearly the same peculiar smell afforded by animal matter. 'Of all the products of the vegetable system,' says Mr Murray,* 'the juice of the Carica papaya is the one which approaches most nearly to animal matter; and it might indeed be regarded as a variety of it, if its origin were not known. Exposed on burning fuel, it diffuses a very fetid ammoniacal odour, as animal substances do.'

In the succeeding chapter, we have a 'definition of natural history, and particularly of botany;' and then some remarks on the 'general texture of plants.' Botany is divided into three branches: '1st, The physiology of plants, or a knowledge of the structure

* System of Chemistry, vol. iv. p. 170–1. 1st edit.

structure and functions of their different parts: 2dly, The systematic arrangement and denomination of their several kinds: and, 3dly, Their economical and medical properties.' The tubular and cellular texture of vegetables is illustrated by a plate copied from Mirbel's Treatise already mentioned; the figures in which, we agree with the Doctor in regarding as incomparably more accurate than the microscopic delineations of Grew or Malpighi.

We now enter on a *general* view of the vegetable body, beginning at the external part, and proceeding inwards. Chapter third, therefore, treats 'of the cuticle or epidermis.' The term *cuticle*, the author seems to consider as having been borrowed by the anatomist from the botanist: we should rather suspect the plagiarism to lye the other way. But however this may be, the cuticle covers every part of the plant: it is nearly an incorruptible substance: it is probably destitute of the vital principle: it is porous in a greater or less degree in different plants: it is colourless: it is often cloathed with a sort of wool or hair; and it guards the plant against the undue action of the atmosphere. The analogy between the animal and the vegetable cuticle is particularly insisted on. 'In the former, it varies in thickness from the exquisitely delicate film which covers the eye, to the hard skin of the hand or foot, or the far courser covering of a tortoise or rhinoceros: in the latter, it is equally delicate on the parts of a flower, and scarcely less hard on the leaves of the pearly aloe, or coarse on the trunk of a plane-tree.'*—'It forms, in the vegetable, as well as the animal, a fine but essential barrier between life and destruction.'

Below the cuticle, we find 'the cellular integument,' the *tissu herbacé* of Mirbel, so named from its green colour. It is so far analogous to the *rete mucosum* of anatomists, that it is in general the seat of colour. But the analogy can be traced no further; for, in the cellular integument, 'the principal changes operated upon the juices of plants by light and air, and the consequent elaboration of all their peculiar secretions, take place.' Though this organ is of such importance in the vegetable economy, little attention has been paid to it till of late. Indeed, we recollect to have been taught, that it was probably only of some use in maintaining the succulence of the parts within!—We now get on to 'the bark.' Along with M. Mirbel and many botanists, we have been accustomed to speak of the cuticle and the cellular integument as forming parts of the bark; and what Dr Smith here emphatically distinguishes

* By *Plane-tree*, in Scotland, it may be remarked, is invariably understood the Acer pseudo-platanus, Great Maple or Sycamore. The plane-tree here alluded to by Dr Smith, however, must be either the Platanus occidentalis or orientalis; probably the former.

distinguishes as '*the* bark,' we have been in the habit of denominating its cortical layers. We mention these things merely to avoid ambiguity: we make no doubt, that the epidermis and the cellular tissue are both distinct original parts, independent of the bark, and are therefore properly separated in treating of them. As examples of very thick and of thin barks, the well known roots, carrots and turnips, are specified. 'In some roots the bark, though only of annual duration, is very thick, as in the carrot, the red part of which is all *bark*. In the turnip it is much thinner, though equally distinct from the wood or body of the root. We certainly make no objection to familiar illustrations; and should have thought the carrot a good example of a fusiform root, and the turnip of a tuberous one ending in a point. But we think it must sound rather paradoxical to a beginner, to hear of the *bark* of a carrot, and the *wood* of a turnip. The innermost layer of bark is the *liber*,—and here only do its vital operations go on: here, according to Dr Smith, are chiefly perfected the peculiar products of the plant, as gum, resin, tannin, cinchonin, and others. When mentioning the powers possessed by the bark, of renovating itself, and of closing up wounds made in it, Dr Smith takes occasion to pay a high compliment to the late Mr Forsyth of Kensington Gardens, whose experiments on decayed fruit-trees passed under his 'own actual observation,' and whose discoveries, we may add, were rewarded with abundant liberality by the British Parliament.

The next chapter treats 'of the wood.' We shall here only observe, in regard to the origin of wood, that Dr Smith totally rejects Linnæus's notion, that a new layer is secreted annually from the pith; and agrees with Du Hamel and the late Dr Hope, in considering it as a deposition from the liber. We shall add, in one short sentence, the detail of the experiment made by Dr Hope, both because we consider it as conclusive, and because we believe it will be new to many who, of late years, have studied botany in the gardens over which he presided. It was made on a branch of willow tree four years old.

'The bark was carefully cut through longitudinally on one side for the length of several inches; so that it might be slipped aside from the wood in the form of a hollow cylinder, the two ends being undisturbed. The edges of the bark were then united as carefully as possible, the wood covered from the air, and the whole bound up to secure it from external injury. After a few years, the branch was cut through transversely. The cylinder of bark was found lined with layers of new wood; whose number, added to those in the wood from which it had been stripped, made up the number of rings in the branch above and below the experiment.'

Chap. 7. is occupied with 'the medulla or pith.' Linnæus ascribed the most important functions to this part, regarding it as the

the seat of life, and the source of vegetation. Du Hamel, on the contrary, considered it only as an unimportant cellular substance; and most botanists have not supposed it to be otherwise useful than in maintaining a proper degree of moisture in the plant. Dr Smith professes to hold a middle opinion between these extremes; but he evidently inclines to that of Linnæus, and speaks of it as 'a reservoir of vital energy.'

In chapter 8. we have an account of the 'sap-vessels, and course of the sap; with Mr Knight's theory of vegetation.' By 'Mr Knight's theory of vegetation,' is here to be understood only his doctrine concerning the circulation of the sap, and the vascular system of plants. The sap is evidently to be considered as the blood of the plant. But much difficulty has been found in ascertaining in what vessels it flows. Malpighi, Grew, and Duhamel, supposed that it was conveyed by the woody fibres; overlooking the insuperable objection that no perforations are discernible in them. Dr Darwin first suggested that the longitudinal tubes, which had hitherto been considered as air-vessels, might in reality be vegetable absorbents. In the trunk and larger branches of a tree, these tubes run along the alburnum, and thence are sometimes called *alburnous vessels.* Near the extremities or twigs, they are accompanied by a spiral coat or line, and range themselves round the centre or pith. They have likewise this structure and situation in herbaceous plants. Mr Knight has therefore termed them *central vessels.* Dr Smith gives the simple name of *sap-vessels* to both kinds.

Darwin demonstrated their use by experiment. He placed leafy twigs of the fig-tree in decoctions of madder and logwood; and, on dissecting them a few hours afterwards, he found that the coloured liquid had ascended by the central vessels, and formed circles of red dots around the pith. Mr Knight having employed a finer and more penetrating dye, (an infusion in water of the skins of a very black sort of grape), was able to trace it, in cuttings of apple-tree and horse-chesnut, into the leaf itself.

The fluids, therefore, destined to nourish a plant, being absorbed by the root, and having become sap, are carried up into the leaves by the alburnous and central vessels; a particular set of central vessels appropriated to each leaf, branching off, a few inches below the leaf to which they belong, from the main channels that pass along the alburnum.

In the leaves, the sap is exposed to the action of the three powerful agents, light, air, and moisture, by which various changes are effected, or new secretions formed. These secretions not only endow the leaf itself with peculiar flavours and qualities, but are returned, as Mr Knight has shown, by another set of vessels, into the new layer of bark, which they enable in its turn to secrete matter for a new layer of alburnum the ensuing year.

We

We put the higheſt value on Mr Knight's account of the ſtructure of vegetables; but we cannot join our author in praiſing him for 'the *perſpicuous* mode in which he treats the ſubject throughout.' (p. 51.) On the contrary, we think there is ſometimes a confuſion in his ſtatements, which would baffle almoſt any other reader than the Preſident of the Linnean Society.

It may be proper here to add, that Mr Knight has more lately (Phil. Tranſ. 1808) publiſhed accounts of further experiments, in which the ſap continued to flow, although the central veſſels were cut acroſs. He now concludes, therefore, that the ſap riſes through the cellular ſubſtance of the alburnum, being propelled by the alternate contractions and expanſions of this ſpongy ſubſtance. Dr Smith takes no notice of this new doctrine—even in his ſecond edition, although publiſhed in 1809.

Chap. 9. is of 'the ſap, and of the inſenſible perſpiration of plants.' Dr Smith accounts for the rapid flowing of the ſap in ſpring, on the Brunonian principle of an accumulation of excitability, or irritability, during the cold of winter.

Chap. 10. treats of 'the ſecreted fluids of plants; of grafting; and of the heat of the vegetable body.' Here we are preſented with an account of gum, reſin, eſſential oil, and ſugar; the bitter, the acid, and the alkaline ſecretion. Dr Smith, very candidly and properly, acknowledges his inability to tell *how* thoſe very different ſubſtances are elaborated by plants. The late diſcoveries in galvaniſm, and eſpecially the experiments of Mr Davy, render it not improbable that their production may depend on the action of different ſorts of electricity.

In regard to the ſecretion of flinty earth, we are told that 'a ſubſtance is found in the hollow ſtem of the bamboo, (Arundo bambos of Linnæus), called *tabaxir* or *tabaſheer*, which is ſuppoſed in the Eaſt Indies to be endowed with extraordinary virtues. Some of it ſent to England underwent a chemical examination, and proved as nearly as poſſible pure flint.' It might have been added, however, that the French chemiſts, Fourcroy and Vauquelin, found, in their analyſis of tabaſheer, a conſiderable alloy of lime. 'How great is the contraſt,' Dr Smith exclaims, 'between this production, if it be a ſecretion of the tender vegetable frame, and thoſe exhalations which conſtitute the perfume of flowers! One is among the moſt permanent ſubſtances in nature, an ingredient in the primeval mountains of the globe; the other, the inviſible, untangible breath of a moment!'

After a word or two on the *odours* of plants, and on the operations of *grafting* and *inoculating*, the Doctor then paſſes to the curious and but little underſtood ſubject of the production of heat by vegetables; and, in illuſtration of this, he gives an account of all that has yet been obſerved concerning the extraordinary evolution

tion of caloric from the opening ſheath of the white-veined variety of the Arum maculatum. The fact was firſt noticed by Lamarck in his *Flore Françoiſe*, and was afterwards more particularly attended to by Sennebier of Geneva, who aſcertained that the 'heat began when the ſheath was about to open, and the cylindrical body within juſt peeping forth.' It continued for ſeven or eight hours, the greateſt degree of heat being 22° of Reaumur (81° Fahr.), the temperature of the air at that time being between 14° and 15° (65° or 66° Fahr.) It may be proper to remark, that Sennebier himſelf does not admit that vegetables poſſeſs a power, *ſui generis*, of generating caloric; but endeavours to account for the heat of the arum on chemical principles.

In chap. 11. the 'proceſs of vegetation,' and 'the uſe of the cotyledons,' are deſcribed. The 'proceſs of vegetation' is deſpatched in three ſhort pages; and in regard to the uſe of the cotyledons, the opinion of Sauſſure is adopted; and a quotation to the ſame purpoſe is borrowed from the 4th volume of Dr Thomſon's Chemiſtry.

At length, at the 12th chapter, we arrive at the beginning of the *particular* deſcription of a complete plant, which, with the accompanying explanations, we think quite unexceptionable. We are firſt made acquainted with 'the root, and its different kinds.' The fibrous, the creeping, the ſpindle-ſhaped, the abrupt, the tuberous, the bulbous, and the jointed or granulated root, are ſeverally deſcribed, and illuſtrated; not merely by very neat outlines or ſketches at the end of the volume, but by references to one or more plates in popular botanical publications.

As an inſtance of *radix præmorſa*, or abrupt root, Scabioſa ſucciſa, or Devil's bit Scabious, is mentioned; and old Gerarde is quoted. 'The great part of the root ſeemeth to be bitten away: old fantaſticke charmers report, that the divel did bite it for envie, becauſe it is an herbe that hath ſo many good vertues, and is ſo beneficial to mankinde.' And the Doctor facetiouſly adds, that 'the malice of the devil has unhappily been ſo ſucceſsful, that no virtues can now be found in the remainder of the root or herb.' Under the diviſion *Radix tuberoſa*, or knobbed root, we find ſome curious remarks on the Orchideæ, and particularly on the difficulty with which they are made to ſuffer tranſplanting. While the plant is flowering, the bulb (which is a true ſubterranean bud) for the next year is coming forward. If this be allowed to throw out radicles, the plant will not (according to our author) bear removing: but if the proper time be hit, and the whole be moved before the growth of the new bulb have commenced, ſucceſs generally attends the operation. 'Satyrium albidum,' we are told, p. 111, 'having many pairs of roots, the growth of ſome of which is always going on, has hitherto not been

been found to ſurvive tranſplantation at all.' This is a miſtake, though luckily not an important one. We have known different inſtances of tranſplanted ſpecimens of Satyrium albidum ſurviving their removal, and coming into flower the next ſeaſon. In one of theſe inſtances, the plants were brought from a very conſiderable diſtance, to the neighbourhood of Forfar, by Mr George Don (a very ſkilful practical botaniſt of that town); and no particular attention was paid to the ſtate of the bulbs at the time of removal, care only being taken to raiſe along with them a ball of earth, to pack them up ſo as to preſerve this unbroken, and to commit them to the ground ſtill included in a maſs of their native ſoil. We may add, that Satyrium albidum may be ſeen in flower every ſummer at the Earl of Kinnoul's garden at Dupplin, and that theſe cultivated ſpecimens are generally twice the ſize of native ones. It has alſo flowered for theſe laſt three or four years in the Edinburgh Botanic Garden, after having been tranſferred from its native *habitat* at a diſtance. It is, however, true, that this ſpecies is more liable to fail in a garden than S. viride, or even S. repens.

In the concluding obſervations on roots, we find a ſlight alluſion to a fact, communicated to the author by the late Dr Walker of Edinburgh, concerning a tree growing on the ruinous wall of the monaſtery of New Abbey in Galloway. This ſagacious plant, experiencing a deficiency of nouriſhment, ſtopped its growth upwards for ſome ſeaſons, and ſent down a number of ſtrong fibres from the top of the wall, which was ten feet high, to the ground. When theſe new roots were fairly fixed in the earth, the tree once more increaſed upwards. This ſtatement is now publiſhed, in Dr Walker's own words, in Lord Woodhouſelee's Memoirs of Lord Kames;* and we may take this opportunity to add, that although Dr Walker adduces this fact in proof of the *perceptivity* of plants, we are inclined to agree with Dr Smith in thinking, that there is no occaſion to ſuppoſe that the tree had any information of the ſtore of food at the bottom of the wall; but that it is more natural to conclude, that the 'vital powers of the tree not being adequate, from ſcanty nouriſhment, to the uſual annual degree of increaſe in the branches, were accumulated in the root, which therefore was excited to an extraordinary exertion in its own natural direction downwards.' (p. 114.)

The next two chapters treat of 'the ſtems and ſtalks of plants,' and 'of their buds.' Dr Smith agrees with Mr Knight in conſidering the propagation of plants by budding, as merely a prolongation

* Appendix to Vol. II. p. 35. Dr Smith mentions the tree to be an aſh: Dr Walker ſpeaks of it as a ſycamore, or *plane-tree* of Scotland.

longation or extenſion of the parent individual, and in thinking that theſe ſcions poſſeſs only a derivative or ſympathetic exiſtence. The loſs of ſome of the beſt cyder apples in England is thus to be accounted for. Propagation by ſeeds is therefore the only true *reproduction* of plants. In the bud, the vital power is dormant, and its excitability is accumulated. Buds contain either leaves or flowers. 'Different cauſes, depending on the ſoil or ſituation, ſeem in one caſe to generate leaf-buds, in another flower-buds. Thus, the Solandra grandiflora, a Jamaica ſhrub, was for a number of years cultivated in the Engliſh ſtoves, and propagated extenſively by cuttings, each plant growing many feet in length every ſeaſon, from abundance of moiſture and nouriſhment, without ſhowing any ſigns of fructification. At length a pot of the Solandra was accidentally left without water in the dry ſtove at Kew; and in conſequence of this unintentional neglect, the luxriant growth of its branches was greatly checked, and a flower came forth at the extremity of each. By a ſimilar mode of treatment, the ſame effect has ſince frequently been produced.' p. 141.

The next diſcuſſion is upon leaves, and their 'functions,' and is one of the moſt elaborate and moſt learned of the whole book. Leaves are ſtated, firſt, to be organs of inſenſible perſpiration. Leaves are organs alſo of ſenſible perſpiration, which is ſometimes watery; ſometimes ſaccharine, forming a ſort of honey-dew; and, in other inſtances, glutinous and reſinous. Bonnet's remarks on the abſorbing power of leaves are minutely detailed, from his *Recherches ſur l'usage des Feuilles.*

The curious economy of different ſpecies of Sarracenia, and of the Nepenthes diſtillatoria, the hollow leaves of which always contain a quantity of water, is here noticed; and the author thinks he has diſcovered the purpoſe of nature in theſe contrivances. In the Botanic garden at Liverpool, a ſpecies of ſphex or of ichneumon (the Doctor is not ſure which) was obſerved dragging along large flies, and forcing them under the lid of the tubular leaves of the Sarracenia aduncum. The leaves of this ſpecies, he obſerves, are ſo conſtructed as nearly to exclude rain; and the liquid contained in them muſt therefore, he thinks, be ſecreted from the baſe of the leaf. All the leaves, on being examined, were found crammed with dead, or drowning flies. 'Probably,' it is added, 'the air evolved by theſe dead flies may be beneficial to vegetation;' while the inſect of prey 'unqueſtionably ſtores them up for the food of itſelf or its progeny, probably depoſiting its eggs in their carcaſes.'—'Thus,' it is concluded, 'a double purpoſe is anſwered; nor is it the leaſt curious circumſtance of the whole, that an European inſect ſhould find out an American plant in a hot houſe, in order to fulfil that purpoſe!' We ſhould certainly

join

join the President of the Linnean Society in expressing our admiration of this European insect's botanical intelligence, did we not conceive that he has in some measure deceived himself on the subject. If the liquid be a secretion from the base of the leaf, (a fact which, we think, might easily be ascertained in a hot-house, where water might be supplied to the root only), it is probable that this secretion may have some quality attractive to flies; and nothing is more likely than that they should perish in such a liquid, as it would probably possess some viscidity. As to the story of the sphex or ichneumon dragging along its captive flies, and making a dungeon of the hollow leaves, it rests upon the authority of 'one of the gardeners,' whose imagination may have greatly assisted his memory in picturing out the insect's operations. The economy of the Nepenthes is thus described.

'Each leaf of this plant terminates in a sort of close shut tube, like a tankard, holding an ounce or two of water, certainly secreted through the footstalk of the leaf, whose spiral-coated vessels are uncommonly large and numerous. The lid of this tube either opens spontaneously, or is easily lifted up by insects and small worms, who are supposed to resort to these leaves in search of a purer beverage than the surrounding swamps afford. Rumphius, who has described and figured the plant, says, "various little worms and insects crawl into the orifice, and die in the tube, except a certain small squilla or shrimp, with a protuberant back, sometimes met with, which lives there." I have no doubt (Dr Smith adds) that this shrimp feeds on the other insects and worms, and that the same purposes are answered in this instance as in the Sarraceniæ.'

We next find a general account of the effects of air and light upon vegetables. The observations of Grew, Malpighi, Hales and Bonnet, are severally detailed. Dr Priestley was the first who observed that plants effected a change on common air: he found that they absorbed fixed air (carbonic acid gas), and gave out pure air (oxygen gas). Dr Smith informs us, that Dr Priestley found '*the conferva*' to be very powerful in this respect,—'a minute, branching, cotton-like vegetable which grows in putrid water, and the production of which, in water become foul from long keeping on shipboard, he judged to operate principally in restoring that fluid to a state fit for use.' To talk thus loosely of '*the* conferva' might have been pardoned in Dr Priestley: but we had a right to expect a little more precision from Dr Smith, since there are many distinct species of conferva; and especially since the fact at any rate is, that what Dr Priestley first denominated *the* conferva, has by some other philosophers, particularly Ingenhousz and Rumford, been considered as bundles of animalcula. No notice is taken by Dr Smith of the possibility of the oxygen having been derived from the decomposition of the water by means of light. Neither is any notice taken of Count Rumford's experiments, by

which that philosopher has endeavoured (perhaps unsuccessfully) to show that various inanimate bodies, such as tufts of cotton or of down, give out oxygen on being immersed in water and exposed to the sun's rays.

Our author states (p. 212.), that it is now 'agreed, that, in the day-time, plants imbibe from the atmosphere carbonic acid gas; that they decompose it; absorb the carbon as matter of nourishment, and emit the oxygen.' And he adds, 'In the dark, plants give out carbon,' meaning carbonic acid, 'and absorb oxygen; but the proportion of the latter is small, compared to what they exhale by day, as must likewise be the proportion of carbon given out; else the quantity of the latter added to their substance would be but trifling.' The author, it may be observed in passing, seems here to overlook the portions of carbon which may be absorbed by plants from water and from the soil in which they grow.

Perhaps, at the time that Dr Smith wrote his book, the received opinions were nearly as he has stated; but, before the second edition was published, a considerable revolution had taken place, of which the author does not seem to have been aware. It certainly is not now '*agreed*,' that plants imbibe carbonic acid in the 'day-time,' and exhale it in the 'dark.' The fact has been found to be, that they imbibe it as long as they are directly exposed to the sun's rays; and exhale it when placed in the shade, or during hazy weather, though it be still day-light. Mr Ellis, laying hold of this fact, and apparently taking the cloudy sky of this country as his standard, has argued,* that as plants must generally consume oxygen and emit carbonic acid, the function which they thus usually perform ought to be considered as that on which their vegetation depends: and therefore he concludes, that the results of vegetable respiration are, upon the whole, the same with those of animal respiration; or that vegetables, as well as animals, consume oxygen, and disengage carbonic acid.

The three following chapters treat, in detail, of the flowers, and the mode of flowering of plants; and appear to be clear and accurate. After an enumeration of the different kinds of corolla, some of its uses are mentioned. 'The beauties of the most sequestered wilderness,' it is observed, 'are not made in vain. They have myriads of admirers, attracted by their charms, and rewarded with their treasures, which very treasures would be as useless as the gold of a miser to the plant itself, were they not thus the means of bringing *insects* about it. The services rendered by such visitants will be understood, when we have described all the parts of a flower.' (p. 260.) It was not difficult to

* Inquiry into the Changes induced on Atmospheric Air, &c.

to guess at these services: but after being thus particularly referred to the conclusion of the description of the parts of a flower, we were not a little amused to find them specified, a few pages further on in the same section, and before any other parts of a flower have been described.

'There can be *no doubt*,' (says the worthy Doctor, in a tone rather more dogmatical than usual), 'that the *sole* use of the honey with respect to the plant, is to tempt insects, who, in procuring it, fertilize the flower by disturbing the dust of the stamens, and even carry that substance from the barren to the fertile blossoms.'—'Besides the above purposes, I have always conceived the corolla to fulfil some important office to the essential parts of the flower, with respect to air, and especially light. It not only presents itself in a remarkable manner to the sun-beams, frequently closing or drooping when they are withdrawn; but it is so peculiarly distinguished by beauty or brilliancy of colour, that one cannot but think its functions somewhat different from those of the leaves, even with regard to light itself.' p. 260.

The Doctor has not ventured to communicate any hint of his views of the nature of the chemical offices thus supposed to be performed by the corolla; nor does he acquaint us whether he is of opinion that plants actually absorb the matter of light, or that it only enables them to effect the decomposition of juices coming from the roots, and to convert them into peculiar products.

Next come the semina. Here we are told, that 'a seed consists of several parts, some of which are *more essential* than others;' and that the 'embryo is the *most essential* of all.' We need scarcely remark on this sort of phraseology; but this 'most essential' embryo is the *corculum* of Linnæus, situated between the cotyledons or seed-lobes. We may here remark, that while Dr Smith gives us a distinct account of the germination of plants from the moment that the ripe seed is committed to the earth, or subjected to heat, air, and moisture, he gives us no view of the process by which the seed itself is formed and vivified, although this is one of the nicest inquiries in physiological botany. Some curious observations on the subject have lately been published in Nicholson's Journal; † but they cannot be entirely relied on. The observer employed a powerful solar microscope for opaque objects, 'with improvements.' What those improvements were, we are not told; but, in general, solar microscopic observations can scarcely be too much distrusted; the smallest variation in the quantity or intensity of light, or in position, altering the appearance of the object.

The contrivances of nature for the dispersion of seeds, call forth strains of admiration.

† For July, August, &c. 1809.

'Who has not listened, in a calm and sunny day, to the crackling of furze bushes, caused by the explosion of their little elastic pods; nor watched the down of innumerable seeds floating on the summer breeze, till they are overtaken by a shower, which, moistening their wings, stops their further flight, and, at the same time, accomplishes its final purpose, by immediately promoting the germination of each seed in the moist earth? How little are children aware, as they blow away the seeds of dandelion, or stick burs in sport on each other's clothes, that they are fulfilling one of the great ends of nature!' p. 303.

Chap. 20. contains an elaborate statement of the evidence for the sexes of plants; a doctrine which is now so firmly established, that a long essay on the subject might perhaps have been dispensed with in an elementary book. Had we no proof but what arises from the late successful attempts of Mr Knight to produce new sorts of fruits, by applying the farina of one plant to the flower of another, these would, of themselves, afford sufficient proof of a difference, or something extremely analogous to a difference, of sex. In the close of this chapter are given several interesting and amusing notices concerning the habits of plants, particularly of some curious aquatics, such as Nymphæa and Valisneria.

'The Nymphæa alba, or white water lily, is not uncommon in our lakes. It closes its flowers in the afternoon, and lays them down upon the surface of the water till morning, when it raises and expands them, often, in a bright day, to several inches above the water. But the most memorable of aquatic plants is the Valisneria spiralis, which grows at the bottoms of ditches in Italy. In this, the fertile flowers stand on long spiral stalks; and these, by uncoiling, elevate them to the surface of the water, where the calyx expands in the open air. In the mean while, plenty of barren flowers are produced on a distinct root, on short straight stalks, from which they rise like little separate white bubbles, suddenly expanding when they reach the surface, and floating about in such abundance as to cover it entirely. Thus their pollen is scattered over the stigmas of the first-mentioned blossoms, whose stalks soon afterwards resume their spiral figure, and the fruit comes to maturity at the bottom of the water.' p. 335.

Chap. 21. treats 'of the diseases of plants.' The author, very wisely in our opinion, does not follow some of his predecessors in laying down a tedious and formal vegetable nosology; but contents himself with describing merely some of the principal morbid affections of plants. The first disease he mentions is sphacelus, or gangrene. 'This,' we are told, 'is extremely frequent in the true nopal of Mexico (Cactus coccinellifer), beginning by a black spot, which spreads till the whole leaf or branch rots off, or the shrub dies.' We understood the nopal sent some years ago from Kew gardens to India, and now extensively cultivated

at Madras as an antiſcorbutic, * to have been the ſame ſpecies of Cactus: but fortunately the Kew nopal is not found to be more ſubject to gangrene than any other ſucculent plant. The next malady is galls of various ſorts; and then follow diſeaſes of the ſkin, as honey-dews, leproſy, &c. The falling of the leaf in deciduous trees, the Doctor regards as a natural *ſloughing*, or an effort of the plant to throw off the *diſeaſed* parts, the branches and buds remaining healthy. This explanation he conſiders as 'ſimple and evident.' It certainly is ſo; but to us it appears, that while the cauſe of the diſeaſe in the leaves is left unexplained, the difficulty in accounting for the fall of the leaf has, at moſt, been only one degree removed.

Though Dr Smith admits that ſome ſpecies of animals may probably have been 'exterminated,' he does not think that any ſpecies of plant has been loſt. The numerous vegetable impreſſions and caſts, therefore, found in the quarries of this and other countries, and well known by the name of *petrifactions*, muſt all have exiſting prototypes in the world at preſent, although very few of theſe indeed have been diſcovered. We may add, that we are confident that the prototypes of moſt of thoſe found in the argillaceous ſchiſtus, limeſtone, and ſandſtone of the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, are not plants now indigenous to Britain, nor, it is believed, to Europe. Willdenow, and ſome other botaniſts, however, differ from our author, and are of opinion, that the originals of ſome ſpecies of foſſil plants have been as completely loſt as thoſe of the unknown foſſil animals.

The author then proceeds to 'the ſyſtematical arrangement of plants; natural and artificial methods; nomenclature,' &c. Here we have ſhort accounts of the methods of Cæſalpinus, of Tourneſort, and others, down to the time of Linnæus. He it was, who firſt drew a correct line of diſtinction between *natural* and *artificial* arrangements. It is owing chiefly to not having attended to this diſtinction, that ſeveral eminent writers have found fault with the Swediſh naturaliſt. Mr Smellie not only laughs to ſcorn the notion of ſexes in plants, but ridicules the whole *Syſtema* as a mere cata-

* A ſingle plant of the nopal was at firſt transmitted to India by Sir Joſeph Banks, with a view to the culture of the cochineal inſect. This project failed; but Dr Anderſon, phyſician general at Madras, diſcovered that the plant was calculated to ſerve a much more important purpoſe, in preventing and curing ſcurvy. It acts by no ſpecific virtue, but like any other freſh vegetable. It poſſeſſes, however, the very deſirable property of keeping quite freſh during the longeſt cruiſes, if it be merely preſerved from wet, and be hung up where there is a circulation of air. It is eaten either as a ſallad, or in ſoups. Moſt of his Majeſty's ſhips on the India ſtations are now regularly ſupplied with it.

logue; and Lord Kames talks so lightly of this great work as to say, that he knows not for what purpose it may have been formed, unless to tell us in what part of Linnæus's writings an animal or a plant is to be found arranged! * In the following passage, the utility of the Linnean method is, we think, very modestly, but satisfactorily, vindicated.

'Linnæus considered the natural affinities of plants as the most important and interesting branch of systematical botany: aware, however, that a *natural* classification was scarcely ever to be completely discovered, and that, if discovered, it would probably be too difficult for common use, he contrived an *artificial* system, by which plants might conveniently be arranged, like words in a dictionary, so as to be most readily found. If all the words of a language could be disposed according to their abstract derivations, or grammatical affinities, such a performance might be very instructive to a philosopher, but would prove of little service to a young scholar; nor has it ever been mentioned as any objection to the use of a dictionary, that words of very different meanings, if formed of nearly the same letters, often stood together. The Method of Linnæus, therefore, is just such a dictionary in botany, while the Philosophia Botanica is the grammar, and his other works contain the history, and even the poetry of the science.' (p. 358.)

Generic characters are reckoned by Linnæus of three kinds—the *factitious*, the *essential*, and the *natural*, all of them founded on the fructification only.

'The first of these serves only to discriminate genera that happen to come together in the same artificial order or section: the second, to distinguish a particular genus, by one striking mark, from all of the same *natural* order, and consequently from all other plants; and the third comprehends every possible mark common to all the species of one genus.'—'Linnæus very much altered his notions of the *essential* character, after he had published his Philosophia Botanica. Instead of confining it to one mark or idea, he, in his Systema Vegetabilium, makes it comprehend all the distinctions requisite to discriminate each genus from every other in the system. This is the kind of generic character now universally adopted, and indeed the only one in common use.' (p. 365.)

How far the learned president is inclined to alter or improve upon the Linnean generic characters, may be gathered from a single passage, (p. 366.) 'For my own part, I profess to retain, not only the *plan* but the *very words* of Linnæus, unless I find them erroneous, copying nothing without examination, but altering with a very sparing hand, and leaving much for future examination. I cannot blame my predecessors for implicitly copying the Linnean characters; nor should I have been the first among English writers to set a contrary example, had I not fortunately been furnished with

* Sketches of the History of Man. Introd.

with peculiar materials for the purpoſe.' We preſume he here refers to the fact which we have already noticed, of his being in poſſeſſion of the library, manuſcripts and herbarium of Linnæus himſelf. The caution thus expreſſed we think extremely commendable: but we are not of opinion that the Doctor has acted uniformly on this ſcrupulous principle. We have not forgotten that, in his Flora Britannica, he broke through the Linnean boundaries, and adopted the Hedwigian genera of moſſes; throwing down the gauntlet, as it were, in the very title-page of his book, 'Nullius addictus jurare in *verba* magiſtri,'—a favourite motto of this author, but ſtrangely omitted in the preſent work, to which, of all his other writings, it *ought* to have been the moſt appoſite. The reaſon why this bold Horatian inſcription has, on this occaſion, been ſuperſeded by the canonical one, of 'Conſider the lilies how they grow,' may perhaps be gathered from the extract juſt given.

On the ſubject of nomenclature, we meet with ſome curious traits of botanical zeal and jealouſy. We are told, that 'in all ages it has been cuſtomary to dedicate certain plants to the honour of diſtinguiſhed perſons. Thus, *Euphorbia* commemorates the phyſician of Juba, a Mooriſh prince; and *Gentiana* immortalizes a king of Illyria.' Now, we muſt confeſs that, in our opinion, neither has the Mooriſh prince's phyſician been thereby commemorated, nor the king of Illyria immortalized! We venture to ſay, that nine-tenths of botaniſts, who are daily converſant with euphorbias and gentianas, never thought nor heard about either of the 'diſtinguiſhed perſons' alluded to.

Dr Smith appears to have been in a ſad puzzle how to Latinize the Old-Engliſh Long-Parliament name of Dr Goodenough (now Biſhop of Carliſle). He at laſt, *euphoniæ gratiâ*, we preſume, choſe *Goodenia* for 'his much honoured and valued friend,' though it has, when too late, been ſuggeſted that '*Goodenovia* might have been preferable!' *Goodenia*, we fear, will not long preſerve the botanical memory of the learned and excellent Biſhop; nor do we ſee why it is too late to adopt the improvement of *Goodenovia*, ſuggeſted, we believe, by profeſſor Martyn of Cambridge, if this be thought more likely to anſwer the purpoſe. Indeed the change ſeems more neceſſary, now that there is likewiſe a *Goodia* genus in the catalogue. Of ſimilar importance is the following morſel, and with as much propriety does it hold a place in an Introduction to Botany: 'My *Humea* has been called in France *Calomeria* after the preſent Emperor, by the help of a pun,* though there has long been another genus *Bonapartea*, which laſt

* We preſume that the pun conſists in translating the Latin words *bona pars* literally into Greek, καλον μερος.

can poſſibly be admitted only in honour of the Empreſs, and not of her conſort, who has no botanical pretenſions! Our own beloved Sovereign could derive no glory from the *Georgia* of Ehrhart;' 'but the *Strelitzia* of Aiton ſtands on the ſure baſis of botanical knowledge and zeal.' The courtly flattery of the Doctor is here amuſing; but we ſuſpect that many will not reliſh the impartiality of his gallantry, but will, even in botanical matters, diſlike to ſee our fair-famed Queen placed exactly on a par with Bonaparte's Joſephine, eſpecially ſince it is to be dreaded that any compariſon, either as to 'botanical knowledge or zeal,' would not have a very deſirable reſult.

Linnæus, in his Critica Botanica, having drawn a fanciful analogy between the character of ſome botaniſts and the plants named after them, Dr Smith has purſued this 'ingenious idea,' and remarks, that '*Dicksonia*, a beautiful and curious fern, is well devoted to our great cryptogamiſt,' (Mr Dickſon, ſeedſman, Covent Garden); 'while,' it is added, with a vanity which we are very willing to pardon, '*Smithia ſenſitiva*, named by Mr Dryander in the Hortus Kewenſis of our mutual friend Aiton, could, *at that time*, be merited only by an *original* treatiſe on the Irritability of Plants, to which the ſpecific name happily alludes.' There is evidently ſomething very particular in the way in which this laſt analogy is ſtated; and we believe we can explain the reaſon of this particularity. Though botany is in itſelf a pure and peaceable ſtudy, botaniſts, alas! are but men; and, as far as our obſervation reaches, very far from being 'inacceſſible to envy, jealouſy, or rivalſhip.' Mr Saliſbury, author of the Paradiſus Londinenſis, has, it ſeems, fallen out with the Preſident of the Linnean Society; and, by way of revenge, has denied that Mr Dryander projected the name *Smithia ſenſitiva*, and has alleged that he himſelf did ſo; and further, that Dr Smith is egregiouſly miſtaken in thinking that the epithet *ſenſitiva* had any reference to his treatiſe on the Irritability of Plants, for that it was really meant to intimate that he was *a man of a fretful temper!* Dr Smith ſeems to reliſh this ſatirical humour very ill; and obſerves, very touchingly, that ſuch ſallies 'ſtain the purity of a lovely ſcience;' and that 'it favours of malignity, to make the crown of a botaniſt a crown of thorns.' (p. 383.) After all this, we ſcarcely expected to be obliged to rebuke the worthy Doctor himſelf for a ſeverity of this kind towards Petiver, the celebrated ſimpliſt of London, of whom, in illuſtrating the 4th order of the claſs Hexandria, he ſays, '*Petiveria alliacea* is a plant, the number of whoſe ſtamens is not very conſtant, and whoſe ſpecific name is ſuppoſed to allude, not only to its *garlic ſcent*, but alſo to the *caustic humour* of the botaniſt whom it commemorates.'

The 23d chapter contains an 'explanation of the Linnean artificial

ficial system.' This explanation, though short, is very distinct. As might be expected, very few alterations or improvements are proposed by the Doctor. A slight restriction of Polygamia is the only emendation on the classes. Among the orders, he proposes several improvements on those of the class Polyandria; and in the difficult class Syngenesia, he gives satisfactory reasons for disliking Polygamia frustranea; and for altogether suppressing Monogamia, as had been proposed by Willdenow. In the class Cryptogamia, Dr Smith very properly acquiesces in the separation made by preceding botanists, of the Hepaticæ from the Algæ, with which they were conjoined by Linnæus. While he justly extols the Linnean system, the Doctor candidly admits, that, 'like all human inventions, it has its imperfections and difficulties.' These he correctly states to be, 'the differences which sometimes occur between the number of stamens, styles, &c. in different plants [species] of the same natural genus;' some species of cerastium, for example, having four, others five, though the greater part have ten, and the plant being accordingly arranged in the class Decandria.

In the 24th chapter, we find 'illustrations of the Linnean classes and orders.' This is just an amplification of the preceding chapter. The illustrations consist, in a great measure, in references to plates contained in the most popular and accessible botanical works; which happen very naturally to be those chiefly, in which the author himself has previously been engaged; Exotic Botany, English Botany, Flora Græca, and others. Dr Smith is clearly of opinion that the class Icosandria is 'immutably distinct in nature and character from Polyandria;' and 'nothing (he observes) can be more injudicious than to unite them, as some experienced authors have done.' He recommends, however, an union of the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th *orders* of Polyandria, which he thinks serve only to keep natural genera asunder. He vindicates the Linnean class Gynandria, and disapproves of Thunberg's abolishing it. He is likewise inclined to support the classes Monoecia and Dioecia,—not being of opinion that their suppression would really tend to simplify the Linnean system. Even the class Polygamia he is willing to retain; but he argues very feebly and illogically indeed in its support. 'Two or three genera are entitled to a place in it; and we *cannot tell but others may* exist in the unexplored parts of the globe!' If, however, these three last-mentioned classes should hereafter be thrown into one, he proposes that the new class should be called '*Diclinia*, expressing the two distinct seats or stations of the organs of fructification.'

The last class, Cryptogamia, it is well known, has been greatly illustrated, and to a certain extent new-modelled, since the time of Linnæus; and we certainly expected, from the author of the Flora Britannica, a luminous statement of the discoveries and improvements

provements in this most difficult and interesting department of botany. We must say we have been disappointed. In fact, the account of the class Cryptogamia, is by far the most superficial and unsatisfactory part of the book. While more than twenty pages are occupied with disquisitions on vegetable irritability, and as many in dissertations on the naming of plants after distinguished botanists,—the investigations and discoveries of Hedwig in the order of Musci, are despatched in a couple of pages!

Under Algæ we confidently looked for a distinct statement of the Methodus Lichenum of Dr Acharius, whose writings 'form a new era in Cryptogamic botany;' but we were mortified to find the amount of the information furnished, to be, that the said Acharius 'had divided lichens into genera, founded on the receptacle of the seeds alone.' Three or four of the new terms invented by this author, are then briefly explained; and Dr Smith passes on to the submersed algæ! The account of these is, if possible, still more flimsy. We are told that they are named Ulva, Conferva, Fucus, &c. and that 'some of them abound in fresh water; others in the sea; whence the latter are commonly denominated sea-weeds.' This appears to us to be little more satisfactory than the explanation of Algæ, to be found in Dr Johnson's English Dictionary, 'Herbs growing on the sea-shore;' only Dr Smith gets them fairly into the water. We may here mention, that Mr Dawson Turner has announced, that when he shall have finished his Historia Fucorum, (a learned and elegant work now publishing, adorned with beautiful and correct figures, chiefly from the masterly pencil of W. J. Hooker Esq. of Norwich), he intends to propose a new arrangement and a subdivision of the genus Fucus.

As to the fungi or mushrooms, Dr Smith's information is almost as defective. 'By some naturalists,' we are told, in a loose and inaccurate way, 'they have been thought of an animal nature, chiefly because of their fetid scent in decay.' A slight notice of Persoon's division of them into Angiocarpi, or those which bear seeds internally, and Gymnocarpi, or those which have them imbedded in an appropriate membrane, closes the account of Fungi, and the chapter on Cryptogamia;—a chapter as unlike what it ought to be, as it is unlike the rest of the volume.

Practical directions for forming a hortus siccus are given in conclusion. If plenty of paper be used, the plants, we are told, dry best without being shifted. Heaths and many other undershrubs, that throw off their leaves in the course of drying, by a continued effort of the living principle, may be prevented from doing so by immersion in boiling water, which destroys that principle. 'Dried specimens are best preserved by being fastened with weak carpenter's glue to paper, so that they may be turned

over

over without damage. A half ſheet of a convenient ſize ſhould be allotted to each ſpecies; and all the ſpecies of a genus may be placed in one or more whole ſheets. This is the plan of the Linnean herbarium.' Collections of dried plants are expoſed to the depredations of inſects, eſpecially the little beetle called *ptinus fur*. Dr Smith has found 'a ſolution of corroſive ſublimate in rectified ſpirits of wine, about two drachms to a pint, with a little camphor,' particularly efficacious as a preventive. The liquor is to be applied with a hair pencil, to the plant, when perfectly dried, and ready to be depoſited in the herbarium. Laſtly, the herbarium ſhould be kept under lock and key. This concluding caveat is not indeed delivered, *totidem verbis*, by Dr Smith: we collect it from the ſad experience of M. Cuſſon of Montpelier, who, we are told, 'beſtowed more pains upon the Umbelliferæ than any other botaniſt had ever done. But his labours met with a moſt ungrateful check, in the unkindneſs, and ſtill more mortifying ſtupidity of *his wife*, who, on his abſence from home, deſtroyed his whole herbarium, ſcraping off the dried ſpecimens, for the ſake of the paper on which they were paſted!' (p. 417.) We cannot figure any motive for thus publiſhing the domeſtic misfortune of this poor Frenchman, but to afford the practical inference which we have already derived from it,—unleſs perhaps a general hint be alſo intended as to the inexpediency of botaniſts being 'unequally yoked' to unbotanical helpmates.

The plates are among the beſt we have ſeen attached to any elementary book; and the explanations are diſtinct, and, as far as we have obſerved, accurate.

There is very properly ſubjoined, 1. An index of remarkable plants, or thoſe of which any particular mention is made in the body of the work; and, 2. An index to the explanations of technical terms.—Theſe, however, are both very ſhort, and excluſively confined to the names of plants, or to technical terms. More than one half of the book, therefore, including the whole of the phyſiology, remains without any ſort of index; which we regret the more, that the reader is not indulged even with a table of contents. We take notice of theſe little omiſſions the more pointedly, that they ſeem likely to become faſhionable, and becauſe the want of ſuch aids is particularly felt in a book of conſultation.

In the courſe of the ample analyſis which we have given, we have interſperſed nearly all the obſervations which appeared to us of any importance. Some omiſſions ſtruck us in the courſe of peruſal. For inſtance, we met with no proper account of the Natural Orders of plants; no mention of the improvements ſuggeſted by the late eminent *Ventenat*; nor ſo much as a diſtinct liſt of the orders propoſed by *Juſſieu*. This ſeems the more extraordinary,

traordinary, considering the very high and well-merited tribute of praise bestowed on the last named botanist. The Genera Plantarum arranged in Natural Orders, Dr Smith says, he looks upon as the 'most learned botanical work that has appeared since the Species Plantarum of Linnæus, and the most useful to those who study the philosophy of botanical arrangement;' and his admiration leads him to add of Jussieu, what we have been accustomed to hear only of Sir Isaac Newton, that a person may 'learn more from his doubts and queries, than from the assertions of most other writers.' The want of a distinct account of Gærtner's curious and interesting treatise 'De Fructibus,' is, we think, another defect. No account is given of what Linnæus termed the *vernation* of plants, that is, the different ways in which the rudiment of the leaf is folded up in the gem. A short abstract of Loesling's excellent essay on this subject in the *Amœnitates*, illustrated with a few figures, would have been acceptable to many botanical inquirers.

The author is perhaps to blame also for not having given his advice as to the manner or order in which the student should prosecute the study of botany, especially as the arrangement of his book affords little aid in this respect. We do not recollect that the Doctor has any where inculcated the necessity of carefully studying the *generic* characters, and comparing them in living plants. In an elementary book, however, the learner might have been warned, that his real progress in botany must depend on his knowledge of *genera*; and that, without this, his acquaintance with *species*, however extensive, can never entitle him to rank higher than as a nomenclaturist. Such a lesson seems the more seasonable, that the multiplication of periodical botanical publications * has made it not unusual to learn botany by the easy method of turning over the coloured plates of such productions.

We meet with a few instances of carelessness. How awkward does it seem to mention *wheat* as an instance of a *biennial* plant! (p. 103.) No doubt, the winter wheat (Triticum hybernum) is alluded to. But every farmer knows, that he may sow even this kind of wheat in spring, and reap it in the autumn of the same year, (a fact which seems to characterize it as an annual plant); though, by sowing in autumn, it may be made to show its blade during winter. It is rather remarkable, that the Doctor should also fall into an awkwardness about *barley*. The farinaceous matter of the cotyledons (he observes, p. 291.), acquires a sweet taste as germination commences, evincing that it has 'undergone the same chemical change as in *barley*.' Barley must here be understood

* English Botany; Botanical Magazine; Paradisus Londinensis; Botanist's Repository; are published monthly in London.

derstood as synonymous with *malt*. This farinaceous matter, we may further observe, is, by a strange confusion of terms, denominated an 'important *organ*' of plants, (p. 291.) Through a similar confusion, we are told that the cabbage tribe is considered as antiscorbutic, 'and supposed to be of an *alkalescent* nature.' (p. 437.)

We have been struck, too, with a few apparent contradictions. Thus, in one place, (p. 205.) the bad effects experienced from sitting under walnut-trees, are ascribed to the evolution of much carbonic acid gas; while, in another place, (p. 204.) we are told, these bad effects 'are probably to be attributed as much to *poisonous secretions* as to the air those trees evolve.' Inconsistencies, of a minor sort, here and there occur. The Latin terminations of some botanical terms are rigidly adhered to; while the Anglicised forms of others are adopted. Dr Smith insists for *involucrum*, instead of *involucre*, proposed by Dr Martyn; while he yields to the Cambridge Professor in substituting the stiff English *anther*, in place of the elegant *anthĕra*, for which he had formerly stickled. He declares, too, that *Actinotus* is a name 'not tenable in botany, because it has long been preoccupied in mineralogy,' (p. 373.); yet he makes no objections to a botanical *Plumbago*. Among the barbarous and uncouth generic names introduced into botany, the *Ginkgo* of Linnæus is denounced as 'intolerable;' and the *Holmskioldia* of Willdenow, as 'unutterable;' yet he submits with complacency to *Krascheninikofia!*

We do not much admire the general arrangement adopted by Dr Smith, although it may very possibly be 'original.' From the analysis already given, our readers must have remarked, that he mixes, throughout, the descriptive with the physiological and chemical parts of his subject. After the description of the external shape of different sorts of leaves, for instance, the student is instantly hurried into a profound disquisition on their functions; although it can very seldom happen, that while the young botanist is anxious to know whether a leaf be toothed or serrated, pinnated or doubly pinnate, he should at the same time be concerned to learn its chemical action on the atmosphere. The physiology might commodiously stand by itself; including under this head, the organs of plants, as far as their uses are concerned; their spontaneous motions; their food; their means of propagation; and the examination of their constituent parts. This seems the more necessary that, notwithstanding the brilliant discoveries in modern chemistry, and the successful researches of some recent physiologists, particularly Darwin and Knight, this branch of the science is but yet in its infancy. Dr Smith's account of it is, however, very respectable, both for its fulness and accuracy.

Upon

Upon the whole, this Introduction to Botany seems to have been a hurried and a careless production. To us it appears not unlikely, that, in composing it, the Doctor has occasionally taken large portions of the manuscript of his lectures at the Royal Institution, and, dividing them into chapters, sent them, without more ado, to the press, as constituent parts of his book. While, therefore, it may be found a very useful assistant, it is not certainly that masterly botanical grammar which might have been expected from so eminent an author; nor calculated to supersede the elementary treatises of Willdenow, Rose, Hull, and others.

One characteristic it certainly possesses in an eminent degree —*delicacy*. Those who are acquainted with the writings of Linnæus, know well how much they abound with coarse expressions and indelicate allusions. These are most scrupulously avoided by Dr Smith; and, we think, without any material detriment to the perspicuity of his descriptions. Botany is daily becoming a more fashionable female study; and this is an elementary book which may be put with confidence into the hands of women, without any risk of wounding the most delicate mind. We are happy, for the sake of those fair students, to observe that Dr Smith promises a translation of his Flora Britannica; for this, we doubt not, will, when accomplished by Dr Smith himself, form the best popular herbal ever published. In the mean time, he very candidly recommends Dr Withering's Arrangement of British Plants; to which we would take the liberty to add Mr Galpine's Compend of British Botany (which is indeed nearly a translation of Dr Smith's *Compendium Floræ Britannicæ*), as a most useful and commodious pocket companion in botanical excursions.

ART. IX. *Memoires de Physique et Chimie, de la Societé d'Arcueil.* Tom. I. 8vo. Paris, 1807.

THIS volume is the production of a little association, better calculated, we conceive, than the older establishments, for advancing the progress of physical science. The celebrated Berthollet, whose labours have so materially contributed to extend the practice and improve the theory of chemistry, anxious, amidst the possession of ease and competence, to promote, in his declining years, the objects of his earliest ambition, has gathered around him a few ingenious and active individuals, who assemble once a fortnight at his country residence near Paris, and spend the day in philosophi-

cal

cal occupations. From the name of that place, the society derives its appellation of *Arcueil.* Besides La Place, who appears rather as a patron and counsellor, the members consist of the younger Berthollet, Biot, Gay-Lussac, Humboldt, Thenard, Decandolle, and Collet-Descostils. At their meetings, the latest scientific journals are consulted, philosophical papers are read and discussed, and new experiments are proposed, repeated, or set on foot. The advantages of such a plan are most obvious. Mistakes may be detected, errors avoided, and important lights struck out by the collision of ideas. In the actual state of science, no experiments are truly valuable, but those which have been performed with the most scrupulous precision. The art of experimenting, itself, has now become so refined, and attended with such vast expense, as often to lye beyond the reach of individual exertion. We are, therefore, inclined to augur favourably of a society of this nature, which descends to guide and assist the details of inquiry. If our expectations have not been fully answered, we yet discern the germs of more important communications; and trust that similar associations, furnished with more ample means, will soon be formed at home.—We confine our selections to those papers which appear the most worthy of notice.

1. *Observations on the Intensity and Inclination of the Magnetic Force, made in France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.* By Messieurs Humboldt and Gay-Lussac.

The laws of magnetic action were first discovered by our ingenious countryman Dr Gilbert of Colchester. That orignal philosopher, who, prior to the writings of Bacon, understood and successfully pursued the method of induction, reduced all the phenomena of magnetism to four general facts: 1. That, of two magnets, the similar poles repel, and the dissimilar attract, each other; 2. That these attractive and repulsive forces are increased by proximity; 3. That a magnet, by mere apposition, has a power of *inducing* magnetism on a piece of iron or steel, and which is more or less durable according to the hardness or softness of the material affected; and, 4. That the mass of the earth itself contains an immense magnet, possessing those distinctive properties. From such *data*, it was easy to explain the more obvious effects of magnetism. A magnet attracts a bit of iron, because the iron, for the time at least, becomes likewise a magnet, endued with polarity; and a magnetic bar, freely suspended, turns towards the north, from the influence of the internal magnet of our globe.

When Gilbert published his theory, the needle at London stood very nearly in the line of the meridian; but it was afterwards observed to deviate gradually to the west, with a declination that has, for

about two centuries, been continually increasing. The rate of this digression, indeed, has of late years sensibly relaxed; which affords a presumption, that, perhaps in the course of another century, the needle will have finished its period of aberration, and may return again by the same steps. The variation of the mariner's compass differs, however, in each particular place: sometimes it is stationary, but generally it is either advancing or retreating, and that with a progress unequal, and ever subject to change. Such a system of perpetual mutation is in the highest degree perplexing, and forms one of the greatest obstacles to the practice and improvement of navigation. But all this intricacy and seeming irregularity may result from the combination of a few very simple changes. What could, at first sight, appear more involved than the motions of the heavenly bodies? And yet, when the separate elements are developed, how simple and harmonious the whole becomes! There is the strongest reason, therefore, to conclude, that the complicated aberrations of the needle may proceed from certain regular changes in the position of the poles of the terrestrial magnet. The great *desideratum* is now to ascertain the nature of those changes. For that purpose, it is necessary to determine accurately, at distant points on the earth's surface, the *direction* and *intensity* of the magnetic action. Hitherto, the direction only has been observed, by help of the compass and dipping needle; and even these observations, from the imperfection of the latter instrument, are in many cases doubtful or defective. To discover the relative intensities of magnetic action at different places, would lead more immediately to the solution of the problem.

In the mutual action of magnets, four separate forces are exerted. The nearer pole of the one attracts and repels the poles of the other; while its farther pole, reversing the order, repels and attracts the same poles. These blended forces are capable of producing two distinct effects: 1. The one magnet may *turn* about a fixed axis, from the conjoined action of all the forces, and consequently with a power equal to their aggregate sum; and, 2. The one magnet may *tend* towards the other, with a power equal to that by which the difference of the attraction and repulsion of the nearer pole exceeds the difference of the opposite repulsion and attraction of the remoter pole. When the one magnet is very short in comparison with the other, its directive and attractive powers, being the sum and difference of nearly equal forces, will, therefore, become quite disproportioned. It is hence that a magnetic bar, floating on the surface of mercury, shows no tendency to advance towards the north, though it will yet turn vigorously in that direction. The directive energy of the needle thus furnishes the most correct measure of

the power of the terreſtrial magnet, or of the joint forces exerted by its oppoſite poles. But the traverſing of the needle correſponds exactly with the oſcillation of a pendulum, and conſequently the actuating power is always expreſſed by the ſquare of the number of vibrations which are performed in a given time. If theſe vibrations, however, take place in the horizontal and not the magnetic plane, it is evident that a part only of the original force comes into play, and that the result is diminiſhed, by this obliquity, in the proportion of the coſine of the inclination of the needle.

Inſtructed by ſuch views, Humboldt and Gay-Luſſac propoſed to explore the laws of terreſtrial magnetiſm, during an excurſion of nearly a twelvemonth, from the 15th of March 1805, to the 1ſt of May 1806, through a great part of the Continent. They were favoured by the miniſter of the marine with a dipping needle of Borda's conſtruction, and which had been executed by Lenoir for the voyage of Entrecaſteaux. To meaſure the vibrations, they had a magnetic bar ſuſpended by a thread of raw ſilk, in a box with glaſs ſides. Theſe inſtruments would appear to have been ſuſceptible of conſiderable delicacy. The traverſing of the bar ſeemed not affected by any change of temperature, nor ſenſibly by the difference of elevation. It gave the ſame reſult at Milan, after an interval of ſix months; and the vibrations were as frequent on the ſummits of the Alps as in the plains of Italy. Sixty of these vibrations were performed at Berlin in the space of $316\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, at Paris in 314, at Milan in $295\frac{1}{2}$, at Rome in $281\frac{1}{4}$, and at Naples in 279,—all measured by a chronometer of Berthoud. The corresponding inclinations of the dipping needle obſerved at those places, were 69° 53′, 69° 12′, 65° 40′, 61° 57′, and 61° 35′. These, with other intermediate observations, are registered in a table, which likewiſe exhibits the calculated results. If the action at the magnetic equator be denoted by 10000, the intenſities in the direction of the dipping needle at Berlin, Paris, Milan, Rome, and Naples, or between the latitudes of 52° $31\frac{1}{2}$′, and 40° $50\frac{1}{4}$′, will be represented by the ſucceſſive numbers 13703, 13482, 13364, 12642, and 12745. But this computation is partly hypothetical, ſince it aſſumes the poſition of the magnetic equator, as deduced by M. Biot from the previous obſervations of La Peyrouſe and Humboldt in America. Without adopting, therefore, any premature concluſion, the horizontal action of magnetiſm at Berlin, Paris, Milan, Rome and Naples, will be in the proportion of 1, 1.016, 1.147, 1.261 and 1.287; and the entire direct action as 1, .9840, .9575, .9226, and .9300. It is hence evident, that in proceeding towards the ſouth of Europe, the force of magnetiſm gradually diminiſhes. Naples would ſeem to form

the only exception; but this diſcrepancy was owing probably to local circumſtances—to the attraction of the ferruginous lava and other volcanic productions of Mount Veſuvius.

Theſe reſults perfectly agree with the previous theory. The diminution of force, occaſioned by receding from the nearer pole of the terreſtrial magnet, is greater than the correſponding augmentation derived from approaching to the farther pole. The preceding *data*, combined with the declinations of the needle, might ſuffice, through the known laws of magnetiſm, for determining the poſition of thoſe poles; and if ſimilar obſervations were repeated at diſtant periods, the nature and circulation of terreſtrial magnetiſm would at laſt be aſcertained.

To engage, however, with confidence in ſuch an arduous inveſtigation, would require nicer and more extenſive obſervations. England may yet have the honour of completing the diſcovery. Suppoſe a delicate magnetic bar were ſubſtituted for the pendulum-ſpring, and thus made the prime-mover of a watch. The inſtrument being duly placed, its vibrations would evidently be maintained with regularity, for any length of time. Compared with a chronometer, at an interval perhaps of twenty-four hours, it would mark the number of vibrations, and therefore give the actuating power with the utmoſt preciſion. But it would alſo ſerve the purpoſe of a moſt correct dipping needle; for the vibrations in the horizontal and vertical planes will form two ſides of a rectangle, of which the diagonal indicates the magnetic tendency.

The idea now ſuggeſted has been often propoſed to a variety of ingenious perſons, but never yet carried into execution. It is undoubtedly quite practicable, but would require ſome ſkill and perſeverance to bring it to perfection. The trouble and expenſe attending the trials, with the proſpect of only remote and contingent advantage, would diſcourage an individual from the attempt. It might eſpecially claim the patronage of our Board of Longitude, if a projector could ſubmit to the intrigue and ſolicitation required to move a body compoſed of ſuch materials. Were this ſcheme once realized, we might expect to ſee, at no very diſtant period, the phenomena of magnetiſm reduced almoſt to the ſame degree of certainty as the motions of the planets.

2. *Memoir on the nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder of fiſhes.* By M. Biot.

It is well known that fiſhes are enabled to ſink or riſe in their native element by means of an air-bladder, which they can compreſs or ſuffer to diſtend at pleaſure. The difficulty is to conceive how the air contained in that bag is procured. It muſt obviouſly

obviouſly be derived from the liquid in which they ſwim; but whether it is extruded by mechanical action, or ſecreted by ſome proceſs of the animal economy, naturaliſts have not yet decided. Air, in a certain proportion, is feebly combined with all freſh water, from which it is eaſily expelled by the application of heat, the removal of atmoſpheric preſſure, the gradual attack of congelation, or the addition of ſoluble matters. We might hence preſume, that ſcarcely any portion of air is lodged in ſalt water. Though the fiſhes in rivers or lakes were to extract air by the action of their gills, the inhabitants of the ocean could not be ſuppoſed to obtain their ſupply through the ſame means. The beſt mode, however, of ſettling the queſtion, is to diſcover the quality of the gas contained in the bladder, and to compare it with atmoſpheric air. This was the object propoſed by M. Biot, whoſe active mind embraces every philoſophical purſuit. His experiments were performed at intervals, on the ſhores of the ſavage iſles of Yviza and Fromentera, while engaged in extending the meaſurement of the meridian by a chain of triangles, from Barcelona acroſs the Mediterranean. And it is conſoling to reflect, that the academician was allowed to carry forward his intereſting operations unmoleſted, and even under the protection of the Britiſh government, during a war which has unfortunately been proſecuted with a rancour diſgraceful to civilized nations.

M. Biot expreſſed the air-bladders, and examined the gas by means of Volta's eudiometer. The hydrogen employed was of the pureſt kind, and collected over boiled water. A meaſure of it being transferred to the graduated tube containing the peculiar gas, the mixture was inflamed by an electric ſpark, and the quantity of abſorption noted. In this way, the proportion of oxygen was accurately aſcertained. The gas from different fiſhes, however, appeared extremely various in its compoſition: it contained no hydrogen, and ſcarcely any carbonic acid; but, in ſome ſpecimens, it conſiſted almoſt entirely of azote; and in others a ſmall portion of azote was combined with nearly ſix-ſeventh parts of oxygen. A curious fact was detected in the courſe of theſe experiments; namely, that the fiſhes which reſide in deep water hold a larger proportion of oxygen. The difference in this reſpect was ſo very ſtriking, that even the ſailors who aſſiſted M. Biot in his operations, were ready to anticipate the degree of detonation produced by the electric ſpark, according to the depth at which the fiſhes had been caught. It would hence appear, that the agency of the air-bladder has only a limited range, and that the different inhabitants of the ocean affect particular depths. In fact, a fiſh which lives 80 fathoms under water, muſt ſuſtain

a preſſure of nearly 16 atmoſpheres; and if brought to the ſurface, its bag, ſwelling to ſixteen times its uſual bulk, would, therefore, protrude out of the mouth of the animal. This effect is familiar to thoſe who frequent the banks of Newfoundland, where the cod is generally drawn up from a depth of 40 or 50 fathoms. If a fiſh happen to drop from the hook, it will float on the ſurface, diſtended, helpleſs, and quite unable to replunge into its native element.

We may now ſafely conclude that fiſhes, by ſome unknown proceſs, decompoſe the water in which they ſwim, and that they diſcharge the hydrogen, and force the oxygen into their air-bladder. The azote with which this oxygen is mixed may proceed from putrid animal matters, which are the moſt abundant near the ſurface. But, what becomes of the hydrogen thus diſengaged? May it not combine with the phoſphorus ſupplied by the animal ſyſtem, and become mixed with the waters of the ocean? And may not the luminous appearance, which in the dark attends the agitation of the ſea, be occaſioned by the ſpontaneous inflammation of this phoſphorated hydrogen, as it is daſhed up to the ſurface? The ſuppoſition of an admixture of putreſcent ſubſtances would certainly not account for that phenomenon, which takes place in the cleareſt water of the fathomleſs ocean. It is produced only by agitation; and, according to the frequency of the air bubbles that eſcape, the troubled ſurface ſometimes ſparkles like ſtars, and ſometimes gleams like a ſheet of lambent flame.

3. *First Eſſay, to determine the variations of temperature which the gases experience in changing their density; with conſiderations on their capacity for caloric.* By M. Gay-Luſſac.

The ingenious inquiries of Dalton and Gay-Luſſac, reſpecting the nature and conſtitution of the gaſes, have led to concluſions of the ſimpleſt and moſt ſpecious kind. It has thence been confidently inferred that, with the application of heat, all the gaſes expand exactly alike; and that, under all the varieties of denſity, they contain, in ſimilar circumſtances, the ſame abſolute quantity of heat and of moiſture; in ſhort, that heat and moiſture are paſſively diffuſed through their ſubſtance, and only ſupported by a certain mechanical ſuſpenſion. But, the diſcrepancies being often ſmoothed by the aid of conjecture, thoſe partial reſults were far too haſtily erected into general principles; and the experiments themſelves, conducted on a very limited and imperfect ſcale, entirely wanted the degree of accuracy which ſuch delicate objects would demand. When a ſuitable opportunity occurs, we will not decline the diſcuſſion. In the mean time, it may

may suffice to observe, that the gaseous theory to which we allude, is at variance with the laws of chemical attraction, established by M. Berthollet, and is utterly repugnant to the uniform analogy of nature. We discern around us no substance really inert; and a closer examination gradually discovers that extended energy which connects the whole system of things.

The inquiry now under review was chiefly occasioned by a passage in Professor Leslie's book on heat. The depth and originality of the author receive due praise: but while M. Gay-Lussac admired the beauty of the experiments recorded in that work, he was disposed, as might be expected, to question the validity of some of the conclusions. He therefore deemed it proper to appeal to fact. His researches, with this view, were instituted in the physical cabinet at Arcueil; and he was encouraged and directed to pursue them, by the earnest advice of Berthollet and La Place. Conscious, however, of the imperfection of the means employed, M. Gay-Lussac states the results of his experiments with becoming modesty and hesitation. To judge more fairly, however, we shall quote Mr Leslie's words: they form Note 20. of the '*Inquiry into the nature and propagation of heat.*

'The *capacity* of the permanent gases is increased by rarefaction; and hence a corresponding portion of heat becomes again evolved, when they recover their former state. Having, therefore, fixed a delicate thermometer in the centre of a large receiver, extract most of the air, leaving perhaps only the tenth or hundredth part, and allow the apparatus to acquire exactly the temperature of the room; then suddenly admit the air into the partial void, and the heat now disengaged will proportionally raise the general temperature. Repeat the exhaustion; but, after the necessary interval of time, open a communication with some other species of gas: the same quantity of heat will be liberated as before, but its effect may be different. If the gas be more absorbent of heat than an equal bulk of common air, it will experience less alteration of temperature. Hence their order of arrangement is ascertained; though to determine the true relation, would require some further research. The heat, thus suddenly let loose, is not all exerted upon the contained gas; the greater part of it is spent in warming the internal surface of the receiver. This expenditure, however, being obviously proportioned to the relative extent of surface, might be discovered by repeating the observation with another receiver, of a similar form, but much smaller dimensions. Hence, by a simple computation, the *capacity* of the gas will be derived.

'In the case of hydrogenous gas, no calculation was required;

for, on its admission, it suffered exactly the same change of temperature as atmospheric air. Hence, in the same space, they both contain equal measures of heat; which agrees very nearly with Dr Crawford's experiments.'

M. Gay-Lussac adopted a more complex process, and employed for his purpose a sort of double transferrer. He selected two tubulated receivers, each containing 12 *litres*, or about 25 English pints. To the one neck he adapted a stop-cock, and in the other he fixed a spirit-of-wine thermometer, so wonderfully sensible, he pretends, as to mark the 100dth part of a degree of the centigrade scale. The receivers being exhausted by the action of an air-pump, were filled with the particular gas, and, after standing twelve hours, were connected together through the medium of a leaden pipe. To avoid the effects of moisture, a small portion of the muriate of lime was previously introduced. The first receiver being filled with common air, and the second exhausted as much as possible, a communication was suddenly made; and in the space of about two minutes, the first thermometer rose .61 parts of a degree, and the second thermometer sunk .58 parts. The first receiver was now rarefied successively to one half and to one fourth, and the observation repeated: an increased temperature of .34 and .20 parts of a degree was indicated by the one thermometer, and a like diminution by the other. Hydrogen gas was next employed. At the ordinary density, the heat produced was .92, and the cold .77: at half that density, the heat and cold were both only .54. With carbonic acid gas, the heat produced was .56, and the cold .50, at the ordinary density; and these opposite effects, in the case of gas of half the density, were .30 and .31. The first receiver being filled with oxygen gas, the effects were .58 and .56; and when rarefied one half, these quantities were reduced to .31 and .32.

Comparing the several results, M. Gay-Lussac ventures, but with considerable distrust, to draw the following conclusions.

'1. When a void space becomes occupied by a gas, the heat evolved is not derived from the small residuum of air.

'2. When a vacuum is made to communicate with the like space filled with a gas, the thermometric variations are equal in both.

'3. In the same gas these thermometric variations are proportional to the changes of density.

'4. The variations of temperature are not the same for all the gases, but increase as the densities diminish.

'5. The capacities of any gas for caloric, diminish under the same volume with its density.

'And, 6. That the capacities of the gases for caloric, under equal volumes, are somehow reciprocally as their specific densities.'

These conclusions most cruelly disturb the harmony of the former

former gaſeous theory, and may at leaſt contribute to check the raſh precipitancy of generalizing. But to aſcertain to what confidence they are entitled, will ſtill require ſome cloſer examination. The humble apparatus employed was on too ſmall a ſcale, and by far too rudely conſtructed, for ſuch delicate obſervations. The ſpirit of wine thermometer was particularly exceptionable; ſince, to exhibit ſuch large degrees, the bulb muſt have been of enormous ſize, and conſequently unfit altogether for catching the tranſient impreſſions. An inſtrument deſigned for diſcovery, is very different from one adapted for the purpoſe of exhibition. It is even admitted, that the thermometer did not mark the tenth part of the full effect. What is infinitely more perplexing, theſe indications, in the circumſtances under which the experiments were performed, could not be proportional; for, rarefied gas being a ſlower conductor, would act with leſs energy on the bulb of the thermometer, and thus produce a ſmaller impreſſion before the partial evolution of heat was diſſipated on the ſurrounding matter. But we object decidedly to the plan of the apparatus, which was inartificial, and unneceſſarily complicated. In each experiment, oppoſite influences were blended together; and on forming the communication, the ſecond receiver exhibited at the ſame inſtant a condenſation and a rarefaction. It was hence impoſſible rightly to diſtinguiſh the ſeparate effects. The ſmall quantities obtained in the experiments with rarefied gaſes, were evidently fallacious; for the receivers containing leſs gaſeous matter, a larger proportion of the heat, now diſengaged, was conſequently ſpent on their internal ſurfaces.

M. Gay-Luſſac cannot agree with Mr Leſlie, that the riſe of temperature obſerved on admitting the external air into an exhauſted receiver, is derived from the condenſation of the ſmall portion of air which had ſtill remained; 'becauſe,' ſays he, 'on introducing a minute portion of air into the imperfect vacuum, a quantity of caloric muſt be abſorbed equal nearly to that which would be diſengaged, if the receiver, exhauſted to the ſame point, had been allowed to fill entirely; whereas the ſlighteſt admiſſion of air is always accompanied with heat.' But it appears to us, that the original experiment was deciſively concluſive. For, whence could the heat proceed? It was not introduced by the external air, ſince this underwent no change of condition; and, conſequently, it muſt have been previouſly contained in the receiver. The objection here advanced is incorrectly ſtated. It proves only, that the quantity of heat abſorbed in rarefying a portion of air, is *exceeded* by the quantity of heat evolved in condenſing a rarer portion of the fluid to the ſame point; in other words, that the capacity of air increaſes in a higher ratio than its rarity, which is unqueſtionably the caſe. We can ſcarcely perſuade ourſelves, indeed, that a

philoſopher ſo acute as M. La Place could have paſſively ſuffered ſuch a manifeſt paralogiſm to eſcape.

It would be quite ſuperfluous, therefore, to purſue any further our remarks on theſe experiments. They can afford no ſolid or ſatisfactory reſults. If an experimentaliſt of ſuch acknowledged ſkill and ability thus fail in his attempts, the public may learn to receive with caution, and even miſtruſt, thoſe random obſervations which are ſo often obtruded, and ſo haſtily wrought up into general principles. To notice looſe facts, coſts no great effort; but to draw out the more recondite properties of matter, —to determine quantities and aſſign proportions, requires the moſt delicate mode of procedure. It was by nice and unwearied reſearch, lighted by the torch of Geometry, that aſtronomical ſcience has been carried to ſuch tranſcendent perfection. In the proſecution of the arduous undertaking which he has ſketched out, we truſt that M. Gay-Luſſac will ſoon perceive the neceſſity of providing a more elaborate apparatus, capable of the ſimpleſt adaptations, and yet combined with the moſt delicate meaſures. We ſhall then return with pleaſure, to follow the ſteps of his progreſs.

It evinces the activity of the Society of Arcueil, that the ſecond volume of their Memoirs, and of this year's date, has already come into our hands. We hope to give ſome account of it in our next Number.

ART. X. *Æſchyli Tragœdiæ, ex Editione Thomæ Stanleii. Accedunt Notæ VV. DD. quibus suas intertexuit Samuel Butler, A. M.* Cantabrigiæ, Typis ac Sumtibus Academicis. Tom. I. 4to. Tom. I. & II. 8vo. 1809.

NEARLY three hundred years have now elapſed ſince Æſchylus firſt appeared from the preſs of the Aldi, under the care and ſuperintendance of Aſulanus, the defects of whoſe edition the labours of eight ſucceeding editors have but imperfectly ſupplied. A conſiderable proportion of thoſe which ſtill remain, we may hope, will yet be done away, by the united efforts of learned men; but there is now little chance that the world will ever know with certainty what the ſon of Euphorion wrote. The judgment which poſterity has paſſed on the merit of his writings, ſeems to have been different from that of Ariſtophanes, if we may meaſure the eſtimation in which they held the three tragedians, by the number of their works which they have preſerved, and their comparative purity. Euripides is quoted page after page by the philoſophers, ſophiſts, and grammarians; the latter of whom have tranſmitted

10

to us nineteen of his plays in a tolerably intelligible form, while the verses of Æschylus are thinly scattered through their works, and seven only of his tragedies are extant, and in a deplorably corrupt state. Manuscripts, however, of this poet (at least of the three first plays, as they are usually arranged) are not scarce; but by far the greater part of them are wretched transcripts one of the other, made at a very recent period. Of fourteen MSS., of which we have seen the collations, five are of the 15th century, three of the 16th, one of the 17th, and two of the 14th century; three only being of considerable age. There is reason, however, to believe, that some of the libraries on the Continent conceal manuscripts more valuable than any which have yet been collated by any editor; one in particular, of venerable antiquity, is preserved in the Medicean library at Florence; unless, as is most probable, it has been conveyed, with the other treasures of that city, to the vast museum of learning and the arts at Paris.

It must always be a subject of regret to us, that an opportunity of discovering and consulting these manuscripts was denied to a man so eminently qualified for the undertaking as the late lamented Professor Porson. In consequence of his refusal to undertake the republication of Æschylus, under the restrictions which the University of Cambridge thought proper to impose on the editor, the task, and an arduous one it was, was devolved upon Mr Butler.

We are at a loss to conceive the reasons which could have induced the Syndics of the Cambridge press to insist upon *a literal reprint* of the corrupt text of Stanley's edition, when so many unquestionable corrections had been made by later critics, and when they were themselves in possession of many subsidia, of which no editor had hitherto availed himself.

Mr Butler has had access to the MS. notes of Scaliger, Casaubon, and Stanley; as well as to the collations of nine MSS., made partly by the late Dr Askew, and partly by some of his learned correspondents on the Continent. The curiosity of the literary world is now gratified by the appearance of the first volume of this long expected edition, containing the Prometheus and Supplices, reprinted from the text of Stanley, with the commentary and version of that learned editor, enriched and corrected by copious additions from the unpublished materials already alluded to.—To these are subjoined two commentaries, one critical, and the other illustrative; forming part of what is intended, as we suppose, to form a complete 'Corpus Æschyleum,' comprehending the substance of all former commentaries, and of course including whatever is material in the notes of Robortellus, Muretus, Turnebus, Stephens, Garbitius, and later critics; together with some original remarks communicated to Mr Butler

Butler by the celebrated historian Müller, who, whatever may have been his merits in other respects, was certainly but little qualified to comment upon Æschylus. We speak this, however, with deference to Mr Butler, who, to use his own expression, 'adores from afar the footsteps of this great man.' The various lections are noted with great care, as well as the *obeli* of the latter Glasgow edition. We wish that Mr Butler had been contented with giving us this very useful synopsis of the different readings, with his own opinions and remarks, without subjoining the ponderous and often useless annotations which swell the volume to an alarming size. From the arrangement also of the divisions, the reader is continually obliged to refer to no less than six different parts of the volume. This is an inconvenience which is particularly experienced in using the editions of classical authors, published by the Society of Deuxponts.

Mr Butler professes to have collated four manuscripts not previously consulted: but we have good reason to believe, that the two 'Codices Cantabrigiensis' were formerly in the possession of Dr Mead; and that a collation of them, made by Dr Askew in the year 1744, is noted in the copy of Stanley's Æschylus formerly in his possession, and now in the University library. It may probably be unnecessary to inform Mr Butler, that some of the conjectures of Casaubon, copied from a book in the National library at Paris, and noted in the margin of this Stanley, have since been published with remarks by Vauvilliers. We will now consider, as briefly as possible, the critical and philological parts of the volumes before us.

Mr Butler conjectures, that the three dramas on the subject of Prometheus, together with a fourth, perhaps the Supplices, formed a 'Tetralogia Promethea.' We are rather inclined to believe the author of the argument to the Persæ, who probably derived his information from the *Didascaliæ*, when he tells us, that Æschylus gained the prize in the Archonship of Menon by the following Tetralogy,—the Persæ, Phineus, Glaucus Potnieus, Prometheus, *i. e.* the Prometheus vinctus or the Prometheus solutus; for the Prometheus Ignifer appears to have been a satyric drama, as was the Glaucus Potnieus.

Mr Butler has not remarked, that the true reading (as the late Professor judged) in the 2d verse, viz. ἄβροτον, is preserved by the Venetian scholiast, Il. Ξ. 78. Eustath. p 958. 42. Phavorin in v. Ἀβρότη νύξ. It is singular that Villoison should have cited the passages from Eustathius and Phavorinus, ad Apollonii Lex. p. 10, without observing their reference to this verse. On the other hand, the common lection is exhibited by the scholiast, Aristoph. Ran. 826. Synes. Epist. p. 35, and, if we mistake not, by the author

of

of a MS. Lexicon ap. Bibl. Coislin. p. 469. In v. 17. we believe that Porson read ἐυωριάζειν, which Hesychius explains by παρακούειν: now, this is the word which Lucian uses, in his paraphrase of this passage:—ἐξωριάζειν is a word, which, notwithstanding Schütz's assertion to the contrary, we believe nowhere exists. In v. 59. πόρους is undoubtedly the true reading, to prove which we could produce various satisfactory testimonies omitted in the notes under consideration. We agree with a learned critic, who, in his remarks on Porson's edition of the Hecuba, stated the utility of noting in what parts of the antient authors any portions of the text in question are quoted. This certainly may be effected by great memory or great industry; but we do not wonder that Mr Butler should have been deficient in this respect, considering the numerous and more important labours which he has had to accomplish in the capacity of editor. In v. 172. Mr Butler prefers μελιγλώσσοις to μελιγώσσης, which is the reading of some MSS.; and with great reason; for the latter word is not Greek. In v. 182. we had formerly conjectured δεδι' ἄρ'; but we believe that a celebrated scholar, who has restored to order the choric metres of Æschylus, reads δέδια δ', which correction is confirmed by a remarkably similar passage in Sophocles, Oed. Cot. v. 1468. Every one, who is at all conversant with the variations of manuscripts, knows how often the particles δὲ & γὰρ are confounded. For instance, the Venetian scholiast on the Iliad, E. 792, citing Sophocles, Æd. Col. 954, has θυμοῦ δὲ οὐδεν, for γὰρ οὐδέν. Two passages occur to us while writing, in one of which δὲ has usurped the place of γὰρ; and, in the other, γὰρ has unjustly expelled δὲ. The first is a fragment of Æschylus ap. Schol. Venet. Il. I. 589. Speaking of the fate of Actæon, he says κύνες δ' ἠμάθυνον ἄνδρα δεσποτη, where we should evidently read κύνες γὰρ ἠμάθυνον. As to the other passage, we will not speak so confidently. Aristoph. Nub. 191. τί γὰρ οἵδε δρῶσιν, οἱ σφόδρ' ἐγκεκυφότες, Brunck reads τί δ' ἄρ'—but the true reading is probably τί δ' οἵδε.

For κατισχνανεῖσθαι, v. 269, Porson preferred κατισχανεῖσθαι, quasi Αττικώτερον, and suggests that these are of the same class of words as ἐχθαιρω and ἐχθραίνω, ad Orest. 292. This we doubt; and are inclined to think, that ἰσχαίνω, or rather ἰσχάνω, and ἰσχναίνω, are distinct words, not only in form, but in meaning and etymological origin. The scholiast, by his gloss δεσμεῖσθαι, seems to have read κατισχανεῖσθαι. But κατισχνανεῖσθαι, which was a conjecture of Stanley's, and is supported by one manuscript of good note, unobserved by Mr Butler, is surely more in the style of Æschylus, and is besides confirmed by several similar passages.

It is not remarked, that the genuine reading in v. 329. is preserved by Stobæus, and the common lection in v. 350. by Plutarch.

In

In v. 354. the late Professor's certain correction was θοῦρον, ὅστις ἀντέστη θεοῖς, omitting πᾶσιν, which is here a needless intruder, as are πᾶς and its cases in many other passages: see Valckn. ad Phæniss. 509. For πᾶσιν Mr Butler would substitute μόνος; to which we have no other objection, than that Typhon was not the only antagonist of the Gods. We do not agree with Brunck in reading γαμφηλῇσι, v. 511, nor in his general attachment to Ionic inflexions, for the sake of an harmonious variety; as we are convinced that they have been for the most part introduced by the copyists, who were much more conversant in the dialect of Homer than in that of any other writer. Porson ad Med. 479. remarks the perpetual confusion which is found in these terminations, and prints sometimes the one form and sometimes the other. But, with all deference to the judgment of so profound a scholar, we think that consistency at least should be preserved in the same author. We are aware that, in this opinion, we have to dispute the authority of Valcknaer, who in Phæn. v. 62, defends πόρπῃσιν—where, however, Porson reads πόρπαισιν—and in Hippol. v. 1432, prefers ἀγκάλῃσι to the reading of the Florentine Ed. & Cod. Paris. ἀγκάλαισι.—In Aristophanes Eq. 198, for γαμφῆλῇσι we might read γαμφηλαῖσι from Athen. xi. p. 460; but there is no occasion, since it occurs there in an oracular hexameter. In the Nubes, v. 272, προχοαῖς ὑδάτων χρυσέης ἀρύτεσθε πρόχουσιν—2 MSS. Regii & the Codex Ravennas give χρυσέαις—and so we believe it to be written in the manuscripts of Thomas Magister in v. Χοή. In the passage of the Hysipyle of Euripides, introduced in the Ranæ 1211, Brunck reads καθαπτὸς ἐν πευκῇσι. but the Cod. Ravenn. has πευκαῖσι, and so it is cited by Macrobius, i. 18.—For φαινομένῃσιν. Eq. 1327, which Brunck has inserted on the authority of his MSS., the authority of the Codex Ravennas establishes φαινομέναισιν—Æsch. Pers. 186, ἀλλήλῃσι—ἀλλήλοισι, Viteb. Robort.—αλλήλαιν Ald., whence ἀλλήλαισι may easily be traced. As the instances where all the MSS. agree in the Ionic termination are few, when compared with those where a diversity of readings exists, the critic who will venture to correct them all, shall meet with our cordial support.

Mr Butler has not remarked, that in v. 437, Porson's correction, προυσελούμενον, is derived from a corrupt gloss of the author of the Etymologicon Magnum, who quotes a commentary on the Prometheus Vinctus; nor that in the passage of Philostratus, which he has cited at v. 450. Some MSS. have προσηλα, which Gruter and Saumaise prefer. Not but that πρόσειλα is the true reading there, as προσείλους is here; but where a reference is made in support of a disputed lection, the variations of the MSS. should be carefully noted: and it is somewhat curious, that in v. 73. of this play, from which Porson cites κἀπιθωΰξω γε πρός, in defence of

κατακτενῶ

καταπτυῶ γε πρὸς. Phæn. 619, two MSS. and Robortellus have σε πρὸς, and two MSS. δὲ πρὸς. Nor is it noted, that Valcknaer, in Theoc. Adoniaz. p. 354, adopts the common reading, ἀϋσυρος, in v. 451., for which much might be said; and the principal objection to it, viz. that the first syllable in σύρω is long, might with equal force be urged against διατριβή, παραψυχή, and similar words. We are, however, inclined to think with D'Arnaud. ad Hesych. p. 6., (whose remark Schütz has pilfered) that ἀησυρος is the genuine reading. The punctuation of vv. 461 et seqq., which is referred to Porson, should have been attributed to Tyrwhitt.. Neither Schütz, nor Brunck, nor Mr Butler, remembered that the concluding verses of the fragment of Moschion, which they cite from Stobæus, at v. 467, are corrected by Daniel Heinsius * in his Crepundia Siliana, p. 358.

In v. 480, Mr Butler judiciously adopts the reading of Robortellus, and three MSS. περίγ' ἐγώ. Brunck, who had an extraordinary affection for the particle ἄν, would fain insert it here, which

---

* The mention of this great scholar, reminds us of a fragment of Alcæus, which a learned critic has arranged in the Monthly Review, Vol. xxv., under the head of Butler's Marcus Musurus. He probably did not recollect, that, long before Johnson or Bentley, the lines had been disposed in their proper order by Heinsius. Crepund. Silian. p. 440. We will exhibit them as he has written them.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,
τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ἐν τὸ μέσσον
ναῒ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνᾳ.

χειμῶνι μοχθοῦντες μεγάλῳ, κακάν
πὰρ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπήδαν ἴσχει,
λαίφος δὲ πᾶν ἀδηλον ἤδη,
καὶ λακίδες μίγαλαι κατ' αὐτό.

Which he has thus closely translated.

Hinc fluctus alto volvitur impetu,
Atque inde, dum nos puppe nigrâ
Per medios properamus undas.

Versamur alti turbinibus freti,
Mali sub ipso dum latet æquore
Pars ima, nec velum supremis
Jam lacerum superest procellis.

For κακὰν & ἄδηλον, Heraclides Ponticus, Ed. Gale, has κακὰν & ζάδηλον.—Valckn. ad Ammon. p. 114, for κακὰν reads κοιλὰν against the metre.—The Reviewer omits the δ' and reads ἄμμες ἄν.—ἄμμες δ' ἐν τὸ μέσσον is cited by Apollonius Dyscolus. Reizii Excerpt. p. 428. —ἄδηλον is the reading of H. Stephens & Baxter, ad Hor. Od. i. 14. 1. But ζάδηλον is the Æolic form for διαδηλον.

which constitutes a palpable solecism; and is an attempt as vain as that which he makes to change αν into ἀν, contrary to the authority of the best MSS. in Aristoph. Nub. 395. On v. 587, we differ from the learned editor, who pefers ἄδδην to ἄδην. We side with Aristarchus, who wrote the latter in his two editions of Homer, while Nicias doubled the δ. It is not remarked that the Great Etymologist, p. 76, 28, attributes vv. 610, 611, 612, to Sophocles, and writes ὅπῃ for ὅτι. Mr Butler seldom notices the Attic form of ει for η (which in fact is only the most antient orthography, retained after the invention of the H), as πρόθυμεῖ, 631; and often quotes passages without making this correction. At v. 723, he writes thus, '"Ιξῃ, *Colb. 2. Ask. B. C. D. Cant. 2. Ar. Brunck. Schütz. Porson.*;' whereas, in fact, Porson has ἵξει as usual. He commends Pauw for his alteration of φλογῶπας from φλογωπὰς, because the latter would have its last syllable long. His praise is rightly bestowed, but his reason is unfortunate; inasmuch as the accusative feminine of the plural number from φλογωπός, is φλογωπούς, and not φλογωπὰς.

In v. 802, Mr Butler seems inclined to prefer Ακραγγεῖς, the lection exhibited by Aldus and one MS., to the common reading ἀκραγεῖς, on the authority of Hesychius, and the Etymol. M. We will, however, venture to pronounce, that there is no such word as ἀκραγγὴς, which certainly appears, *primâ facie*, an anomalous compound, and is, we conceive, unsupported by any sufficient vouchers. Hesych. Ἀκραγγής . δυσχερές . σκληρόν . ἐξυχολον . ἀσθενές—which is evidently a confusion of distinct glosses; Edd. Ven. & Flor. Ακραγεῖ; Cyrilli Lex. MS. Ακραγὴς; and in fact the second γ is an interpolation of Marcus Musurus. The common reading of v. 677, Λίγης ἄκρη τι, is defended by Mr Butler, on geographical grounds; but we fear that the incorrectness of the construction is sufficient to condemn it. The Scholiast. antiq. evidently read κρήνη. For the sake of avoiding an anapæst in the fifth place, v. 681, the learned editor supposes an extraordinary syniresis of ιο into one syllable, making αἰφνιδίως a trisyllable. This, however, we confidently state to be impossible, there being no analogy between this and the Latin Arjete, Consiljum, Nasidjenus, Fluvjorum and the like, which are enumerated by Bentley ad Horat. Serm. II. 8. 1., and after him by the Reviewer before mentioned. As a similar instance, is adduced Αιγυπτιογενὴς from the Persæ. 35, where Brunck, as Schütz remarks, '*acutely* observes, that αἰγυπτιογενὴς is a word of five syllables, as in Euripides, Phæn. 684. ἰὴλίοισι is to be so pronounced that λίοισι shall form a trochee.' This latter passage Musgrave has corrected, by reading ἰυλίοισι; and it is surprising that Brunck, Schütz and Mr Butler, with the reading of the Codex Mosquensis and Turnebus before their eyes, viz. Αιγυπτογενὴς, as it is printed also by Porson, should have persisted in

in retaining a word, which, independently of its false metre, is an anomalous compound; for we do not find Καδμειογενὴς, Κυπριογενὴς, Σουσιογενὴς, but Καδμογενὴς, Κυπρογενὴς, Σουσιγενὴς. The late Professor got over the difficulty, by transposing αὐτὸν and αἰφνίδιος. In v. 704, Brunck, after six MSS., reads Σύ τ' Ἰναχεῖον σπέρμα. Mr Butler prefers Σὺ δ'; but we are of opinion that Brunck is right; for by this alteration, we avoid a deviation from the idiom of the Tragedians, which requires Ἰναχεῖον σπέρμα σὺ δέ. Stephanus Byz. in v. Ἰναχία, has σὺ τ' Ἰναχεῖον σπ.; which is an evident corruption of σύ τ'.

V. 769. has sadly perplexed the critics. We shall pass over their various conjectures; observing merely, that Mr Butler adopts the correction of Mr Tate, πρὶν λυθῶ γ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν ἐγώ, to which we have the same objection as to that of Brunck, viz. that the transposition of ἔγωγ', and the changing it into ἐγὼ, materially weakens its force. But, in our apprehension, the difficulty is to be surmounted by so certain and easy a correction, that we are surprised at its having hitherto eluded all the critics. Most of the MSS. and editions have πρὶν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθῶ. Aldus, however, and Robortellus exhibit πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθῶ. One MS., the Medicean, gives λυθεὶς; from which three variations, the genuine reading is easily framed,—οὐ δῆτα, πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθείς. The corruption proceeded from the ignorance of the copyists, who were offended by the recurrence of the ἂν. This particle, however, is repeated in a similar manner, Eurip. Hecub. 736.; Med. 369.; Alcest. 78.; Helen. 299. as corrected by Porson; and ap. Stob. tit. xxi.; and, after an interval even less than the present, Æsch. Supp. 778. Soph. in Phædrâ. ap. Stob. Floril. xliii. p. 163. Trachin. 755. as corrected in a MS. note by Porson—φανεὶη τὶς ἂν δυναιτ' ἂν ἀγήρατον πεσεῖν; which correction was rendered necessary by the double N. A similar remedy must be applied to a fragment of Sophocles ap. Plut. Sympos. Prob. 9. ἅπαντα τὰ γίνη τὸ πρῶτον ἓλθεν ἅπαξ, which Valcknaer. Diatr. p. 222. corrects ἅπαντα τἀγίνητα πρῶτον ἦλθ' ἅπαξ,—read τἀγένητα. That great scholar has erred in a similar manner, Diat. p. 13, by reading πρὸς ἀγενήτων for πρὸς τῶν ἀγενῶν in a fragment of Euripides. In the verse before us, λυθεὶς is edited by Porson, which introduces a fine aposiopesis.

We are surprised, that, after the very probable correction of γάπιδα for δάπιδα, v. 828. suggested by Porson ad Orest. 324, Mr Butler should quote the common lection in a note on the Supplices, as authority for δάπιδα. We may remark, that the passage of Stephanus Byzantinus, adduced by the late Professor, furnishes us with a correction of the Venetian Scholia ad Il. Δ 2., where, for κρημνίδια should be read καπίδια. Hesych. Γάπιδα. ἄγγεια καὶ οἰκίαι; read ἀγγεῖ οἰκίαι; which conjecture is, we think, sufficiently esta-

blished by the passages of Stephanus and the Scholiast just mentioned. The agreement of all the MSS. in δάπεδα is certainly a perplexing circumstance; but no doubt remains on our minds of the truth of the above correction; and we suspect that the copyists, who were much more versed in Homer than in the Attic writers, introduced this word for γέπεδα, which did not happen to be of their acquaintance.

In v. 387, χυμάζῃ passes unnoticed, though Porson and one MS. have χυμάζει. We think that Hermann justly defends the common reading of v. 858.; but interprets it in a manner which the words, as they now stand, will not bear. The explanation given by Siebelis. Diatrib. ad Pers. p. 118, which Mr Butler censures somewhat hastily, appears to us judicious and satisfactory. 'Sed illarum deus invidebit corpora, *i. e.* non committet ut iis potiantur.' Heyne with Pauw reads δαμάντας; which is probable, but unsupported by MS. authority.

The correction of Schütz in v. 898, of μίγα for γάμῳ, suggested by μεγάμῳ, the reading of the Aldine edition, is happy, and meets with the approbation of Mr Butler. Our limits prevent us from noticing matters of less importance, which occur in the critical commentary. We will conclude our remarks on it with a list of those passages in the play which are not noticed by the learned editor as being quoted by the antient authors. vv. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 44. 59. 60. 79. 105. 248. 250. 327. 329. 350. 355. 365. 378. 437. 457. 575. 592. 610. 611. 612. 667. 704. 730. 764. 803. 979.

We shall now offer a few remarks on the philosophical commentary. This opens with a long and curious note of Mr Butler's friend Joannes Müller, written in most crude and inelegant Latin, which we are actually at a loss to construe, much more to comprehend. We wish that Mr Butler, if prevented by respect for his illustrious correspondent, from consigning these remarks to his Adversaria, or the flames, had thrown them together in the form of an excursus, which, in company with those of Christian Godfrey Schütz, would have formed a pretty appendix to the volume. We highly approve of this method, which has been pursued by commentators of the stamp of the late Mr Müller, as it leaves the reader more at liberty as to the perusal of their crude and uninteresting speculations.

What, for example, can be more absurd, than to imagine, as Müller does, that in v. 21. φωνὴν βροτῶν means the Greek tongue, or that by σφαὶς ἀνδασὶ γνάθον are intended 'the miseries and unavoidable fates of men, by which we are retained from liberty and happiness?' This spirit of allegorizing on the text of the antient authors, always leads the possessor of it into preposterous conjectures and revolting absurdities, and is as much a waste of

learning when employed on the classics, as it is dangerous in the study of the Scriptures.

The philological notes of Mr Butler himself are generally learned and useful; we regret that they are not more thickly scattered through this tedious mass of commentary; since there are still many singularities of language and construction which are passed over in silence. We could have wished, also, that those passages and phrases of Homer had been noted, which Æschylus has imitated or adopted: these are not a few, and are worthy of remark, as Æschylus is known to have been a warm admirer of the father of Grecian song, and to have termed his own compositions 'crumbs of the Homeric banquet.' We cannot refrain from transcribing, for the edification and amusement of our readers, a note of John Müller's on v. 186. '*Quanta his Jobus æquivoca dixit! Magnitudo duorum auctorum summæ antiquitatis similitudinem habet; altior tamen* AUSITIDENSIS; (*i. e.* the man of Uz.) *Græcus ad humaniorem* μεθολογίαν *delabitur.*' This is more in the style (we do not mean as to the Latinity) of Justus Lipsius, and Vincentius Obsopæus, than any thing we have read in the labours of modern commentators, except some of the lucubrations of Schütz.

On the word ἀνίερωσιν, v. 190, the reader should have been referred to the learned illustration of its primary and subsequent meanings given by Ruhnken ad Timæum.

We are surprised at the implicit deference which Mr Butler pays to the authority of Hesychius, Suidas, and the author of the Etymologicon Magnum, whose lexicons are three of the most corrupt books extant in any language. Indeed, it requires considerable caution and discernment to use the works of the lexicographists and grammarians with advantage, and to distinguish their own glosses from the valuable extracts from the more antient writers on language, with which they have enriched their treatises. And even these must be taken with some discrimination; for many of the specimens which remain, even of the most learned of them, are sad nonsense. We would recommend the young scholar, who takes in hand Hesychius or Suidas, after he has perused the preface of Pierson to Mæris, and Valcknaer's 'Schediasma de Epistolâ ad Eulogium,' to read the words of Ruhnken, Ep. Crit. 1. p. 86, and some sensible observations of Verheyk, in his 'Excursus de dialectis Antoninianis.'

A singular etymology is proposed for πῶνις, at v. 575. Mr Butler derives it from πὶ and ἰόνω—'errabunda.' To this we demur, first, because if it could be deduced from πὶ and ἴονμαι, it would be πωνὶς rather than πῶνις, and, in fact, three MSS. read πίσσων for πίσσων in v. 601, which, however, is too palpa-

ble a blunder of the copyist to delay us for a moment. Not that even νηστὴς would be Greek; for the only compound which analogy suggests is νηστάτης: secondly, because we conceive that it would be no difficult matter to prove, that the privative particle νὴ is a creature existing only in the imagination of the grammarians, like their favourite λι and λα ἐπιτατικά. This has been already done, in part, by Ruhnken, in his Epistola Critica. On παράκοπον, v. 583, an apposite gloss is given from Suidas. We wish παρακόπτω had been traced to its original meaning, which is, 'to beat out of time,' or 'across time,' as musicians say, which is also the primary signification of παραπαίω, v. 1055; παρα, in such words as these, is expressed by our English preposition 'beside.' No notice is taken of the learned illustration and interpretation of v. 862. by Ruhnken, who renders ἐν σφαγᾶσι 'in jugulo,' and supports his opinion by a variety of references; nor of Porson's remark on the Hecub. 1125, concerning the active usage of πιστὸς in v. 925.

We are somewhat surprised that Mr Butler should coincide with Morell in his strange version of v. 1000, ὀχλεῖς μάτην με κῦμ' ὅπως παρηγορῶν. '*Tu mihi, velut fluctus, molestus es, persuadendo,*' in which they follow M. Apostolius. The usual and obvious mode of construing, is confirmed to certainty by similar expressions in the Andromache, 583, and Medea, 28; see also Samson Agonistes, 960. Instead of the illustration of the phrase πτηνὸς κύων, v. 1021, which is adduced from Barth. Adv. viii. 14. the words of Ruhnken, Ep. Crit. p. 93, might have been transcribed with greater advantage. Mr Butler is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of v. 936, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί, 'sc. unumquemque.' The exact meaning, however, is better given by our English phrase, 'the ruler for the time being.' This is precisely what Thucydides means, II. c. 11. ἀπὸ θεραπείας τῶν ἀεὶ προεστώτων. The first volume contains also the fragments which are left us of the two lost dramas on the subject of Prometheus; but the length to which we have extended our remarks on the first play, compels us to reserve our observations on the remainder of the work, for a future Number.

On the whole, we are of opinion, that Mr Butler has rendered a considerable service to the literary world. For the improvement of the edition, we would certainly have recommended omissions on a very large scale, and not a few additions. The task, however, which the learned editor had to perform, was difficult; and he has been in some measure cramped in the execution of it: and, though we certainly think that the information which is given does not correspond in point of utility with the bulk of the commentaries through which it is to be hunted out;

yet

yet we are not disposed to deny that much has been done, because all has not been done which might. In the philological notes of Mr Butler, is displayed an extensive acquaintance with the works of those commentators who wrote soon after the revival of Greek literature. We are, however, often inclined to wish that, instead of the prolix illustrations which are adduced from the Adversaria & Variæ Lectiones of that age, he had given us the more useful and concise information which is to be found in the critics of the Dutch school; for, though we entertain all imaginable respect for Turnebus, Muretus and Beroaldus, we think that, in the volumes before us, their lucubrations, as well as those of their unworthy imitator Schütz, fill up a space which would have been more advantageously occupied by the notes of Hemsterhuis, Valcknaer, Pierson, Koen and Ruhnken.

The copious enumeration of various lections, which is contained in the critical commentary, will be of great utility to future editors of Æschylus; but we cannot help observing, that, although we are now presented with a very useful mass of collectanea, the volumes before us can scarcely be termed part of a '*new edition*' of Æschylus.

We will conclude our animadversions on the first volume with a sensible remark made by Schütz in the preface to his edition of this author, p. vii, who, it appears, afforded a singular instance of being convinced of a truth, and yet acting in direct opposition to it. Γνώμην ἴσχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται.

'Tale editionum genus, utut plurima in iis bona insint, propagando inter eruditos homines Græcarum litterarum studio parum prodesse certè scio; meliusque, quamvis minus gloriosè, de eo mereri arbitror, qui curent, ut correcta, quæ merum textum auctorum habeant, exemplaria, exiguo pretio venalia in manus studiosorum veniant.'

We should not omit to observe, that, for a knowledge of the corrections which we have stated as the late Professor Porson's, we are indebted to the kindness of a learned friend to whom they were originally communicated.

ART. XI. *Parliamentary Logic: to which are subjoined, Two Speeches, delivered in the House of Commons of Ireland, and other Pieces; by the Right Honourable William Gerard Hamilton. With an Appendix, containing Considerations on the Corn Laws, by Samuel Johnson, LL D. Never before printed.* 8vo. pp. 253. London, 1808.

THIS is all that remains of the famous Single-Speech Hamilton; and, attractive as the name and the subject unquestionably

are, it seems to have made but a feeble impression on the public. Yet there is no work which we should have thought more likely to make fortune in a country like this, than a short practical treatise on Parliamentary oratory, by a man who was long popularly supposed to have rivalled the eloquence of Chatham, and to have guided the pen of Junius. This little volume, however, we find, has been published for more than a year; and, without having *ever* been much talked of, seems pretty well advanced in its voyage to oblivion. We are sufficiently aware that there is no appeal from a verdict of *ignoramus* by the grand jury of the public; nor are we very much disposed to call its justice in question in the present instance: but we do think the work exceedingly curious; and conceive that a short account of it may be interesting to many who might want virtue to go through with the original.

The first thing in the volume is a preface, containing some account of the author; which, though extremely characteristic, need not detain us long. Mr Hamilton, who was born in London of Scottish parentage, was diligently instructed in learning and loyalty at Oxford; and, about the age of twenty-one, appears to have indited various dull odes, which he forthwith *printed* in a handsome quarto pamphlet, but prudently abstained from publishing,—from that proud and anxious fear of committing himself, which appears to have dictated all the action and all the inaction of his succeeding life. From college he came into the Society of Lincoln's Inn, where it is said that he studied law for some years with great assiduity; but could not bring himself to venture on the practice of the profession, till the death of his father left him at liberty to pursue a less laborious occupation. He came into Parliament in 1754; and, after sitting silent for something more than a year, at last delivered that *single speech*, upon which his reputation has exclusively rested down to the present day. The speech, which, we are told, was 'set, and full of antitheses,' was in favour of the ministry; and was * speedily rewarded by a place at the Board of Trade, at which, and at the back of the Treasury Bench, the eloquent gentleman sate *silent* for five years more, when he was appointed secretary to Lord Halifax, on his nomination as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and took his departure for that country in 1761. Here he was under the necessity, on more than one occasion, of violating his prudential silence; but, that this might be accomplished with the least possible hazard, it appears, from the volume before us, that he

* He contributed *another* speech, it appears, before he got his reward; but as it was on the same subject with the first, and by no means so brilliant, it seems to have been generally forgotten.

he was in the habit of writing out his orations in a fair hand, in due time before the occasion of debate. Upon his return to England, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland, which office he continued to hold till 1784; when, 'to accommodate the Government,' as his biographer informs us, he was so obliging as 'to resign it to Mr Foster, upon receiving an equivalent compensation,'—the nature or amount of which is not explained. From the period of his return from Ireland in 1762, down to his death in 1796, nothing more seems to be known of his history, than that he wrote, and copied fairly out, the treatise now before us; and that he had constantly a seat in Parliament, where he uniformly held his tongue, and voted (as we have always heard) with the party in power. In the year last mentioned he died, rich and unmarried.

There is a great deal of character, we think, in this brief and naked outline; nor shall we judge less correctly of the singular performance before us, if we carry to the perusal of it the impression of a man of second-rate talents and first-rate pretensions, —of that mixture of fastidiousness and feebleness,—of acuteness as to little things, and incapacity as to great,—of timidity and arrogance,—of coldness and restless ambition,—which has palmed so many false reputations on the world, and so often enabled cunning mediocrity to usurp the honours of genius.

The editor takes a great deal of pains to prove that Mr Hamilton was not Junius; and even seems to think, that he does great honour to his memory by wiping away that foul imputation. *He* would not have shown such ignorance of law, nor such *petty* knowledge of military matters; nor would he have used the barbarous term of collegian for a gownsman; nor spoken of the merit of Cromwell, or the accomplishments of Bradshaw,—as that celebrated writer has done. Moreover, the said editor has occasion to know, that Mr Hamilton once positively confessed to an intimate friend, 'that he could have written better papers than those of Junius;' and that, at another time, when a particular passage was imputed to him, he flew into a passion, and protested, 'that if he had written such a passage as that, he should have thought he had forfeited all pretensions to good taste or composition for ever.'

Those proofs, we will confess, do not, of themselves, appear to us perfectly conclusive; but, at the same time, we think that the editor has completely settled the question by this publication; and that no man, who reads it through, can fail to be satisfied that Mr Hamilton was not the author of those celebrated letters. The speeches in Parliament, which are now printed from his own manuscript, are of themselves, we think, perfectly decisive. They

have no resemblance whatever to the style of Junius, either in its beauties, or its defects. They are neat, correct, and formal compositions,—written in a very moderate, artificial, and somewhat feeble tone,—without vehemence or splendour—figure, point, or personality. The general character of the man, too, and the sort of taste and talent displayed in the work before us, appear to leave no room for doubt on the subject.

There is another point which the editor labours with equal zeal, though, in our opinion, with infinitely less success; and that is, the justification of the personal politics of the author,—of that cold-blooded indifference (to give it the mildest name) which prevented him from entering with zeal into the views of any party, and enabled him at all times to side with the most powerful, without exposing himself to the charge of any very gross inconsistency. This, we think, is a far more dangerous heresy than the mere idolatry of his abilities, and requires to be denounced with somewhat greater severity.

'He had no very strong attachment,' we are told, 'to any party whatsoever; and indeed considered politics as *a kind of game*, of which the stake or prize was the administration of the country. Hence he thought, that those who conceived that one party were possessed of greater abilities than their opponents, and were therefore fitter to fill the first offices in the State, might, with great propriety, adopt such measures (consistent with the constitution) as should tend to bring their friends into the administration of affairs, or to support them when invested with such power; *without weighing in golden scales the particular parliamentary questions which should be brought forward for this purpose*; looking, on such occasions, rather to the *object* of each motion, then to the question itself. And in support of these positions, which, however short they may be of theoretical perfection, do not perhaps very widely deviate from the actual state of things, he used to observe, that if any one would carefully examine all the questions which have been agitated in Parliament from the time of the Revolution, he would be surprised to find how *few* could be pointed out, in which an honest man might not conscientiously have voted on either side,—however, by the force of rhetorical aggravation, and the fervour of the times, they may have been represented to be of such importance, that the very existence of the State depended on the result of the deliberation.'

Now, all this, we will confess, sounds very moderate and reasonable; and, if given merely as the creed of a retired philosopher, might admit of a tolerable defence: but, when avowed as the guiding principle of a man of talents, who sits and votes among the representatives of the people, we do not scruple to say, that it strikes us as coming too near to an avowal of systematic baseness and predetermined servility.

It

It is very true that many of the queſtions which are keenly debated in Parliament, are not, of themſelves, of vital importance to the country or the conſtitution. They do not lead immediately to the ſubverſion of the throne, or the deſtruction of the liberties of the people; but every conſtitutional queſtion,—and every *party* queſtion, in ſo far as the ſtanding parties of court and country are concerned,—has this tendency more or leſs remotely, and ought to be ſo conſidered by all who are to aſſiſt in its deciſion. The carrying or the loſing of every ſuch queſtion tends, undoubtedly, to confirm or to endanger ſome principle of the conſtitution, and to increaſe or diminiſh a power which muſt be conſidered as conſtantly working for its deſtruction. Until the conſtitution and the country are upon the very eve of deſtruction, it is upon ſuch queſtions alone that the zeal of their defenders can be exerted; and it is only by bringing forth all their ſtrength, and contending, and controuling each other on that debateable border, that the two parties, upon whoſe eternal conflict the balance of our government depends, can be maintained in ſafety and vigour. If they were not to contend upon theſe ſmall queſtions, they would ſoon come to have one great battle for their exiſtence; and the iſſue of that could not be long doubtful, if the champions of one had uniformly yielded in every preparatory conteſt.

The immediate objects of war are for the moſt part as inſignificant, if they be conſidered in themſelves, as the immediate objects of parliamentary contention; and a philoſopher may be permitted to think, that it is of no great conſequence, whether this border fortreſs, or that diſtant iſland, belong to one or the other of the contending parties. A ſtateſman, however, cannot be permitted to think ſo; becauſe he knows that a nation which gives up its border forts and its iſlands to unjuſt aggreſſion, will ſoon have to contend about its metropolis;—and leaſt of all can it be permitted to the ſoldier to whom the defence of the fortreſs has been entruſted, to act upon ſuch an opinion. Now, the members of the legiſlature are the ſoldiers of the conſtitution. They are engaged in a true and never-ending warfare; and are equally to be conſidered as traitors and deſerters, when they betray the truſt that has been repoſed in them, or decline the conteſt to which they are defied.

Such, we think, is the fair reſult of the firſt article of the political creed imputed to the author before us,—that it is fooliſh to attach one's ſelf to a party; and that it is no matter how moſt debated queſtions are carried. From this, however, there is a corollary to be deduced, which appears to us to be pregnant with conſequences ſtill more alarming. If a man has no attachment to any party, or the principles of any party,—then there can

be no objection to his changing his party as often as may ſuit his perſonal convenience; and if it be really a matter of indifference how any diſputed point be carried, it muſt be abſurd to ſuppoſe that he ſhould not always lend his aid to carry it in the way moſt likely to be of advantage to himſelf. Accordingly, we are told that Mr Hamilton was of opinion, that there were 'very few queſtions on which a man might not vote *conſcientiouſly* on *either* ſide;' and that, when any object was to be gained, it was not neceſſary 'to weigh in golden ſcales' the intrinſic merits of the controverſy. It is impoſſible not to ſee, that a legiſlator, with ſuch a creed and ſuch a conſcience, muſt always be at the command of the party which is actually in poſſeſſion of patronage and power; and that thoſe mild and philoſophical maxims which might ſuit the meditations of a recluſe, can never be acted upon by an attending member of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, without producing all the effects of the baſeſt venality. Mr Hamilton, accordingly, ſat and voted on the ſide of the Treaſury for the better part of forty years; and contrived to exert a conſiderable influence with no fewer than *twelve* ſucceſſive Lords-Lieutenant of Ireland.—But it is time now to introduce the reader to his publication.

For our own part, we confeſs we have always been of opinion, that there was no ſuch thing as *an art* of reaſoning or of ſpeaking; and that it would be nearly as abſurd to think of teaching a man to ſee or to breathe, as to imagine that he can learn any thing from an inſtructor in the equally natural functions of ſpeech and underſtanding. At all events, the only inſtruction from which any improvement can be expected, muſt be that which conſiſts mainly in exerciſe and exertion. When we would teach a youth to box or to dance, we ſet him a-dancing or boxing; nor did it ever occur, we believe, to the moſt fantaſtical profeſſors of thoſe ſciences, to begin their inſtructions by a long account of the anatomy of the legs and arms; and to inſiſt upon their pupils learning the names and the movements of all the nerves and muſcles, by the combination of which it might be demonſtrated that all graceful and powerful motion muſt be produced. Yet this is nearly the whole that is done by teachers of rhetoric and logic. They preſent you merely with a dry anatomy of intellectual boxing and dancing; and pretend to have taught the arts of reaſoning and elocution, when they have merely pointed out laboriouſly all the ſteps which are taken unconſciouſly by thoſe who excel in thoſe accompliſhments,—in which no one ever can excel, who does not take them unconſciouſly. When a logician gives names to the faculties of the mind, and claſſifies the methods of inveſtigation, and enumerates the various orders of ſyllogiſms and paralogiſms,

logisms, does he add more to your skill in reasoning, than the grammarian who takes account of the diphthongs, and reckons up the forms of the plural and of the past participle in your native tongue, does to your knowledge and command of the language? And when a master in rhetoric analyzes an oration into its several parts, or counts up the tropes and figures which it is natural to use in anger, in grief, or in derision, does he give more practical instruction than if he had told you, that articulation depended on the teeth, the tongue, and the lips; or that sorrow showed itself in tears, and rage in distortions? The *information* contained in such works, in short, must, if it be true, be self-evident and known to every one; and, at the same time, never can be present to the mind of him who acts most successfully on the faith of it. The *precepts* are nearly of the same value. What should we think of an instructor, who should gravely direct us to be beautiful and witty when we made love, and strong and valiant when we went to battle? Yet young men are set to con over such profound maxims as to endeavour to gain the favour of your audience, and to make your opponent hateful or ridiculous. Nay, Mr Hamilton condescends to provide parliamentary orators with such advices as the following—'Let your state of facts be simple and elegant, and your reasoning strong and forcible.' It would have been more compendious, and quite as rational, to have said, 'Be sure upon all occasions to say the very best things in the very best manner.'

The truth is, that orators make discourses upon oratory, and are never made by them. There is an instinct of good sense which leads all that are capable of reaching it, to the true course of argument, much more certainly than precept; nor did we ever happen to know a young man of good understanding, who was acquainted with the subject in dispute, and had had but a moderate share of practice in public speaking, who was at all at a loss either to refute the sophistry of his antagonist, or to put his own argument in the most favourable light, without any aid from the maxims of a technical rhetoric.

But though these observations are directly applicable to a great part of the treatise before us, it would be unfair not to add, that it contains a good number of practical maxims and acute remarks, of which it might sometimes be of importance for a debater to be reminded; but the utter want of arrangement or method of any sort, and the copious intermixture of paltry truisms and frivolous refinements, are such, we fear, as entirely to prevent its utility. If the substance of the work had been found in the form of mere notes and hints for debating, carelessly scattered among the papers of a deceased legislator, they would certainly have given

given us a very favourable opinion of his acuteness; but when we find that the treatise which contains them, disorderly and shamefully immethodical as it is, was fairly written out and shown as a complete work to Dr Johnson, many years ago, we will confess that we are more strongly impressed with the feebleness which was incapable of digesting its materials, than with the industry which must have been employed in collecting them. Not only all sorts of precepts as to the management of the audience —the preparation of the subject—the choice of style, and the manner of delivery, are jumbled together in the same page,—but no attempt is even made to separate or distinguish the directions for getting at the truth, from the recipes for disguising or concealing it. Throughout the whole work, indeed, it does not seem to have once occurred to the author, that it could ever be the object of debate, or at least of parliamentary debate, to promote the cause of justice or truth; all that he professes to teach is, how to get the better of an antagonist; and judging, wisely, that they who are in the right stand little in need of his instructions, nine-tenths of them are professedly devised for the assistance of those who know they are in the wrong. We have nowhere seen a more barefaced manual of sophistry; and should think its tendency pernicious, if we had any idea that it could at all affect the practice of its readers.

Another singular defect in the arrangement of the work, is the confounding of the precepts or directions for debate, with the actual enumeration of various general topics or subjects of discussion. Thus we have remarks upon the origin and defects of law, interspersed, without any warning, with instructions for the use of ridicule; and statements of the relative strength of Great Britain and Austria, mixed in with hints for retorting personalities. Such, in short, is the confused and miscellaneous appearance of the work, that if we were to hazard a conjecture as to the manner of its composition, we should imagine, that the author, in the course of his long attendance in Parliament, had been in the habit of noting down the observations that occurred to him upon the management of every important debate; and stating, shortly, the general grounds of argument that were employed or omitted, and the arts or devices which were or might have been resorted to; and that he afterwards extracted from this journal, such observations as seemed capable of the most extensive application; and, without any attempt to arrange or reduce them to principle, baptized the collection by the name of Parliamentary Logic. It seems impossible to account for the utter disregard of every thing like method, upon any other hypothesis; and if there be any foundation for the conjecture, it must add, we should think,

think, to the intereſt of the work,—ſince it muſt thus be conſidered as the reſult of a long and vigilant obſervation of the oratorical practice of ſuch men as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, and their opponents.

In addition to the other cauſes of repulſion to which we have alluded, the ſtyle of the work, we ought to obſerve, is extremely affected and peculiar. Sometimes the author mimics the pregnant brevity of Bacon,—but without his force or felicity. At other times, he emulates the obſcurity and harſh technical brevity of Ariſtotle,—but without his ſcience or accuracy. On one occaſion, he affects to give general and ſweeping maxims: at another, he enters into the moſt minute details and ſuggeſtions. Now and then he is cunning and ſagacious; and very frequently quite frivolous or ſtupid. The reader may begin with a ſpecimen of the Ariſtotelian profundity. This is the formidable outſet of the work.

'Distinction, amplification, reflection, as a *nexus*.

'What you know, what you do not; what ſaid, what ſilent; what clear, what doubtful, what contradictory.

'A manifeſtation of a thing, or a compound of it, not abſolutely the thing itſelf.'

In the ſame taſte are the following pithy apophthegms.

'Some argument, some ridicule, some eloquence.

'Periphraſis firſt; and then ſententious, to bind it up at the end.

'INTERPRETATIO LEGUM;—Hiſtorica, Etymologica, Analogica, Practica.

'To provide againſt ambiguities of ſpeech, inquire of majority, minority, priority, poſteriority, identity, diverſity, poſſibility, act, totality, parts, exiſtence, privation, &c.

'Preface,—Concluſion,—Digreſſion,—Tranſition,—Excuſation.

'There are ſeven adjuncts, popularly called circumſtances: QUIS, QUID, UBI, QUIBUS, AUXILIIS, CUR, QUOMODO, QUANDO.

'Origin,—certainty,—and extent of our knowledge.—Diſtinguiſh each; ſo, the grounds of belief, opinion, and aſſent.

'Perceive, compare, conclude.'

At laſt he ends us fairly in the ten predicaments,—and ſets down this as a cardinal point in parliamentary logic.

'Ten predicaments:—ſubſtantia, qualitas, quantitas, relatio, actio, paſſio, quando, ubi, ſitus, habitus.'

Of the emulations of Bacon, the reader may take the following examples.

'Invention is employed in finding out a thought; fancy in moulding, and varying it; elocution in clothing it.

'Diſtinction makes things clear, and diviſion perplexed.

'Hearers are rendered attentive by great things, by proper things, by wonderful, and by pleaſant things.'

Theſe

These are rather favourable specimens; but he is not always so fortunate. The following are puerile.

'Plurals impart magnificence, singulars strength, to a discourse. But the change from one to the other is pathetick.

'Periphrasis sweetens a discourse carried on in propriety of language.

'The senator determines about things to come, the judge on things past; but a complete argument should have a part on things past, and a part on things to come.'

Of the more acute and profound remarks which occur in this volume, the following are among the most remarkable.

'Men often are right, in denying something; but wrong in concluding that what they say, therefore, follows from it.

'State what you censure by the soft name of those who would apologize for it.

'Find a middle term for what a thing is called, by those who are for, and those who are against it.

'In putting a question to your adversary, let it be the last thing you say.

'It seldom happens that the real reasons for proposing a thing are the avowed reasons: the distinguishing these, makes a fine and brilliant fund of argument.

'When it is pretended that a thing is proposed upon a particular motive, endeavour to point out the manner in which people would proceed, if that had really been the motive.

'It seldom happens but that some one person in a debate asserts something so extravagant, that it is ridiculous and untenable. You may easily manage, to treat this as the argument of all who have spoken.

'Come as immediately as you can to the substance of the question: avoid in general all introduction or preface, and never make a lawyer-like division of your speech into several heads. Nothing disgusts a popular assembly more, than being apprised of your intention to speak long.

'REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM is the best style of argument for a popular assembly. Consider, therefore, not only the mere weakness of your adversary's argument, but the absurdities of which it is necessarily productive.

'Either overrate and aggravate what is asserted against you, and then you will be able to show that it is not true; or underrate it, and then admit it in a degree, and with an apology.

'When any thing, too strong to be stated plainly, is stated hypothetically, put it as it is meant to be understood; and show how unfair it is to insinuate what could not be with safety asserted.

'Upon every argument, consider the misrepresentation which your opponents will probably make of it.

'If your cause is too bad, call in aid the party: if the party is bad, call in aid the cause: if neither is good, wound the opponent.

'Admit,

'Admit, if you can with safety, what your opponent says, and show it proves nothing. Men are more careful that what they say shall be just, than that it shall be conclusive to the point: the first is mere good sense; the second is something more,—it is just reasoning.

Some of the maxims, though not deſtitute of ingenuity, ſeem to point merely at tricks and paltry ſtratagems, below the concern of a man of ſuperior abilities. For example, the following—

'Preconsider what you mean should be the finest part of your speech, and in speaking connect it with what has incidentally fallen in debate; and, when you come to that premeditated and finest part, heſitate, and appear to boggle;—catch at some expreſſion that ſhall fall ſhort of your idea, and then ſeem at laſt to hit upon the true thing. This has always an extraordinary effect, and gives the air of extempore genius to what you ſay.'

The next is abſolutely unfair, as it is directed againſt allies and aſſociates.

'Things of the moſt weight are often ſo ill put, and ſtated in ſuch a very ſlovenly manner, that they have no force. When you obſerve this, you make them your own, by putting them again pointedly, and ſo as to have an effect.

'Watch your opportunity, and ſpeak after a perſon whoſe ſpeaking has been tireſome.'

This other is perhaps within the laws of fair hoſtility.

'State (with the air of a candid admiſſion), as the ſtrongeſt part of the argument againſt you, what you are ſure you can anſwer.'

The following poſitions might certainly have ſtood in any treatiſe whatſoever, as well as in one on parliamentary logic.

'Laws cannot regulate morality, as they do ſtrict right, and particular juſtice.

'In a ſingle inſtance, you may ſeparate motive from deed; not ſo in ſettled habits, and repeated inſtances.

'Perfection of law conſiſts in its being ſo framed, that it may govern accidents, not lye at the mercy of them.

'Extent of territory is no proof of power; if it was, Great Britain would be contemptible; for Germany, Ruſſia, Sweden, Poland, France, Spain, Turkey, Denmark, Italy, are larger,—not ſo, perhaps, if you include the countries Great Britain commands.

'Every obligation ceaſes when it becomes impoſſible.'

What we have now extracted, however, appears to us to be the beſt part of the work: but the reader muſt have a taſte of the common-places and truiſms that are ſo liberally mixed up with theſe oracular ſentences. We ſhould like to know what deſcription of ſenators Mr Hamilton conceived likely to profit by the following ſuggeſtions.

'Rules,

'Rules.—Attend to evidence; preserve a constant attention; avoid precipitation and passion.

'To avoid mistakes, consult more senses than one.

'Distinguish between what is clear, and what is fancied.

'Consider the person speaking, the temper of him, and of the hearers to whom the speech is addressed; and the circumstances of time and place, &c.

'Consider, first, the true distinction and line of argument. Distinguish between what is positive and what is only deducible; and an inducement from a rule that ought to be decisive. When things are supposed, examine the grounds of supposition.

'General speeches are to be understood with limitations.

'Every error has its opposite truth; people find fault, supposing a thing to be what it never was intended to be.

'First excogitate matter, then words; and examine the weight of each, and be better at the end than in the beginning, and in the beginning than in the middle. Express fully, but not profusely; and yet there are places in which we should let out all our sail, and others in which we should contract, and take it in. Observe round and clean composition of sentence; sweet falling of the clause; varying an illustration by figures; weight of matter; worth of subject; soundness of argument; life of invention; depth of judgment.

'Before you enter on the main subject, endeavour to gain the affection of your hearers; then state the argument:—support it, and confute what has been advanced against it.

'Let your state of facts be elegant and simple, and your reasoning upon them be strong and forcible.

'In stating, be neat and perspicuous; in argument, pointed and forcible; in reflections, just and elegant; in eloquence, vehement and pathetic.'

These extracts, we conceive, will give our readers a pretty correct idea of the style and execution of this performance; and, while they obtain for the author the credit of being a fine and diligent observer of the excellences and defects of other men, will probably leave upon their minds the impression of his own unfitness for great or serviceable exertion. It is chiefly curious as a picture of the author's character and genius. Even in reading it over, we feel it to be nearly useless as a series of practical instructions; and should probably find it still more so, if we should attempt to reduce it to practice.

The other contents of the volume may be despatched in a single sentence. The speeches we have characterised already: but there is a message from Lord Halifax to the Irish House of Commons, which we think expressed with great happiness and dignity; and, if really written by Mr Hamilton, very far superior to any of his other compositions. The odes are utterly abominable.

The

The little Essay on the Corn Laws, by Dr Johnson, which is thrust in at the end of the volume, for no other reason than that the copy of it was found among Mr Hamilton's papers, is in the very best style of that great master of reason. It was written so early as 1766; and, at a period when subjects of this kind were but imperfectly understood even by those who had devoted themselves to their study, it is truly admirable to see with what vigorous alacrity his powerful mind could apply itself to an investigation so foreign from his habitual occupations. We do not know that a more sound and enlightened argument, in favour of the bounty on exportation, could be collected from all that has been since published on the subject; and convinced, as we ourselves are, of the radical insufficiency of that argument, it is impossible not to be delighted with the clearness and force of the statement. There are few of his smaller productions that show the great range of Johnson's capacity in a more striking light than this short essay; which, we trust, will soon be transferred to some more secure and conspicuous station, than the end of this perishable volume.

ART. XII. *Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. Vol. IX.*

THE publications of this society augment in value and in interest. The last volume, of which we treated, contained a great variety of papers, replete with curious and instructive discussion; the one now before us is still richer in interest and novelty. Considering, indeed, the vast range of *terra incognita*, which the plan of this Society includes within its limits, it may seem strange that its attention should have been so exclusively engrossed, by the study of Hindu antiquities. Persons, indifferent to antiquarian researches, may doubtless object to this preference. It may be said, that in a country, of which the actual condition is so imperfectly known, investigation should first be directed to the existing state of society, which admits of being accurately ascertained, and may lead to practical conclusions highly beneficial to the community, before we attempt to explore the obscure paths of remote antiquity, by the feeble lights afforded by a few mutilated or suspicious documents. The Indian nations, it may be contended, have no claim to any extraordinary attention, either from the philosopher or the historian. Their boasted civilization has rather been asserted than proved; neither

their literature not their arts indicate any considerable progress in the pursuits which refine and adorn mankind; and some of their customs betray a ferocity scarcely to be found amongst the most savage nations. But, even admitting that it would be desirable to trace the remote revolutions which this people have undergone, the little probability of attaining any deductions which may be relied on with confidence, ought to induce us to relinquish so hopeless a task. The Purānas appear to be extravagant romances, which, however amusing as poetical compositions, can furnish no addition to authentic history, whatever portion of it they may be supposed incidentally to contain. When we find gods and heroes mingling in doubtful fight; events natural and supernatural succeeding each other indifferently; a fact probably historical followed by another evidently allegorical,—the only rational conclusion is to consider the whole of these poems as works of imagination, and to appreciate their merits by the rules applicable to similar compositions amongst other nations. But if such be the judgment we must pass on the Purānas, the Hindu compositions of a later date are not better entitled to attention, unless with respect to poetical excellence: and it probably may be affirmed, that the Hindus cannot produce a single historical composition; whilst the Mahometans of the same country have amply, and even ably, illustrated all the events subsequent to their entrance into Hindustan. To these, therefore, such as may be disposed to investigate the history of the East should consequently confine themselves: the materials are ample and authentic; the occurrences more recent, and therefore more interesting; and the subject, so far from being exhausted, that such parts of it as have hitherto been treated of in European languages, are rather calculated to excite, than gratify, the curiosity of the public.

On the other hand, it may be contended with much plausibility, and we think with justice, that an indiscriminate accumulation of facts is no object with the philosopher, and only a subordinate one with the historian; that in proportion to the peculiarity and reputed antiquity of the religious and civil institutions subsisting amongst any people, it is natural to feel curiosity as to their origin; that the minute peculiarities which discriminate the nations of Europe, scarcely produce any sensible modification of character, or exhibit to our observation any beings whose manner of acting and thinking is materially different from our own. In order accurately to appreciate the efficacy of religious dogmata, and of civil institutions, in modifying the character of a people or of individuals, our observation should be particularly directed to those nations who differ most widely from ourselves in those particulars. Such comparisons are not less delightful than instructive; and to

this ſource we may trace much of the amuſement and much of the knowledge we derive from a peruſal of the compoſitions of claſſic antiquity. From the ſame cauſe, the manners of ſavage tribes have attracted and deſerved the attention of philoſophers; but theſe are in general extremely uniform, and little modified by any other circumſtances than the greater or leſs facility of acquiring food. It is not amidſt a people in ſuch a ſtage of ſociety, that the influence of moral impreſſions can be accurately aſcertained. A nation muſt have advanced ſome ſteps in civilization; muſt have cultivated the arts, and been tinged with ſcience, before it is ſuſceptible of that indelible ſtamp which defies the efforts of time. If, therefore, the peculiarities of the Hindu inſtitutions, opinions and manners, deſervedly render them the object of philoſophic reſearch, the gradations by which ſuch a ſtate of ſociety was attained muſt be highly intereſting, and can only be diſcovered through the medium of ſuch literary monuments as are ſtill extant among them.

But the intereſt reſulting from theſe circumſtances is prodigiouſly augmented by other conſiderations. The Egyptians and Indians are conſidered by the writers of antiquity as nations renowned for wiſdom; ſome of their philoſophers are reported to have travelled into both countries for the acquiſition of knowledge; and whether their travels really extended to India or not, the general belief of the fact furniſhes a proof of the high eſtimation in which thoſe countries were held by their contemporaries. The dogma of the metempſychoſis was ſaid to be introduced into Greece and Italy from India, by Pythagoras; and this doctrine certainly prevails there at this day. This dogma was not confined to the followers of Pythagoras; but pervaded the popular ſuperſtitions of moſt of the nations of antiquity. If we proceed from the dogmata to the fables which conſtitute the mythology of theſe people, we ſhall diſcover their prototypes, or their copies, more or leſs modified, in the Puranas, and find them actually conſtituting the popular faith of all the Indian nations. Should it therefore be granted, that Hindu mythology were unworthy of attention on its own account, it is nevertheleſs unqueſtionable, that no ſtudy can tend ſo much to elucidate the popular opinions and cuſtoms of the antient Greeks, Romans, Egyptians and Babylonians. We muſt, therefore, either confeſs the futility of all reſearches into antiquity, or admit the importance of the ſtudies calculated to furniſh ſuch information. We willingly concede the ſuperior utility of inveſtigations which have the preſent condition of a country for their object: ſuch inquiries are frequent in India, and conducted by gentlemen, whoſe official ſituations ſupply them with competent means. The reſults, indeed, are

not uniformly communicated to the public, but depoſited (as they ought to be) in the archives of the Eaſt India Company, for the information of thoſe into whoſe hands the government of that country is entruſted. Without attempting to detract from the value of reſearches which have the Mohamedan population or governments of India for their object, we are certainly inclined, therefore, to approve of the preference which the members of this Society have given to the elucidation of Hindu hiſtory, antiquities and cuſtoms. A comprehenſive, though certainly not a complete outline, of the former, has already been given in the valuable productions of Dow and Scott. The latter are recommended by novelty; by the intereſt excited by their peculiarities; and by the recollection that, in elucidating Indian hiſtory and fable, thoſe of the nations of antient Europe, as well as of the modern inhabitants of every country eaſtward of the Indus, are equally explained and illuſtrated.

No. 1. *An Account of Experiments made in the Mysor Country in the Year* 1804, *to investigate the Effects of Terrestrial Refraction.* By Lieutenant John Warren, of his Majesty's 33d Regiment of Foot.

Whilſt employed in meaſuring a line near Bangalor to ſerve as a baſe of verification to the trigonometrical operations then carried on, the attention of Lieutenant Warren was attracted to the phenomena of terreſtrial refraction, which did not appear to him to correſpond with the changes either of heat, or denſity of the atmoſphere, as aſſumed by theory. The reſults of the experiments he undertook on this ſubject, eſtabliſh, in his opinion, the invariable coincidence of the increaſe of refraction with that of moiſture; and that, in tropical climates at leaſt, the refractive power of the air is not materially affected by its denſity.

No. 2. & 9. *Description of a very sensible Hygrometer, and of an improved Hygrometer.* By Lieutenant Kater.

In a country where no European hygrometer could be procured, the neceſſity of aſcertaining the quantity of moiſture contained in the air, which ſo materially augmented its refractive power, induced Lieutenant Warren to avail himſelf of an obſervation of Lieutenant Kater on the bearded graſs of the Andropogon Contortum. Theſe papers deſcribe the manner in which Lieutenant Kater has adapted this ſubſtance to hygroſcopic purpoſes, for which he thinks it decidedly ſuperior to any hitherto diſcovered.

No. 3. *An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, with other Essays connected with that Work.* By Captain Wilford.

Essay 2. *Anugangam; or the Gangetic Provinces, and more particularly of Magadha.*

Our

Our readers will recollect, that the hypotheſis which this ingenious writer has undertaken to eſtabliſh is, that the Hindu religion had its origin in the Britiſh iſles, which conſtitute, in his opinion, the Sweta dwipa, or white iſland, of the Indian mythologiſts. We adverted, at ſome length, in our 23d Number, to the firſt of the ſeries of eſſays, which are to compriſe the proofs of ſo extraordinary a propoſition. We omitted, however, to ſtate ſome obſervations of our author, which we now ſuſpect are intended to ſerve as the baſis for a very extenſive ſuperſtructure. They will, conſequently, demand a fair expoſition, and candid conſideration. We believe the following paſſages may ſuffice for our preſent purpoſe.

'It will appear, in the course of this work, that the language of the followers of Brahmā, their geographical knowledge, their history and mythology, have extended through a range or belt about forty degrees broad, across the old continent, in a south-east and north-west direction from the eastern shores of the Malāya peninsula to the western extremity of the British isles. The first and most antient division of the old continent, according to the Purānas, is into seven dwipas. These dwipas or countries give their names to so many respective zones round Meru, which is the name the Pauranicas gave also to the poles. If we disregard entirely the diagrams or fanciful schemes of the astronomers, and adhere to the text of the Purānas, we shall immediately perceive, that these seven zones are really our seven climates; for Jambu or India is the first, and Puschara is declared to be at the furthest extremities of the west, and in the same climate with the northern Curu; which last is expressly said to be the country lying south of the norther ocean. Puschara is the Thule of Ptolemy; and the modern Iceland, under the Arctic circle, at least the sensible one. The seven zones of the Hindus correspond with the following countries: Jambu is India; Cusa answers to the countries between the Persian gulph, the Caspian sea, and the western boundary of India; Placsha includes the lesser Asia, Armenia, &c.; Sālmali is bounded to the west by the Cronian seas, that is to say, the Adriatic and Baltic seas. Crauncha includes Germany; Sācam the British isles; and Puschara, Iceland.'

The proofs of theſe poſitions will doubtleſs appear in a ſubſequent eſſay; and till then we ſhall withhold our obſervations. If the ſketch of Jambudwipa be correct, which we ſubmitted to our readers in a preceding eſſay, it is impoſſible to conſider that appellation as denoting India, or the land of Bhārata, which forms but a very inconſiderable part of it. The limits of Jambu, as ſpecified in all the Puranas which we have had an opportunity of conſulting, appear to us manifeſtly to comprehend all the countries ſituated between the Southern and Northern oceans, the ſea of China and the Caſpian. But this circumſtance by no

means militates againſt the remaining part of Captain Wilford's plan; it in fact adds ſome weight to it. For, ſince Jambu includes all the countries eaſt of the Caſpian, in whatever latitude they may be placed, the other dwipa muſt of courſe be ſought for in the countries ſituated to the weſt of that ſea, if they exiſt any where but in the imagination of the Hindus.

The eſſay before us contains many intereſting particulars of the countries ſituated on the Ganges, before the invaſion of India by the Moſlems; and ſeveral ingenious illuſtrations of the routes ſpecified by antient writers. We believe Captain Wilford is the firſt writer who has corrected the prevalent error reſpecting the poſition of the antient capital of India, the magnificent Haſtināpur. That error, we imagine, to be due to Abulfazil, who places it in the neighbourhood of Thaneſar (weſt of the Jumna), whilſt every Sanſcrit ſcholar knew it muſt have been ſituated on the Ganges. It appears to have fallen into decay before the expedition of Alexander; but in the Peutingerian tables, the name of Bacinora marks a town, on a route frequented by commerce, and the ſite of Haſtināpur. 'It is about twenty miles ſouth-weſt of Darinagar, on a branch of the Ganges, formerly the bed of that river. There remains only a ſmall place of worſhip; and the extenſive ſite of that antient city is entirely covered with large ant hills: which have induced the inhabitants of the adjacent country to ſuppoſe that it had been overturned or deſtroyed by the Termites.'

In times of remote antiquity, Magadha was the moſt powerful of the ſtates ſituated on the Ganges. Its limits may probably have been coextenſive with thoſe of South Bahar: but its ſovereigns aſſerted a ſupremacy over all thoſe whoſe dominions extended ſouth or eaſt, in the vicinity of that river. The petty principalities into which India was then divided, do not then appear to have exceeded the limits of ſome modern zemindaries. Jarāſandha, one of its monarchs, diſputed the ſupremacy of the houſe of Pāndū, and the divine honours rendered to Criſna. The ſpeeches attributed to that prince, and to the king of Chedi in the Mahābharat, evidently demonſtrate that this was the epoch of ſome important changes and innovations in the antient religion of the country, to which theſe ſovereigns fell victims. It was alſo the era of a political revolution, which placed a younger branch of the royal houſe on the throne of Haſtināpur. Theſe innovations were ſucceſsful: the ſupremacy of India deſcended, through a long line of princes of the race of Pāndū; and Criſna has been ever ſince worſhipped as an incarnation of the divinity. Succeeding writers, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, have blackened the characters, and probably miſrepreſented the actions of their antagoniſts.

Captain

Captain Wilford informs us, 'that the kingdom of Magadha in Anugangam is acknowledged to be thus called from the Magas, who came from the dwipa of Sacā, and settled in that country, which was called before Kicata.' Again: 'The country of Magadha was thus called, from the numerous families descended from the sage Maga.' We have already been told, that the dwipa of Saca includes the British isles; so that some conjecture may now be formed of the manner in which the learned writer means to establish his hypothesis. He will, doubtless, think it necessary to establish these facts by quotations, at some future period; for the phrase, 'it is acknowledged,' too forcibly reminds us of the French 'l'on sait,'—which generally serves to introduce the most questionable part of an argument.

Essay 3. *Of the Kings of Magadha, their Chronology.*

For the purpose of elucidating the difficulties of Indian chronology, the empire of Magadha is the best that could be selected; because, it continued an independent state, after the throne of Hastinapur had long been overthrown. The sovereigns of antient India pretended to derive their descent from the sun and moon; and all the reigning families were in fact descended from two royal stems, distinguished by those appellations. All the Purāna are supposed to have been recited soon after the war of the Mahabhārat; and the iron age, or Caliyuga, to have commenced at that period. Those poems, consequently, only relate to events supposed to have happened in the former or third age, excepting in the chapters delivered as prophetic, in which the history of the dynasties which followed, are brought down to different periods in different purāna. The names of the princes in each dynasty, their number, and the length of time during which the dynasty subsisted, are usually recorded; but, from the inaccuracy of transcribers, in all probability, these data can rarely be forced into coincidence. The reign of Chandragupta (Sandrocottus) king of Magadha, and contemporary of Alexander of Macedon, is the only era that can be fixed from foreign authorities, and perfectly corresponds with the testimony of native writers. The interval which elapsed from the war of the Mahabhārat, down to that period, has been variously stated. To us it appears, that it is the prevalent opinion of Hindu writers, that, from the sovereign who reigned in Magadha (son of Jarāsandha, whom we have already mentioned), when Parixit king of Hastinapur was born, to the extinction of the solar race in Magadha, a period elapsed of nearly 1000 years. We own, we feel ourselves disposed to place greater reliance on this tradition, as an approximation to the truth, than on the lists of the monarchs, his de-

scendants. Because a collation of these lists discovers that names are frequently omitted. After the extinction of the lunar race on the throne of Magadha, two dynasties, one of five and another of ten princes, are then supposed to have reigned during 498 years, until the accession of Mahanandi, whose posterity, about 100 years later, were dethroned, in the revolution which terminated in the elevation of Chandragupta, or Sandrocottus, about 315 years before Christ. Such, it appears to us, is the view which the best informed Hindus have of their own chronology. The corrections suggested by Captain Wilford are doubtless entitled to consideration; but as there is little room to hope that any precision can be obtained in the date of events so remote, we shall forbear specifying them. The posterity of Sandrocottus only filled the throne about 100 years; his descendant Vrihadratha was dethroned by the commander of his forces, whose posterity reigned above a century. It must then have been in the century preceding the Christian era, that the last of that race was dethroned by his minister Vasudeva, who transmitted the crown to his descendants. The Andhrajātiya is the last dynasty recorded; and our author has collected some interesting particulars concerning this race of princes. On the death of Puliman, which, as fixed by the historians of China, happened A. D. 648, the kings of Gaur reduced the sovereigns of Magadha to their original limits: the kingdom, however, continued some time longer independent; and the seat of government was probably Tataliputra, or the city of Patna.

Essay 4. *Vicramaditya and Salivāhana, their respective Eras; with an Account of the Balarayas, or Balhar Emperors.*

The two eras in actual use amongst the Hindus for the date of civil transactions, are that of Vicramaditya, 56 years before Christ, and of Salivahana, 78 years after that epoch. Whether they commence with the first or last years of the reign of these princes is uncertain; but the interval of 134 years is too great to admit a possibility of their having lived contemporaneously. The Purānas reflect no light on the history of this period. The name of Vicramaditya was borne by several princes of different ages and families; and the Hindu romancers have blended the adventures of several, and ascribed them all to the one from whom the era dates. Captain Wilford conjectures, that these 'heterogeneous legends are taken from the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of Christ, the tales of the rabbis and talmudists concerning Solomon, with some particulars about Mohammed; and the whole is jumbled together with some of the principal features of the history of the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty.' Not having perused any of the romances which relate the adventures of Vicrama-

ditya,

ditya, we can form no conjecture as to their source. We know, however, of no reason to discredit the account given by Abulfazil of the king of Ujāini of that name, who founded the era. The tradition of his having been put to death by Salivāhana, appears to us an allegorical fable, founded on the latter having substituted his own era for that of Vicramaditya, whose memory he thereby extinguished. It is in the pretended history of Salivāhana that the apocryphal gospels have apparently been incorporated. He is said 'to have been born of a virgin, the daughter of a potmaker, begat by the king of snakes called Taxaca, or the carpenter.' If we have correctly seized the idea of Captain Wilford, he considers Salivāhana as an imaginary personage, his adventures as originating in incorrect accounts of the miraculous birth and the history of our Saviour; and his being the destroyer of Vicramaditya to mean only, that his era supplanted the one introduced by that monarch. In this case, it remains to explain why the era of Salivāhana did not commence at the same period with our own, but 78 years later. We do not at present possess any documents that enable us to elucidate the interesting subject of discussion here proposed by Captain Wilford; but we are not without hopes of having our attention speedily recalled to it.

In this essay we find a variety of particulars concerning the sovereigns of Guzerat, so famous in Persian story, under the appellation of the Balhar Rajahs, of whom the first was entitled Debselim. Whatever we may think of many of the hypotheses, in which Captain Wilford too freely indulges, few will peruse his pages without a material addition to their stock of information. A more lucid arrangement, and more frequent citation of authorities, are required, to give the productions of this writer their full value.

No. 4. An Account of the Jains.

The Jains are a set of Hindus who agree in many of their tenets with the Bauddhas, or followers of Buddha, with whom they were long confounded. If the same spirit of research which at present animates the members of the Asiatic Society shall continue, and be prosecuted with as successful diligence, few subjects connected with Indian history will elude their sagacity, or escape their penetration. Major Mackenzie and Dr Buchanan have here furnished a copious exposition of the manners and customs prevalent among the scanty remains of this sect, whose doctrines, if we may credit their priests, were once widely extended over Hindustan, and had even prevailed in Arabia, till banished by a cruel persecution. Mr Colebrooke has illustrated their tenets and their mythology by materials extracted from the compositions of Jain

writers. Their chief place of worship is at Beligola near Seringapatam, where a gigantic statue of Gomatiswar attracts periodically the Jain families dispersed over the peninsula.

'The essential character of the Hindu institutions,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'is the distribution of the people into four great tribes.' This characteristic is common to them with the Jainas, but rejected by the Bauddhas. The divinities of the Hindus are recognized by the Jainas; but the worship of the latter is exclusively confined to certain deified saints, each of whom is called a Jina. We have already had occasion to remark, that the Bauddhas had bestowed the epithet of Buddha, a philosopher, on many of the most conspicuous personages of their mythology; and that the individual whom they now denote by that appellation is Gautama, the last who appeared. The Bauddhas differ from the Jainas principally in rejecting the institution of casts; for in most of their dogmata they agree. They both agree in rejecting the authority of the Veda, and in the worship of deified saints; but although the prohibition of injury to all sentient creatures is a maxim common to all the Hindu religions, it is less scrupulously observed by the Bauddhas than by the Hindus and Jainas. The latter are distinguished from the rest by their admission of no opinions which are not founded on perception, or on proof drawn from that, or from testimony. All three sects agree in their belief of transmigration: that of the eternity of matter and perpetuity of the world is common to the Jainas and Bauddhas.

Mr Colebrooke remarks, that 'if it be admitted, that the Bauddhas are originally a sect of Hindus, it may be next questioned, whether that, or any of the religious systems now established, be the most antient. I have, on a former occasion (says he), indicated the notions which I entertain on this point. According to the hypothesis which I then hinted, the earliest Indian sect, of which we have any present distinct knowledge, is that of the followers of the practical Vedas, who worshipped the sun, fire, and the elements; and who believed the efficacy of sacrifices, for the accomplishment of present and of future purposes. It may be presumed, that the refined doctrine of the Vedantis, or followers of the theological and argumentative part of the Vedas, is of later date; and it does not seem improbable, that the sects of Jina and of Buddha are still more modern. But I apprehend, that the Vaishnavas, meaning particularly the worshippers of Rama and of Crisna, may be subsequent to those sects, and that the Saivas also are of more recent date.'

To us it appears manifest, that the religion of Buddha is of later origin than that of the followers of the Vedas; because this seems universally admitted by the Bauddhas themselves, and because their traditions

traditions are entirely engrafted on the Hindu mythology. The hiſtory of Caſhmir, preſented to the Emperor Acber, ſtates the early eſtabliſhment of the Hindu religion in that country; the *ſubſequent* introduction of the Bauddha faith, and the converſion of ſeveral of the monarchs of that country to the new doctrines; and, finally, its expulſion, and the reſtoration of the antient religion. Mr Colebrooke proves, from Arrian and Strabo, that the Hindus were divided into caſts, and conſequently were not Bauddhas at the time of Alexander's expedition. A period ſo modern, however, throws no light on the comparative antiquity of their origin.

We think there is a paſſage in Arrian which throws great light on all the ſubjects to which Mr Colebrooke has alluded; and if he had adverted to it, we imagine it would have led him to a different concluſion from that which he has embraced. Arrian, on the authority of Megaſthenes, ſtates, that India was conquered by Bacchus 6042 years before the reign of Sandrocottus, contemporary with Alexander of Macedon. We have already ſhown, that Baghis or Siva was the ſame divinity with the Bacchus of European mythology, and with the Oſiris of Egypt. The Phallic rites, the bull ſacred to him, every attribute in common, excludes all doubt of the fact. But Bacchus and Oſiris, we are aſſured by the antients, ſignified the ſun; and Baghis muſt conſequently have had the ſame allegorical meaning. When Bacchus left India, he placed Spartembras on the throne, one of his friends verſed in the Bacchic rites. He of courſe repreſents Menu. He was ſucceeded by Budya in the dominion of India, and his poſterity continued to be monarchs through a long ſucceſſion of reigns, of which 153 intervened between Bacchus and Sandrocottus. According to the Hindu traditions, Menu was deſcended from the ſun, and ſucceeded on the throne by the poſterity of Budha, or the planet Mercury (the Budya of Megaſthenes) who continued to reign till within a few centuries of Sandrocottus. Arrian proceeds to relate, that Hercules was fifteen centuries later than Bacchus. We have already ſeen that Bacchus was Siva; and Megaſthenes diſtinctly points out what Indian divinity is meant by Hercules. 'He was chiefly adored,' ſays Arrian, 'by the Saraſeni, who poſſeſs two large cities, Methora and Cliſſobora. The Jobares, a navigable river, flows through their territories.' Now, Hericriſna, the chief of the Suraſena, was born in the metropolis of their country, Mathura; and the river Jamuna flows through the territory of the Suraſena, Mathura being ſituated on its banks, and called, by Ptolemy, Matura Deorum; which can only be accounted for by its being the birth-place of Criſna. Siva or Baghis is therefore the Bacchus of the Greeks, and Hericriſna their Hercules; and the worſhip of the former preceded the appearance of the latter

ter fifteen centuries, in the opinion of the Hindus, with whom Megaſthenes had converſed: And this general fact only is deſerving of attention; for the number of years and reigns mentioned by Arrian is manifeſtly exaggerated.

Many of the Grecian heroes were ſons of the divinities of Grecian mythology. The Hindus have not adopted this idea, but conſider theirs as incarnations. With the Greeks, Hercules was ſon of Jupiter; with the Hindus, Hericriſna was an incarnation of Viſnu, the Indian Jupiter, and born of mortal parents. We have already ventured to ſtate our conviction, that the epoch of the cloſe of the third age, marked by the celebrated war of the Mahabharat, was the era of a great revolution in religion as well as in government. We think it conſiſted in the introduction of the worſhip of Viſnu, and of his repreſentative Criſna. The prieſt Vyaſa, who compiled and probably compoſed the Vedas, was of the party of the innovators; the houſe of Pandu protected and eſpouſed their cauſe and doctrines; whilſt their uncle, who filled the throne, or at leaſt his poſterity and allies, fell in the cauſe of their ancient rites, and in reſiſting the introduction of new gods. Siſupála, king of Chedi, is introduced, in the Mahábhárat, reproaching Hericriſna with impoſture in pretending to be an incarnation of the Divinity, and aſſerting his determination to adhere to the faith of his anceſtors. Theſe are only a few of the circumſtances which induce us to imagine, that the worſhip of Siva, Bacchus, or Oſiris, prevailed in Hinduſtan before that of Viſnu or Jupiter. According to Strabo, Megaſthenes mentions two ſects of philoſophers as ſubſiſting in India, the Brachmanes, and the Germanas; 'ſed præcipue Brachmanes probari quòd cum Græcis in opinionibus concordent.' Of theſe Brachmanes, he informs us, that thoſe who inhabited the mountains adored Bacchus, whilſt the inhabitants of the plains offered their vows to Hercules. We believe that this fact is true at this day; and that the inhabitants of the mountainous diſtricts of India ſtill continue the antient worſhip of Siva, whilſt thoſe of the plains have more generally adopted the rites of Viſnu. The intercourſe of ſtrangers, the effects of conqueſt and of commerce, more readily operate on the inhabitants of plains continually expoſed to their operation; whilſt the mountaineer, protected by his faſtneſſes and his poverty, preſerves the language and the religion of his anceſtors. Clemens Alexandrinus is, we believe, the firſt of the antients who mentions Buddha; his hiſtory having no analogy with that of any of the Grecian divinities, he is conſequently ſpoken of under that appellation. 'Sunt autem ex Indis qui Buttæ præceptis parent: quem propter inſignem virtutem ut deum honorarunt.'

To conclude, we think it probable that the worſhip of Baghes,

Iſwara or Siva, (the Bacchus and Oſiris of the weſtern world), was the firſt which prevailed in India; that the worſhip of Viſnu or Jupiter, in his ſuppoſed incarnation Hericriſna, (or Hercules), was introduced when Vyaſa compiled or compoſed the Vedas; and that the doctrines of Buddha were not promulgated till a conſiderable time ſubſequent to the latter period. Our limits will not admit of aſſigning more of the reaſons which influence our judgment.

6. *On the Indian and Arabian Diviſion of the Zodiac.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Eſq.

The preſent inquiry was inſtituted with a view, not only of aſcertaining correctly the particular ſtars which give names to the Indian diviſions of the zodiac, but as tending to determine another queſtion, whether the Indian and Arabian diviſions of the zodiac had a common origin. Mr Colebrooke was led to imagine that Sir William Jones's conjectures on this ſubject, founded on a conſideration of the figure of the conſtellation, and the number of its ſtars, compared with thoſe actually ſituated near that diviſion of the ecliptic, might in ſome inſtances be erroneous; Sir William not being appriſed that the Hindus themſelves place ſome of theſe conſtellations far out of the limits of the zodiac.

The reſult of the compariſon ſhows, that the Indian aſteriſms, which mark the diviſions of the ecliptic, generally conſiſt of nearly the ſame ſtars which conſtitute the lunar manſions of the Arabians; but, in a few inſtances, they eſſentially differ. We agree with Mr Colebrooke in thinking the coincidence, however, too great to be the effect of chance; and, if either have borrowed from the other, that it muſt have been the Arabs who adopted, with ſlight variations, a diviſion of the zodiac familiar to the Hindus.

'The Hindus have likewiſe adopted the diviſion of the ecliptic and zodiac into twelve ſigns or conſtellations, agreeing, in figure and deſignation, with thoſe of the Greeks, and differing merely in the place of the conſtellations, which are carried, on the Indian ſphere, a few degrees further weſt than on the Grecian. That the Hindus took the hint of this mode of dividing the ecliptic from the Greeks, is not perhaps altogether improbable: but, if ſuch be the origin of it, they have not implicitly received the arrangement ſuggeſted to them, but have reconciled and adapted it to their own antient diſtribution of the ecliptic into twenty-ſeven parts.'

7. *On Olibanum, or Frankincenſe.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Eſq.

It is generally ſuppoſed, that the gum reſin called Olibanum, is the frankincenſe uſed by the antients in their religious ceremonies: but naturaliſts are by no means agreed on the plant which produces it. The gum of a tree, called Salaï by the natives of India,

India, has been sent to England for sale at different times; first, without assigning the name of Olibanum, and, more lately, under that designation. It was in England recognized for olibanum, though offered for sale as a different gum; and annual consignments of it have been since regularly sold at the East India Company's sales.

8. *Remarks on the Species of Pepper which are found in Prince of Wales's Island.* By William Hunter, Esq. M. D.

In supplying Persia, Arabia and Europe, with pepper, India has also furnished them with its name; which, in all those languages, is manifestly derived from Pippali, the Sanscrit appellation for long pepper only. Black pepper is the principal article of produce in Prince of Wales's Island: it is more esteemed than that which is imported from the Malay continent, or Sumatra; and, in 1802, must have produced the sum of 216,000 dollars. The Piper Betle, or Beetle Leaf, is also cultivated there. Dr Hunter agrees with Saumaise in thinking, that the antient Greek writers meant this leaf by Malabathrum, rather than the leaves of Laurus Cassia, or Tez Pat. We think the obvious etymology of the word Malabathrum adds some weight to this conjecture, since it is obviously Malaya Pattra, or the Malayan Leaf; whether it was brought from Malaya, in the peninsula of India, or from the coast of Malacca.

10. *On Antient Monuments, containing Sanscrit Inscriptions.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.

The importance of collecting inscriptions, and every document which may tend to elucidate the history of India, is justly appreciated by this celebrated Orientalist, who has published several in the Memoir now before us, accompanied by translations.

1st, Inscription on a plate of copper, found in the district of Tripura.

It is a record of a grant of land bestowed by Ranabanca Malla, on the commander of his cavalry. It is dated in the year 1141 of the era of Salivāhana, corresponding with A. D. 1219. It is interesting, by showing that this district, though bordering on the Burman territories, constituted at that time a part of Bengal; and that the Hindu religion, and Bengal character, prevailed there at that period.

No. 2. Inscription on a plate of copper found in the district of Gorakhpur.

This is a grant of land by Jayāditya, king of Vijayapur, for the service of the goddess Durga. The date is wanting. The king appears to have been a Bauddha; but, from the object of the grant, it

it may be conjectured his ſubjects were of the Hindu religion. The character differs extremely from the Divanāgari, generally uſed.

No. 3. Inſcription on three plates of braſs found at Chitradurg.

A grant of land by Harihara, king of Vidyanagar (Bijanagar), in Carnataca. It is dated in 1317, correſponding with A. D. 1395. From it we learn the real name of this once celebrated city; and that it was founded by Bucca Raya, father of the prince who made this grant.

No. 4. Another grant by the ſame king, and dated four years before the laſt mentioned.

No. 5. Inſcription on a ſtone found at Curugodé, in the diſtrict of Adoni.

A grant of lands for the ſervice of the god Siva, by Raxamalla, king of Cuntaladeſa, whoſe capital was Curugodé. It is dated in the year of Salivāhana 1095, correſponding with A. D. 1173. The inſcription is in the Halla, or antient Canara character; and ſome of the verſes are in Sanſcrit, others in Canareſe.

No. 6. Inſcription on a ſtone found at Currah.

A fragment of an edict by the king Yaſah Pāla; dated in Sambat 1093, or A. D. 1037.

On the Grāmas, or Musical Scale of the Hindus. By J. D. Paterſon, Eſquire.

The antient Hindus confined their muſic to 36 melodies, which they repreſented to their imagination by 6 Rāgas and 30 Ragiries, or attendant nymphs. Each of theſe was fixed, reſpectively, to particular ſeaſons and times of the day or night. The Moſlems of India have adopted the ſame idea; and a performer, who ſhould ſing a rāga out of its appropriate ſeaſon, or an hour ſooner or later than the time appointed, would be conſidered as an ignorant pretender to the character of a muſician. The Raga mālā, or necklace of muſic, contains a highly poetical deſcription of the Rāgas and their attendant nymphs, with the attributes ſuggeſted by the nature of the melody.

It would not be eaſy to recapitulate all the ſubjects on which the intereſting diſquiſitions, of which we are about to take leave, preſent new and curious information. The volume does infinite credit to the erudition and talents of the contributors; and we perceive, with much ſatisfaction, that, from the claſſical orthography univerſally adopted, the papers have undergone critical inſpection, by a Sanſcrit ſcholar, previouſly to publication. We underſtand a tenth volume has reached England, and hope to be enabled to ſubmit ſome account of its contents to our readers in the next Number.

ART.

ART. XIII. *Histoire des deux derniers Rois de la Maison de Stuart.* Par Ch. J. Fox. Suivie de Pièces originales et Juſtificatives; Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais; auquel on a joint une Notice ſur la Vie de l'Auteur. 2 Tomes. Paris 1809.

OUR readers will be diſpoſed to think it hardly neceſſary that we ſhould call their attention to an anonymous tranſlation into French, of a work ſo recently publiſhed in our own language. Nor did we form any ſuch intention, when we firſt received theſe volumes. But, upon opening them, we were ſtruck with ſome changes of the original text, which were evidently not accidental, but deſigned; and as we were induced, by this circumſtance, to look more narrowly, the reſult of our ſearch has been ſo remarkable, that we cannot forbear expoſing what we have thus detected. It is our duty to lay open, to the animadverſion of the public, and particularly of all men of letters, ſo great a breach of literary honeſty as that which is committed by a tranſlator, who undertakes to put his own countrymen in poſſeſſion of a foreign work, and who ſuppreſſes or diſguiſes the moſt important parts of the original compoſition. And the preſent inſtance calls the more eſpecially for ſuch notice, becauſe it raiſes conſiderations of much more importance and extent, than the mere conviction of this tranſlator, whoever he may be, of having violated the fidelity which he owed to his author.

The firſt thing which caught our attention was, that in Mr Fox's letter to Mr Laing, which is publiſhed by Lord Holland in his preface, the tranſlator has omitted the paragraph, by which moſt readers probably recollect that letter,—where Hume is cenſured for his intolerable and ridiculous partiality to kings and princes; which is repreſented by Mr Fox as 'more like the fooliſh admiration which women and children ſometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philoſopher.' The whole of this is left out of the letter; without any reaſon being aſſigned for ſuch an omiſſion, or any notice of it given to the French reader. We can gueſs but one individual in the French empire, whoſe feelings have been conſulted in ſtriking out the uncourtly reflection; and if the mutilations of Mr Fox's compoſition had gone no further, it would have been amuſing to find, that this ſort of delicacy towards that perſon is ſo very early ſuppoſed to be acceptable, or at leaſt diſcreet. The new family, it ſeems, feel already that they belong to the old order, and are as jealous of hereditary blood and rank, as if they were ſome generations removed from the crimes againſt the liberties of France, to which they owe their elevation. We can diſcover a more immediate convenience and propriety in ſome other omiſſions which the tranſlator has made,

or

or has been directed to make. Mr Fox, ſpeaking of the leaders of the Long Parliament, ſtates, that 'they then proceeded to eſtabliſh *that fundamental principle of all free government*, the preſerving of the purſe to the people and their repreſentatives.' p. 10.* The tranſlator has prevented a dangerous application of this at home, by ſtriking out as much as points out a teſt of free government, and giving only the fact. 'Ils en vinrent enfin à etablir le principe qui met les tributs des ſujets ſous la garde du peuple et de ſes repréſentans.' p. 70. Again, our hiſtorian, deſcribing the Engliſh miniſters who conducted the war of the Succeſſion, ſpeaks of thoſe energies, 'which no ſtate that is not in ſome degree *republican*, can ſupply.' p. 94. The tranſlator might well think *republican* a word of fear; and the more unpleaſing, becauſe it coſt a longer time to ſuppreſs the term, than the thing itſelf which went by that name; he has ſhown conſiderable addreſs in lowering this ſentiment, ſo as to leave it quite harmleſs: 'Cette energie qu'on ne peut rencontrer que dans une conſtitution *qui respecte la liberté*.' p. 156. There are yet ſurviving in France ſome of thoſe patriot enthuſiaſts, who once believed their country to be capable of liberty. How mortified muſt be their ſenſations, to witneſs the eſtabliſhment of a deſpotiſm, which will not ſuffer the principles of freedom to be ſtated even in the abſtract, nor its very name to be expreſſed!

As ſoon as we perceived ſuch alterations of the text, and the obvious motive to which they are to be aſcribed, we concluded for certain what would be the fate of thoſe paſſages, among the moſt valuable of the work, in which the turn of the reflections leads to a contraſt or parallel in the events and characters of our own time, or in which the author himſelf has ſuggeſted alluſions of that nature. Such, beſides others, are the eulogium of Waſhington; the paſſage upon the deſpondency of the friends of liberty in England, after Charles the Second had eſtabliſhed his deſpotic ſway; and that in which the early occupations of Lord Churchill are ſo finely contraſted with the triumphs of the Duke of Marlborough.

The whole page concerning Waſhington, and 'his moſt glorious of all parts,' is ſtruck out. The compariſon which would have been drawn from it in France, is more, it ſeems, than could have been endured: yet it is but ſome few years ſince all Frenchmen ſeemed to claim it as a portion of their national glory, that they had contributed to the ſucceſs of Waſhington, whoſe name, now, they dare not venture to repeat. Mr Fox introduces the name of that illuſtrious man, by remarking, that, 'from the execution

* These references are to the large paper edition.

ecution of the King, to the death of Cromwell, the government was, with ſome variation of forms, in ſubſtance monarchical and abſolute; as a government eſtabliſhed by a military force will almoſt invariably be, eſpecially when the exertions of ſuch a force are continued for any length of time.' p. 18. And he then proceeds to mention the ſplendid, and perhaps the ſolitary exception to this general rule, which our own age has afforded. The tranſlator paſſes on at once to the character of Cromwell; 'Depuis l'exécution du roi juſqu'à la mort de Cromwell, le gouvernement avec quelques variations dans les formes, fut eſſentiellement monarchique et abſolu: il finit avec le protecteur. Cet homme extraordinaire devoit à ſes rares talens d'avoir maintenu,' &c. p. 79.

Among the reflections which Mr Fox has made, upon the gloom and deſpair which the deſpotiſm of Charles the Second muſt have ſpread over thoſe whoſe minds had been thoroughly imbued with the love of the good old cauſe, the tranſlator found theſe ſentences of too ſtrong a caſt to appear. 'The hatred of tyranny muſt, in ſuch perſons, have been exaſperated by the experience of its effects, and their attachment to liberty proportionally confirmed. To them the ſtate of their country muſt have been intolerable.' p. 63. Is this a picture of a ſtate of mind, to which any likeneſs perhaps lies hid in France? That is far beyond our hope: and yet it ſuggeſts the queſtion, that it ſhould thus have been deemed ſafer to withhold ſuch a deſcription. Beſides that omiſſion, the tranſlator has altered the ſame paſſage; by ſubſtituting, for the meaning of the author, quite a different train of ideas; and the nature of this alteration is remarkable. Mr Fox ſays of the ſame claſs of perſons, that 'ſuch men will not eaſily relinquiſh their principles; nor was the manner in which abſolute power was exerciſed ſuch as to reconcile to it, in practice, thoſe who had always been averſe to it in ſpeculation:' which is thus corrupted—'ils ne pouvoient pas aiſément abandonner leurs principes, ni voir ſans une profonde douleur que ceux ſur leſquels ſe fondoit la reſtauration ſapoient les baſes fondamentales de la liberté.' The drift of this interpolated meaning is made more plain, by referring to a preceding part of the work, in which ſome ſentiments, of which the tendency no doubt alarmed and perplexed the tranſlator, are nevertheleſs retained, for the ſake of an obſervation, which could not be preſerved without the reſt, that 'a *reſtoration* is uſually the moſt dangerous and worſt of all revolutions.' p. 8.

Nobody, who has read the hiſtory, can have forgotten that paſſage, in which Mr Fox compares the ſituation of Churchill and Godolphin, when they were the tools of James the Second in his baſe money-tranſactions with the court of France, with

that in which they ſtood, as miniſter and general, of another reign, conducting the alliances againſt Lewis, and triumphantly proſecuting the deliverance of Europe. In our account of the work, we extracted the paſſage at full length.* The inſtance we have already mentioned, in which the epithet 'republican' evaporated in 'qui reſpecte la liberté,' is taken from this part of the tranſlation. Then the reflection which immediately follows in the cloſe, and which, for its elevation of ſentiment, as well as juſtness, is ſo worthy of Mr Fox's mind, is altogether ſtruck out—'How forcibly muſt the contemplation of theſe men, in ſuch oppoſite ſituations, teach perſons engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is deſirable, not only for the public good, but for their own greatneſs and conſideration—for every object of generous ambition!' (p. 94.)—though the omiſſion of this makes the paſſage, as it ſtands in the French edition, not only imperfect, but unintelligible; becauſe the 'uſeful leſſon' to be derived from the conſideration in queſtion is left as announced, but not produced.

There is ſtill another omiſſion in this place, which is more indeed than we expected, becauſe it ſeems to manifeſt an actual or ſuſpected ſenſibility upon a topic, on which we ſhould not have ſuppoſed there was any compunction. Mr Fox's elaborate period, deſcribing the progreſs and ſucceſs of the Duke of Marlborough, in reſtoring independence to the Continent, is cut ſhort of its moſt eſſential member; all theſe expreſſions, 'to humble his pride, and to ſhake to the foundation that fabric of power which it had been the buſineſs of a long life to raiſe at the expenſe of every ſentiment of tenderneſs to his ſubjects, and of juſtice and good faith to foreign nations!' (p. 94.)—being made to ſhrink into this lame and evaſive concluſion, 'pour humilier ſon orgueil, et pour faire trembler ſa couronne ſur ſa tête.' (p. 155.) Under the preſent circumſtances of Europe, it is in ſome ſort conſolatory, that the ſlaves of France may not be truſted with ſuch a deſcription, leſt they ſhould make an application of it; and that the manner in which it is applied, by the very act of blotting it out, betrays ſomething like a ſenſe of ſhame, or ſomething like a dread of reverſes.

We feel a degree of ſatisfaction of the ſame kind, in the next inſtance we have to mention, which is the omiſſion of greateſt length that we detected. The tranſlator has left out the whole of the cenſure which Mr Fox paſſes upon Hume, for the manner in which he has palliated the conduct of Charles the Second in the murder of Algernon Sidney; three entire pages in

* Vol. XII. p. 296.

quarto being thus cut out of the work, from the words 'condemned to die,' (p. 52.) to the paragraph which begins 'Thus fell Ruſſel,' &c. (p. 55.) Every body remembers Hume's apology for Charles, as well as the indignation which it has drawn from Mr Fox, and which he has pointed into ſo important a precept to all hiſtorians. It is for this ſtinging moral, that the whole paſſage has been ſacrificed. 'A ſpirit of adulation towards deceaſed princes, though in a good meaſure free from the imputation of intereſted meanneſs, which is juſtly attached to flattery, when applied to living monarchs; yet, as it is leſs intelligible with reſpect to its motives than the other, ſo is it in its conſequences ſtill more pernicious to the general intereſts of mankind. Fear of cenſure from contemporaries will ſeldom have much effect upon men in ſituations of unlimited authority: they will too often flatter themſelves, that the ſame power which enables them to commit the crime, will ſecure them from reproach. The dread of poſthumous infamy, therefore, being the only reſtraint, their conſciences excepted, upon the paſſions of ſuch perſons, it is lamentable that this laſt defence (feeble enough at beſt) ſhould in any degree be impaired; and impaired it muſt be, if not totally deſtroyed, when tyrants can hope to find in a man like Hume, no leſs eminent for the integrity and benevolence of his heart, than for the depth and ſoundneſs of his underſtanding, an apologiſt for even their foulest murders.' (p. 54.) It would be gratifying to have it proved, that Bonaparte had expunged with his own hand this ſeeming prediction of what awaits him; and that amid the complacent retroſpect of all his triumphs over the liberties and proſperity of mankind, he may ſometimes be diſquieted by the anticipation of that *poſthumous infamy*, from which even the memory of his fortune in war will not reſcue his name. In the prophetic ear of conſcience, he may hear already the doom of poſterity, and even the future curses of inconſtant France. He muſt know too well, for his pride and for his eaſe, the character of the people whom he has reduced to ſlavery. He has ſeen how quickly they can paſs from adulation to fierce hatred. And he cannot conceal from himſelf, that Frenchmen, addicted as they are to military above all other glory, but national beyond all other people, will never forget that he was born a foreigner; and, when the temporary motives for worſhipping him have no longer an object, will probably deny him the fame which will be regarded as due to his genius and conduct, even in the countries which he had diſturbed or laid waſte.

Without pretending to enumerate all the inſtances, in which Mr Fox's text has been corrupted, we ſhall ſet down a few more of thoſe ſentences which are altogether omitted, and evidently for

for the ſame reaſons by which the editor of the tranſlation muſt have been influenced in thoſe already noticed.

The following part of a ſentence concludes the reflections of our hiſtorian, upon the inſtructive leſſons which Engliſhmen are taught, by an attentive conſideration of the reign of James the Second:—'and ſtill more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromiſe with power, and, by yielding to it in other points, preſerving ſome favourite object, ſuch, for inſtance, as the church, in James's caſe, from its graſp.' (p. 110.) The tranſlator ſtops at the word 'object.'

The following obſervation is omitted, in the account of the Letters of Lawburrows, which, in the ſame deſpotic reign, and by a new ſoleciſm in government, were executed by the crown againſt the whole body of the ſubjects in one diſtrict of Scotland: 'Such are the ſophiſtries which tyrants deem ſatisfactory. Thus are they willing even to deſcend from their loftineſs, into the ſituation of ſubjects or private men, when it is for the purpoſe of acquiring additional powers of perſecution; and thus truly formidable and terrific are they, when they pretend alarm and fear.' (p. 119.)

Mr Fox has ſtated, with much philoſophical preciſion, the foundation and limits of the right of reſiſtance. It was not to be expected, that the tranſlator ſhould ſuffer that paſſage to remain. The ſmall portion of it which he ventured to leave in its place, he has completely miſunderſtood. Mr Fox ſays, 'there is no point in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue and worldly prudence are ſo *identified*, as in this great queſtion of reſiſtance, by force, to eſtabliſhed government,' (p. 184.); which the tranſlator, wholly miſtaking the thought, renders thus—'dans cette queſtion plus que dans toute autre, il eſt *facile de confondre* les conſidérations purement humaines avec les nobles inſpirations de la vertu.' (p. 252.) He has not only miſſed Mr Fox's meaning, but has underſtood him as intimating juſt the reverſe of what he has actually expreſſed. The remainder of this moſt valuable paſſage is ſtruck out; the tranſlator paſſing at once from 'les nobles inſpirations de la vertu' to the mention of Ludlow. The doctrine, indeed, is too ſtrong and too plain to be publiſhed in France at the preſent day. We have a great ſatisfaction in repeating it. 'Succeſs, it has been invidiouſly remarked, conſtitutes, in moſt inſtances, the ſole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of ſucceſs, it may be truly ſaid, diſtinguiſhes the well-conſidered enterpriſe of the patriot from the raſh ſchemes of the diſturber of the public peace. To command ſucceſs, is not in the power of man; but to deſerve ſucceſs, by chooſing a proper time, as well as a proper object,—by

the prudence of his means, no leſs than by the purity of his views, —by a cauſe not only intrinſically juſt, but likely to enſure general ſupport,—is the indiſpenſable duty of him who engages in an inſurrection againſt an exiſting government.' (p. 185.) It is poſſible that thoughts and conſiderations of this caſt may not be abſent from the minds of all men in France. So much evidence of caution leſt ſuch a ſtring might be touched, would lead us to ſuſpect that poſſibility. And, to borrow the language uſed by Milton upon a like occaſion, we might almoſt take it as a pledge of future liberty to France, that her ruler is ſo perſuaded of his danger; and may perhaps cheriſh the ſhadow of a hope, that worthies are now breathing in her air, who will be her leaders to deliverance.

We have not ſtopt to conſider, whether it be more probable that the mode, in which this tranſlation has been thus executed, has proceeded from the perſonal prudence of the anonymous tranſlator, or may be aſcribed to the authoritative interference of that branch of the imperial police which is charged with the care of the preſs. Nor is it very material to inquire. It ſeems more likely that there may have been a direct interpoſition in this inſtance, on account of the intereſt with which the appearance of the hiſtory was expected at Paris,—and indeed the unqueſtionable danger that might reſult from allowing ſo much bold truth too free a diſſemination among the imperial ſubjects. We are only ſurpriſed, that a tranſlation of the book has been ſuffered to be ſold at all: for, ſtripped and defaced as it is of the general diſſertations, in which Mr Fox has ſtamped the ſanction of his immortal name upon the moſt important truths and precepts for guiding the conduct of public men in periods of arbitrary adminiſtration or popular deluſion, yet, in the progreſs of the mere narrative, the author's feelings for liberty and for juſtice are ſo wrought into the body of the compoſition, that the impreſſion of them could not be eraſed without obliterating the very form and likeneſs of the work. After all the expurgations which it has ſuffered, it will not be read in France without effect; and may itſelf contribute to bring about a time, when it may be ſtudied entire, and when the readers ſhall be rendered capable of appreciating its merits. In the author's own country, we are of opinion, that thoſe merits will always be rated more or leſs highly, in proportion as the ſentiments of liberty, equality, juſtice and benevolence, predominate over other principles in the character of individuals or in the ſpirit of the age.

In general, the tranſlation itſelf is executed with conſiderable elegance and ſpirit; and though there are a good many miſtakes, they are not more than may be pardoned to the writer's imperfect knowledge of Engliſh uſages and technical terms. Some, indeed, would

would not come under the benefit of this amnesty; but we have not time to particularize them. The notice of Mr Fox's life prefixed is disclaimed expressly, and indeed in a very marked manner, by the translator himself; and is a wretched farrago of all the stories that could be scraped together from the inaccurate, ignorant, and false accounts that appeared in the newspapers and in pamphlets after Mr Fox's death, under the pretence of satisfying the public curiosity. We need give but a single specimen of this notice, which asserts, that Mr Fox always corrected the reports of his speeches for the Morning Post.

ART. XIV. *A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain, commanded by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K. B. &c. &c. &c. Authenticated by Official Papers and Original Letters.* By James Moore esq. 4to. pp. 336. Johnson. London, 1809.

A few Remarks explanatory of the Motives which guided the Operations of the British Army during the late short Campaign in Spain. By Brigadier-General Henry Clinton, Adjutant-General to the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K. B. 8vo. pp. 30. Egerton. London, 1809.

Observations on the Movements of the British Army in Spain, in Reply to the Statement lately published by Brigadier-General Henry Clinton. By a British Officer. 8vo. pp. 44. Murray. London, 1809.

Letters from Portugal and Spain, comprising an Account of the Operations of the Armies under their Excellencies Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore, from the landing of the Troops in Mondego Bay to the Battle at Corunna. Illustrated with Engravings by Heath, Fittler, Warren, &c. from Drawings made on the Spot. By Adam Neale, M. D. F. L. S. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to his Majesty's Forces. 4to. pp. 480. Phillips. London, 1809.

An Account of the Operations of the British Army, and of the State and Sentiments of the People of Portugal and Spain, during the Campaigns of the Years 1808 *&* 1809; *in a Series of Letters.* By the Rev. James Wilmot Ormsby, A. M. Chaplain to the Staff, &c. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 526. Carpenter. London, 1809.

THE great importance of the subject handled in these works, both to the interests and the honour of this country, would have been a sufficient motive for bestowing upon it a greater share

of attention than recent portions of history usually claim from a literary Journal. But the questions involved in this discussion are of a very general and permanent nature, and are still more powerfully recommended to our attention by their intimate connexion with the most momentous considerations that can occupy the minds of men in the present unparalleled crisis. The whole vices of our policy towards foreign states, have been fatally exemplified in the management of the Spanish alliance; and the worst corruptions in the practice of our constitution have been displayed, with most pernicious effect, in the progress of this melancholy story. The excellence of our national character never, at any former period, shone more conspicuously; and the faults which obscure it were never more eminently hurtful. The resources of the empire were strained, during this period, to a pitch scarcely conceivable by the most sanguine calculator; and the failure of every effort surpassed the apprehensions of the most desponding. So vast a scene of great incongruities,—such a strange series of things the most opposite, yet arising out of each other;—power and submission—strength and discomfiture;—matchless valour, crowned with success, producing only calamity and disgrace;—flight become the constant result of victory, and all the resources of courage and skill exhausted to secure the escape of the conquerors!—Such a discordant assemblage of events was never before crowded into one age, as fills up the year which elapsed between the battle of Vimeira and the retreat from Talavera. Add to this, that almost every public man of any note,—all the persons upon whose talents, in every department, the safety of the empire must depend in that single combat which now awaits it,—have been tried by the transactions relative to Spain; and we shall be prepared to admit the unprecedented interest of this subject at the present moment, whether as a matter of curious speculation, or a source of practical improvement.

We stated, on a former occasion, our opinion, that the gravest concerns of this country must continue to be neglected; its whole resources—its wealth, its blood, its valour—to be squandered in the purchase of defeat and disgrace; its choicest blessings, whether of solid comfort or of pride and honour, wasted, only to bring its very existence into jeopardy, until the people shall be roused from the apathy in which they have been sunk—not without the help of their rulers—and shall become accustomed to watch constantly and jealously over the conduct of their most important affairs, whether in the hands of war ministers and foreign secretaries at home, or of ambassadors and commanders abroad. It appears to us, that we cannot contribute our aid towards introducing this salutary habit, more effectually

fectually at the present moment, than by examining the conduct of the Spanish campaign, and by explaining the more general conclusions to which a review of it naturally leads. The government at home, and the officers entrusted with the execution of their plans, are at issue upon this subject, as indeed always happens when affairs are in the hands of dishonest and incapable rulers. But we freely confess, that, however important it may be to determine such a point, and to examine how far the memory of a great and most lamented soldier has been undeservedly blackened, we should scarcely have entered so fully into the inquiry, had we not felt it to be most intimately connected with the future safety of the country. The personal friends of the disputants, with the help of the parties in Parliament, might, for us, have settled these matters among themselves; but the plain truth is, that we have some hopes of living thirty or forty years longer in the world, and, if possible, in Europe. We have no sort of wish, highly as we value the friendship and custom of the Americans, to be forced into a near enjoyment of their society, after being first taxed by English rulers, and then pillaged by French ones. We cannot, therefore, afford to let the follies and intrigues of a few courtiers pave the way to the individual misery of every thinking man in the country; and we are compelled to vote for such a change of system, as shall preserve the only spot now left in the world where the blessings of civilized society can still be enjoyed.

From the large mass of matter through which we have been obliged to wade, in order to sift the question now under review, we have selected the publications mentioned in the title, as a fit groundwork for the present article. They are, indeed, representatives of all the opinions that have hitherto been delivered upon the subject of the late campaign. The work of Mr Moore contains a statement of the General's case, from his official and private correspondence, and from the journal which he kept of his proceedings. His friend and coadjutor, General Clinton, furnishes material evidence and explanations in support of the same statement, but with some concessions, admitted, we are disposed to think, through inadvertency, which transfer, from the British envoy, a considerable share of the responsibility under which he lies for the event of the campaign. The person calling himself a British Officer, attacks, somewhat intemperately, the candid and distinct narrative of General Clinton; and with a preposterous assurance, of which there is perhaps no example in the history of controversy, challenges our assent to statements of *fact*, upon his bare assertion, unauthenticated by the disclosure of his name and situation, and in direct contradiction to the testimony

of known and ostensible witnesses. Nay, this writer even claims the privilege of setting up his own *opinion*, and appealing to it as an authority, in opposition to the decisions of the responsible and respected leaders of the expedition, and the officers in whose judgment they reposed unlimited confidence, from long experience of their talents. The works of Dr Neale and Mr Ormsby contain a faithful transcript of the murmurs of the retreating army, and the discontents propagated at home by the insidious detractors of General Moore. We respect these gentlemen for at least giving their names and stations to the world. Had they ushered in their opinions and narratives of a complicated series of military operations, as the statements of '*British Officers*,' (which they were perhaps entitled to do without any breach of truth), the public might have been biassed by something like military authority, while, in fact, they were only perusing collections of vague rumours and crude remarks by a Doctor and a Chaplain. These authors have acted more fairly: they have enabled us to appreciate their claims to credit; and although, to be sure, it required no great share of boldness to come forward as the avowed critics of their commanding officer after his death, and affix their names to statements which chime in with all the attacks of the existing ministry upon his memory, we nevertheless are willing to allow them whatever praise this kind of frankness deserves. Besides the works which we have now enumerated, we have perused several others on the different views of the subject; but we are unwilling to encumber our pages with any further notice of them. For the case of Mr Frere, we have waited anxiously, and in vain.—Attacked, as he has been, first in Parliament, where his political auxiliaries and personal friends all abandoned him, and, next, by the publication of Mr Moore, to which an answer has been attempted in a periodical publication, only to the extent of loading the General with fresh obloquy, we are at a loss to fancy that any reason, excepting the want of a defence, can have prevented Mr Frere from stepping forward in his own vindication. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that no officer has been found willing to espouse the side of the question adverse to Sir John Moore; although both the medical gentleman and the reverend one above alluded to, freely quote the 'general conversation of the army,' 'the opinion of many officers,' and 'the judgment of most men of military talents,' in support of their allegations. We cannot help viewing it as a testimony equally honourable to the British army, and to him who was its brightest ornament, that all the influence of the Treasury, and all the patronage of the War-office, have been unable to obtain, from a single one of General Moore's companions in arms, a word disrespectful to his memory, published with the sanction of a name.

Of

Of the literary merits of the works now before us, we purpoſe to ſay but little. Although we may probably take another opportunity of making our readers acquainted with the Letters of Drs Neale and Ormſby as books of Travels, we at preſent only view them as connected with the military queſtions ariſing out of the campaign. They are haſtily and ſuperficially compiled, eſpecially thoſe of Dr Neale, which are, moreover, accompanied by ſome of the worſt poetry, and the very worſt drawings, we ever yet ſaw publiſhed. But even with this haſte we ſhould have had no quarrel, if it only affected ſtyle and arrangement. It has, unfortunately for the authors, given riſe to miſtakes, which a little further attention muſt have corrected. We ſay, unfortunately for the authors. They alone can feel hurt (as we are perſuaded they do now feel) at ſeeing their raſh ſtatements made the foundation of ſarcaſms againſt their late gallant commander, by thoſe who dare not openly arraign his conduct, and are yet unwilling to forfeit ſome paltry object of a party, by leaving his memory ſacred.

The publication of Mr Moore is peculiarly intereſting, from the important original documents which it contains. To the graces of ſtyle, or, indeed, to the critical excellences of hiſtorical compoſition in general, it lays no claim; but it challenges our reſpect, from the undoubted authenticity of its materials, and from the feelings which gave riſe to its compilation. We lament that Mr Moore did not enter into more detail as to ſome of the facts relating to the campaign; and particularly, that he did not give his brother's journal entire. There are ſome parts of his private correſpondence, which we ſhould alſo have wiſhed to ſee more fully given; and although we can readily excuſe the partiality which is ſo natural to his ſituation, we regret that he ſhould have condeſcended to inſert the anecdote of Buonapartè having ſaid, '*Moore is the only General now fit to contend with me,*' (p. 166.); becauſe it is at beſt equivocal, and, if taken in the moſt complimentary ſenſe, liable to great ſuſpicion as to its authenticity. Perhaps, too, our author would have better conſulted the dignity of his ſubject, had he left to his reader (as he ſafely might have done) the inferences from his ſtatements unfavourable to Mr Frere, inſtead of ſtooping to treat the conduct of that gentleman with conſiderable acrimony. We, moreover, object to the care with which his remarks are always pointed away from the Britiſh government. Though by no means unſparing of cenſure, either upon Mr Frere, the Spaniards, or the Britiſh troops, he never hazards an obſervation unfavourable to the chief authors of the calamities which he is recounting. Not that he ſuppreſſes thoſe proofs which point out clearly where the blame lies; but, conſidering that Mr Frere has been himſelf, in a great meaſure, given up by his employers,

and

and that they were in office when Mr Moore wrote,—actively occupied, too, though covertly, in ſhifting the blame from themſelves upon his brother's ſhoulders, we confeſs we could have excuſed ſome diverſion, towards the cabinet, of the conſtant attack upon the envoy. This volume is inſcribed, in an addreſs of great feeling and propriety, to the venerable matron who, having given the hero of Corunna to the world, now only lingers in it to aſſuage her affliction for his loſs, by the tender remembrance of his virtues. *

We have ventured ſo fully, upon former occaſions, into the merits of the expedition to Portugal, that we do not think it neceſſary to repeat any part of this diſcuſſion at preſent. We believe, the opinion of the world is now pretty unanimous upon that ſubject; and that few men can be found to maintain, that, in the outſet of her operations, England choſe the beſt means to aſſiſt her Spaniſh allies. It is the conviction of many perſons, whoſe judgment commands peculiar reſpect, and the more ſo becauſe later events appear to ſupport it, that there was at no time any reaſonable chance of driving the French out of the Peninſula; and that, conſequently, no Britiſh army ſhould ever have been ſent there at all. Some, on the other hand, agreeing with the popular opinion, that our aſſiſtance was likely to ſecure that deſireable object, affirm, that it ought to have been afforded in the ſouthern extremity of Spain; a poſition which, we confeſs, has always ſtruck us as untenable; while the perſuaſion expreſſed in this Journal ſeems now the moſt prevalent, that our troops, if ſent at all, ſhould have landed as near as poſſible to the Ebro, on the north, and been aided by a force from Sicily in the bay of Roſas. But the plan which was ſelected, of landing in Portugal, ſeems, by all deſcriptions of reaſoners, to be entirely given up. For an ample expoſition of this ſubject, we refer to the ſtatements contained in our Twenty-fifth Number; ſupported by reference to the official documents, in a ſubſequent article, No. XXVII. Neither is it our intention, at preſent, to diſcuſs the merits of the ſhort and moſt unſatisfactory campaign to which the Portuguese expedition gave riſe. Upon this ſubject, alſo, the public mind ſeems at laſt to be completely made up; and, whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the judgment and the diſintereſtedneſs which preſcribed the commencement of operations before the arrival of Generals Burrard and Moore, the preciſe extent of the victory

* Several tracts have been published by the friends and admirers of General Moore, beside that of his brother. See *Cursory Remarks on the late Administration*, which contains several very acute and important observations on the military movements in Spain; *Letters from Spain and Portugal, by a British Officer*; and Mr Milburne's *Narrative of the Retreat*.

victory at Vimeira; and the practicability of purſuing that ſucceſs—points on which we certainly have our opinion; all men are now agreed, that the reſult of the campaign not only fruſtrated whatever object its projectors might have propoſed to themſelves, but brought diſcredit upon the Britiſh arms. Nor is the conviction leſs univerſal, that this ſignal failure was an inevitable conſequence of the arrangements (ſhall we call them?) which our government had made with reſpect to the command of the expedition. Leaving, therefore, theſe points, moſt of which may be conſidered as now ſettled, and the remainder as of ſubordinate importance, we ſhall begin at the commencement of the ſecond effort which England made for the Spaniſh cauſe—the expedition under Sir John Moore; and in purſuing this inquiry, we ſhall be guided entirely by the official documents laid before Parliament, the authentic letters and other papers publiſhed in Mr Moore's collection, and the teſtimonies of ſuch witneſſes as are the leaſt liable to ſuſpicion of partiality. This is the only uſe we purpoſe to make of Mr Moore's work, or of the other tracts publiſhed upon the ſubject.

It was a neceſſary conſequence of the operations in Portugal, that a conſiderable time elapſed, after the retreat of the French behind the Ebro, before any meaſures for attacking them could be even thought of in this country. In fact, it was known in London, on the 8th of Auguſt, that Dupont had ſurrendered on the 21ſt of July, and that Joſeph Buonapartè had left Madrid on the 29th; and, a few days afterwards, it was aſcertained, that the French forces were concentrating themſelves in Navarre and Catalonia. At this time, however, the campaign in Portugal had commenced; and it was only cloſed on the 30th of Auguſt, by the memorable convention of Cintra. On the 4th of September, that event was officially known in London; and on the 26th, orders were deſpatched to Liſbon for the preparation of a detachment which might enter Spain, under Sir John Moore, and there be joined by another force from this country. Theſe orders were received on the 6th of October; and Sir David Baird ſailed for Corunna on the 9th. The Britiſh government, therefore, was aware, that before a ſingle Britiſh ſoldier could ſet his foot on Spaniſh ground, the French army muſt have remained *above ten weeks* behind the Ebro, quietly waiting for reinforcements.

Sir David Baird arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October; but, in conſequence of ſome unaccountable blunders on the part of the government, or its agents, * he was not allowed to land until the

* We have heard it asserted, that the notice of Sir David Baird's actual arrival, and the notice that he was to sail thither, reached our envoy

the 22d; and his army was not on ſhore before the 4th of November. On the 8th, he was joined by Lord Paget's diviſion of the horſe artillery; and the whole force had not landed before the 13th. Sir David himſelf did not reach Aſtorga till the 22d. In the mean time, Sir John Moore was indefatigably employed in accelerating the departure of the main body of his army from Liſbon. No imputation of dilatorineſs has, indeed, ever been caſt upon this part of his conduct; yet the laſt corps could not leave Liſbon before the 29th of October; nor had the whole of the infantry reached Salamanca on the 24th of November, although the march was moſt ſucceſsfully performed. Aſtorga is 100 Engliſh miles from Toro; and Salamanca is above 150 from Burgos. It was impoſſible, therefore, for the two armies to effect a junction at all before the firſt week in December; or to effect a junction at the point which was moſt defireable, before the middle of that month. The Britiſh government, then, was aware, that before the army could poſſibly be aſſembled in any part of Spain, the enemy muſt have had *four months* to reinforce his army; that a fortnight more muſt have elapſed, before the Britiſh forces could be united in the enemy's neighbourhood, even ſuppoſing no oppoſition whatever ſhould be offered to them until they were ready to meet it.

Between the day on which the Cintra Convention was known in London, and that on which orders were ſent to march the army into Spain, viz. on the 16th of September, a copy of Buonaparte's meſſage to the Senate was received in this country. It appeared from thence, that, on the 8th, he had proclaimed his intimate alliance with Ruſſia; his confidence that, for ſome time at leaſt, he had nothing to apprehend from Auſtria; and his determination immediately to march an immenſe army into Spain. In a few days afterwards, it was known that troops had begun to move towards Bayonne. Lord W. Bentinck informed Sir J. Moore, on the 8th of October, that a letter had been intercepted from the Governor of Bayonne to Marſhal Jourdan, in which it was ſtated, that, between the 16th of October and the 16th of November, one army, of 72 or 73,000 men, would enter Spain; and that this intelligence was believed both by himſelf and the Supreme Junta. *

The

---

envoy at the same time. We can scarcely credit this. But the fact is certain, that no permission to land was ever asked of the Spanish government, until Sir David Baird's arrival in Corunna was made known at Madrid. Lord William Bentinck, it may be remarked, received the first notice of Corunna being the point of destination on the 14th of October. House of Commons Papers, p. 114.

* House of Com. Papers, p. 153.

The same statement must therefore have been received by the British Government within a week after Sir D. Baird's army sailed. It is now known, that French troops began to enter Spain about the 1st of October; that, in five weeks from thence, above 57,000 had arrived; and that, in the beginning of November, Buonapartè himself was at their head. † It would be in the highest degree disrespectful to the British Government, to suppose it possible that all this should happen, without their knowing any thing of the matter. But if, after reading Buonapartè's message to his Senate, and reflecting for one moment on the recent checks he had met with in Spain—the quiet state of affairs in Germany—the resources of his empire, and the character of the man—they could harbour a thought that his threats were empty words, or that his movements were as tardy as their own, we must at least allow that they were utterly incapable of contending with him, even if every advantage had been in their favour. It is not, however, very material to fix the government with the knowledge of these reinforcements. They knew, at least, that the French army behind the Ebro never was reduced below 60,000; ‡ that the communications with France were entirely open; and that the time which must necessarily elapse before Sir J. Moore's army could reach the confines of Navarre, was sufficient to allow of more troops being sent for after the commencement of his march should be known at the French head quarters. And surely there was *one* reinforcement hastening at that moment to the enemy, of which the planners of the Portuguese campaign could not be ignorant. They could not so soon have forgotten the fruits of their victories. They must have been aware, that, in consequence of having repeatedly defeated the enemy, and by collecting, after those victories, a force greatly superior to his, he had been enabled to convey his troops to the point where he chiefly wanted them. They must have been aware, that, at the moment they were ordering Sir J. Moore's army to advance towards Navarre by land, they were themselves sending, in British ships, a well appointed French army, *of the same force*, to a port of France, from whence they were sure to reach Navarre in time to meet our gallant troops.

The whole troops destined to act under Sir John Moore amounted, in fact, to no more than 28,000 men; § between 11 or 12,000 having been left most unaccountably to garrison Portugal; in other words, to support the feeble and unpopular government of that country against its own subjects. * The plan, therefore, was,

† House of Com. Papers, p. 118. ‡ Ib. p. 113.
§ Adjutant-General's returns, Moore's Appendix.
* Cintra Papers, p. 232.

was, to send our army through Spain to dislodge from strong positions, and from at least two complete fortresses, a French force, consisting of above double their numbers, to the certain knowledge of our government at the time the plan was conceived; a force which, our government must have known, was daily receiving large additions, and would be above four times more numerous than ours, before we could pass the Spanish frontier; a force which, it was perfectly manifest, would cross the Ebro, and begin active operations against our allies, as soon as we could begin the assembling of our different detachments; a force which, thus augmented, and having thus the start of us, must necessarily be enabled, after beating our ally's corps in detail, to meet our little army in whatever part of the north might be most disadvantageous for us; and which, if by some miracle it were defeated, could always retreat upon its resources, and be indefinitely recruited.

Such was THE PLAN of the expedition; and to encounter such odds was Sir J. Moore sent from Lisbon. It is therefore perfectly manifest, that no man in his senses could have entertained the idea of this project leading to any thing but ruin and disgrace, unless he was under the influence of very sanguine expectations of assistance from the Spaniards themselves. The only conceivable justification of the plan must consist in a belief having been entertained, that the Spaniards were able to keep the French in check until an army arrived to turn the scale against them. Let us now see what grounds there were for such an expectation.

That a very general spirit of resistance to France, arising from a strong national antipathy, much more than from any liking for their own government, prevailed at one time among the Spaniards, we have always been the first to maintain. Of this favourable disposition there was sufficient proof, at an early period, to justify this country in resolving to assist it. But, previous to taking any active steps for this purpose, more intimate information was essentially necessary; and the chief points to be ascertained evidently were, whether the enthusiasm extended to the upper and middle classes of the people; whether it was likely to last or pass away, like other popular feelings; whether it was leading to such definite measures, such actual exertions of military strength, as alone could warrant a belief of its ultimate success. A great number of agents, both civil and military, were sent into different parts of Spain for the purpose of making these inquiries, and of aiding the popular ferment. In the papers laid before Parliament, *not one line is given from any of their reports;* although their appointment, and the queries addressed to them, are elaborately detailed. A despatch of Mr Frere has indeed

been made public; and the opinions of Generals Moore and Baird appear in the course of their military correspondence; but the envoy, while he distinctly admits that there is no enthusiasm in Leon and the Castilles * (with the exception of La Mancha and Madrid), ascribes this disposition to the southern provinces, merely from report and speculative reasonings; and the generals flatly and uniformly deny the existence of it in those provinces which they traversed, and in those of which they had received any authentic accounts. † The testimonies of Dr Neale and Mr Ormsby are clear and explicit upon this point; and it is one to which they may speak.

It is quite impossible to conceive any reason, but one, for our government having suppressed the reports of their various agents, viz. that they were unfavourable to the Spaniards; that those persons had found the popular spirit upon the decline; and the Juntas taking no steps to revive it. But if that spirit had been ever so strong, there was another question to be answered, before the British Government could be justified in sending an army of 30,000 men into Spain, where a French army of 120,000 was already prepared to meet it. Between such an enemy and our men, it was necessary that some other shield should be interposed than the mere good will—the favourable dispositions of an ally—or even his hatred of the French, and his popular commotions against their usurpation—or even risings of armed peasantry in different parts of his territory. The question was, what force could he speedily bring into the field;—and, not only that, but what measures had been adopted to call it out;—nay, how many serviceable men had he actually embodied at the moment when instructions were sent to Sir J. Moore? This was the question: for, at that moment, the enemy's reinforcements were beginning to pour in; no attempt was making to disturb him: and, before those instructions could be obeyed, he must be in a condition to take the field and overwhelm the British army as soon as it appeared, unless opposed by a large and soldier-like army of Spaniards. Let us next see, then, how this question was examined by the planners of the expedition.

We are firmly persuaded that *it was not examined at all.* We see no other way of accounting for the utter want of conformity between the statements given to Sir John Moore, and the facts as he found them, and as all the other British agents found them.

Lord

* Letter to Sir J. Moore, November 30. In the Parliamentary papers, this document was most shamefully mutilated, so as to pervert the sense completely. It is given at length in Mr Moore's work, p. 80.

† House of Com. papers, p. 146, 155, 158, 164.

Lord Castlereagh, in his despatch of September 30th to Lord William Bentinck, * communicated on the same day to Sir J. Moore, † states, that the assembling of our army in the north of Spain will be covered by a Spanish force of 'between 60 and 70,000 men, exclusive of the armies operating towards the front and left of the enemy's line;' that is to say, exclusive of the armies of Castanos and Palafox. The amount of those armies is not even guessed at in any part of Sir J. Moore's instructions; but Mr Moore asserts, that they were conceived to be the most numerous of any; ‡ and he is to a certain degree borne out by the statement of Lord Castlereagh, in his despatch to Lord W. Bentinck, of October 1st, that the armies of Castanos and Romana contain the greatest proportion of regulars; and that the former has more cavalry than any other. § The despatches of Lord W. Bentinck, ‖ of October 2d, transmitted both to London and Lisbon, contain an enumeration of the Spanish forces in the north, founded apparently on the statements of the Supreme Junta; a most suspicious authority upon which to build plans of a campaign. In this document, the army of Castanos is stated to be 65,000; that of Palafox 16,000; the army of Catalonia 20,000; and 20,000 more are said to be on their march.

We may judge of the pains bestowed on the examination of these estimates by the fact, only credible because we have it under Lord Castlereagh's own hand, that it was not till the 27th of October that instructions were sent from London to Lord W. Bentinck at Madrid, to send an officer from *Corunna into Catalonia*, for the purpose of examining the state of that province and its armies. ¶ It is the same unquestionable authority alone that could make us suppose, that, on the 25th of September, Romana's army was estimated at 30,000, and on the 30th of the same month at 20,000 men. ** But, in whatever manner these numbers were obtained, the planners of the expedition instructed Sir John Moore to expect that his junction with Sir D. Baird would be covered by an army of 60,000 or 70,000 men, under Romana and Blake; and that about double the number were ready to act on the centre and left of the enemy, under Castanos and Palafox. Nay, so little apprehension was entertained of the Spanish armies being weak or unserviceable, and such were the frantic hopes of the British cabinet, that, in the month of September, the Spaniards alone were expected to drive the French across the Pyrenees; and, at the end of that month, or the beginning of October, Lord W. Bentinck was directed to concert measures with the

* House of Com. Papers, p. 60. † Ib. p. 54.
‡ Ib. p. 11. § Ib. p. 62. ‖ Ib. p. 113.
¶ Ib. p. 66. ** Ib. p. 48. 60.

the Junta for an invaſion of *the ſouth of France*, to be performed by the combined armies of England and Spain! *

Now, let us ſee how the fact ſtood, and how nearly theſe fancies were found to approach the real truth. Sir J. Moore ſays, that Blake *never* had more than 37,000 men with him; and that, excepting Romana's corps, theſe were for the moſt part mere peaſantry. † At the battle of Sornoſa, however, he could only bring 17,000 men againſt the enemy, *including* Romana's corps; and at Valmaſeda he was compelled to retreat, after gaining ſome advantage, although his whole force was oppoſed to only 7000 or 8000 of the enemy. Theſe are the ſtatements of General Brodrick and Captain Carrol. ‡ In a week from this day, the *covering army* of the North was completely routed and diſperſed; and Sir D. Baird, far from having his junction with Sir J. Moore protected by it, was prevailed upon to halt for a ſhort time, in order to aſſiſt Romana in collecting a few of its ſcattered remains. § The army of Eſtremadura, 18,000 in number, was routed near Burgos, about the ſame time. The armies of the centre and left, according to Sir J. Moore's information, did not exceed 40,000 men; ‖ and General Graham, who was with Caſtanos at that time, reported the combined forces of that General and Palafox at only 30,000. ** Nor was the quality of the Spaniſh armies at all calculated to make up for their deficiency in numbers. General Brodrick, ſpeaking of Blake's army, ſays, 'he has more faith in the good will than in the manœuvres even of the troops of the

* Moore, p. 12. It is to be regretted that the particulars of these portentous instructions have not been given by Mr Moore from his brother's papers. They would have gone far to open the eyes of the country to the nature of the men whom they have entrusted with the care of their purse. The date of the directions, too, is material. It must have been as late as 30th Sept. at least; for Lord Castlereagh, then, for the first time, wrote to Lord W. Bentinck.—House of Com. papers, p. 60.

† House of Com. papers, p. 155.

‡ Ibid. p. 127, 129, & 179. The *despatches* of Captain Carrol are strange specimens of ranting and confuſion. It may, indeed, be obſerved, in general, of the multitude of officers who were ſent into Spain as agents, that they were either originally ill qualified for their ſituations, or were ſoon ſpoilt by the attentions they met with, and the empty honours and nominal rank conferred upon them. They all began to play the grand functionary—the ambaſſador—the commander. The only one, to be ſure, who had any right to this, forms a moſt honourable exception to the remark;—we mean Lord W. Bentinck.

§ Ib. p. 147, 148. ‖ Ib. p. 155. ** Ib. p. 146.

line; * and at the very beginning of the campaign, he complains that it 'suffers a good deal from desertion.' † General Leith says, that the Asturian division of the same army, 'on the 10th of November, fought very bravely; and on the 11th gave way, without resistance.' ‡ The opinion of Generals Moore and Baird, upon the composition of this army, need not be repeated in this place. But we may remark, that Colonel Symes, who was sent to examine the corps formed out of its remains after the battles of the North, gives a report altogether inconsistent with the supposition of that army ever having been fit to oppose French troops. 'A striking instance of this (he observes) is given by the Marquis himself, who assured me that the Spaniards did not lose above 1000 men in their late actions with the French; a proof, not of the weakness of the French, but of the incapacity of the Spaniards to resist them. In fact, the French light troops decided the contest; the Spaniards fled before a desultory fire; they saved themselves, and now claim merit for having escaped.' § As to the army of the centre, we may take the report either of its commander, or of the English officer who was sent to inspect it. Castanos describes it, in his despatch to the secretary of the Junta, as 'immoveable from its few resources, and the greatest part composed of new levies, badly clothed, and badly provisioned.' ‖ Captain Whittingham says, in his letter to Lord W. Bentinck, from its head-quarters,—'To form any idea of its composition, it is abolutely necessary to have seen it. It is a complete mass of miserable peasantry, without clothing, without organization, and with few officers that deserve the name. The General and principal officers have not the least confidence in their troops; and, what is yet worse, the men have no confidence in themselves. This is not an exaggerated picture; it is a true portrait.' ¶ To sum up the whole of this melancholy recital, we find a council of war held by the Spanish Generals, at the opening of the campaign, in which it is agreed that, 'considering the actual state of penury and want which the army of the centre, destitute of the most necessary means, is suffering; considering also that their effective force is much less than had been supposed, it cannot be of assistance to the army of the left, notwithstanding the urgency of such assistance.' **

It appears clear, then, from the most unexceptionable evidence,—from evidence indeed of the highest description, the documents unwillingly

* H. of C. papers, p. 122. † Ib. p. 126. ‡ Ib. p. 181.

§ Moore, p. 131. The letters of Colonel Symes are among the best in the whole mass of correspondence.

‖ Moore, p. 15. ¶ Ibid. ** Moore, App. p. 252.

unwillingly produced by the British government and its agents, and the official papers found in the repositories of Sir J. Moore, that he was ordered to march his army into Spain, at a time when the French had four times its number ready to receive him; when the Spaniards, in the immediate neighbourhood of the common enemy, could, at no one point, muster 30,000 men; and when even this inconsiderable force was so composed, that it must be dispersed by half its numbers of regular troops. The British government, however, calculated both upon the sufficiency of the force sent, and upon an adequate time being allowed for it to act. The plan was (as appears by Lord Castlereagh's despatch to Lord William Bentinck, Oct. 1. *), that the army should, after the junction of its different corps, advance through Leon and Castile towards the enemy, its flanks being covered by the Spanish forces, who had all the while been covering its collection.

Even if all this had been practicable, the enemy would, on its arrival at the Ebro, have been far more than a match. There would then have been no more than 90,000 of the allies, of whom not one half were regular troops, to oppose at least 120,000, but more probably 150,000 of the finest soldiers in the world. The plan, then, was absolutely impracticable, giving its authors every thing their own way. But the enemy could not quite consent to this. He had completed his reinforcements at least four weeks before our army could possibly be assembled. So he began to destroy the allied armies one by one, after his manner,—the 'covering corps,' and the 'flanking corps,'—and the 'Spanish reserve,' and the 'forces of the patriots which we went to second,'—and, in short, the whole body of the 'Spanish army' which our ministers had proposed should first drive the French out of Spain, and then, with our help, pursue them across the Pyrenees, God knows how far, but probably to Paris;—we were unluckily beaten and dispersed piecemeal, by the relentless, unaccommodating, and most intractable enemy, who, it seems, never will learn from our example, notwithstanding all the pains we have been taking to teach him for the last twenty years, to waver and delay a little, and to suit his plans to ours. It was thus that he occupied himself during the first three weeks in November, when we were expecting him to remain quiet as he had done for three months. And indeed what right had he, all of a sudden, to begin fighting, when we were not ready? Every thing was doing that man could do to assemble our forces:—the *departments* in Downing-Street and at Whitehall were all in a bustle,—the *boards* could scarcely get out of town of a Saturday,—the life of a cabinet minister was become worse

* House of Com. papers, p. 62.

than that of a dray horse;—then above three dozen of emissaries, brigaded under ministers and major-generals, had been sent, aye and were actually arrived in Spain,—some fourscore letters had been despatched by the secretaries of State,—our army, too, almost one-fourth part as strong as the enemy's, was landed in sundry remote parts of the peninsula, and was uniting as fast as legs could carry it,—the gazette-writer was ready to record its deeds,—and the newspapers had already announced them. What cruelty in that inexorable enemy of ours to spoil so much triumph and exultation,—to mar so very beautiful a plan, and all quite ripe for exhibition,—to begin with our allies a whole month sooner than we had bargained for;—and, not content with that, to advance, after driving them all over the country, so as almost to serve our detachments in the same way, before they could unite—! But it is his constant way—and there is now no hope of his ever becoming more mannerly.

We have now seen precisely the nature of the service upon which Sir J. Moore was sent, and how utterly impossible it was for any kind of good to arise out of such a scheme, unless by means of a positive miracle. This seems, indeed, very early to have been his own conviction. At first, he trusted a little to the stories which the ministers told him; but he had scarcely crossed the frontiers of Portugal, when his eyes were opened to the real state of things. Even before he entered Spain, he had a specimen of the credit which was due to the information to be obtained from our allies. The question, whether the roads towards the north-east of Portugal were unfit for the transport of artillery and cavalry, was apparently one which the regency of that country might be expected to answer accurately. The General therefore trusted to their positive assurances, and sent that part of his army round by the Badajos road. He found, however, when he accompanied the rest of his troops towards Almeida, that the whole might easily have come in the same direction. He was thus needlessly separated from a most essential part of his force;—but it was the last time he ever trusted the information of 'native authorities.'

The history of his progress in Spain now becomes the history of his disappointments in every one expectation which he had been led to form, by his instructions, of efforts on the part of the Spaniards, or even of the British government. He is scarcely arrived at Salamanca, when we find him obliged to complain of the reluctance with which the constituted authorities afford him support. 'They are not (says he) like those of a country who wish our assistance.'* He has constant occasion to renew this complaint in the

* Letter to Lord William Bentinck, Nov. 13. Moore, p. 22.

the subsequent course of the campaign. The British commissariat is likewise found to be extremely deficient; and its difficulties are increased by some injudicious appointments from home. Want of money is a perpetual source of the most serious inconvenience; and we find Lord Castlereagh, after the despatch of a very moderate supply, fairly telling the General, that he must expect no more for some months, as silver is not to be had in England. * The enthusiasm of the people, he soon perceived, had been grossly exaggerated; and he could discover no symptoms of vigour in the councils of the government, nor any thing satisfactory and intelligible in the movements of their armies. The French, on the other hand, he saw every reason to suspect, were ready to begin the campaign: indeed, before he arrived at Salamanca, he learnt the defeat of the Spaniards at Burgos, the very point where he had been directed to assemble his troops. Such were the impressions under which his letter to Lord William Bentinck was written on the 13th of November; and after stating, distinctly, that four times his force would be outnumbered and beaten, unless the mass of the Spanish people could resist the enemy themselves, he concludes with this remarkable passage—'I am therefore much more anxious 'to see exertion and energy in the government, and enthusiasm in 'their armies, than to have my force augmented. The moment 'is a critical one;—my own situation is particularly so;—I have 'never seen it otherwise;—but I have pushed into Spain at all 'hazards. This was the order of my government; and it was 'the will of the people of England. I shall endeavour to do my 'best; hoping, that all the bad that may happen will not happen, 'but that, with a share of the bad, we shall also have a portion of 'good fortune.' †

He now received intelligence that the French had pushed a corps as far as Valladolid, on the 13th of November; that they had indeed retired; but that their progress had produced no sensation whatever among the Spaniards; and four days after this he learnt, by a letter from Mr Stuart at Madrid, the total defeat of Blake,

* Letter to Mr Frere, Nov. 19. Ib. 38. This passage is very striking; and, when coupled with the similar difficulty of pocuring specie, in the late expeditions to Portugal and the Scheldt, forcibly reminds us, that Mr Baring predicted this very consequence from the Orders in Council. See his celebrated pamphlet on that subject, p. 157. Thus wonderful is the connexion between all the measures of our rulers! Nor is the conduct of a wise and vigorous government more distinguished by the mutual support which its various proceedings afford one another, than the plans of a rash and feeble administration are remarkable for proving subversive of each other.

† Moore, p. 25.

and the prolonged imbecility of the Supreme Junta; from which indeed that gentleman * very judiciously infers, that there was room for the most desponding views. About the same time, the reports of General Graham presented such a picture of the central army, as prepared Sir John Moore for the most disastrous events.

It was now evident that the French had it in their power, either to prevent the junction of his three divisions, or to march upon their left and attack Castanos. By a letter from Blake, dated 'Leon, November 23d,' information was communicated to Sir David Baird, that the French were advancing by Rio Seco; and Romana further apprized him, that they had an army of 18,000 collected there on the 24th. Sir David, therefore, prepared to retreat upon Corunna. Sir John Moore, however, discovered that this alarm was a false one, originating in the corps of cavalry which had been sent to scour the country. He therefore directed Sir David Baird to continue his advance, being resolved to attempt the junction (notwithstanding the delay thus occasioned by Blake and Romana), unless the enemy should advance with his main body, in which case it would be necessary to retreat upon Portugal.—'I see my situation,' he observes in his Journal, 'as clearly as any one, that nothing can be worse; for I have no Spanish army to give me the least assistance—only, the Marquis Romana is endeavouring to assemble the fugitives from Blake's army at Leon. Yet I am determined to form the junction of this army, and to try our fortune. *We have no business here, as things are;* but, being here, it would never do to abandon the Spaniards without a struggle.' †

'While these measures were in agitation,—while every day brought intelligence of fresh disasters,—and every observation of his own more and more convinced the General, that the dispositions and resources of Spain had been magnified out of all resemblance to the truth, the first despatches were received from Mr Frere, who talked lightly of the defeat at Burgos,—gave a decided opinion on the whole state of the country where he had just arrived,—and insisted with perfect confidence upon the evils of retreating under any circumstances, and the necessity of pushing forward to the capital. This was the opinion also of Morla, who recommended that Sir John should advance with part of his army, if he could not immediately bring the whole of it up. ‡ But on the 28th of November, he received intelligence of Castanos's army having been defeated and dispersed. It was to be apprehended, therefore, that as no force remained in the North to resist the enemy, the junction with Sir David Baird would be opposed; that it might be difficult even to join

* Moore, p. 37. † Ib. p. 50.

‡ Mr Frere's Letters and General Hope's. Moore, p. 31. 52. 53.

join General Hope; and, at all events, the army, when united, could not undertake any thing againſt an enemy ſo greatly ſuperior in numbers. Theſe conſiderations, ſo ſatisfactory to any perſon who calmly reviews the ſtate of the queſtion as we have already exhibited it from the official documents, determined the General to retreat deliberately to Portugal; to order Sir David Baird back to Corunna; and to haſten the junction of General Hope, if poſſible, by forced marches. Nothing could now be expected but the chance of aſſiſting the Spaniards by aſſembling the army in the South, where, indeed, Sir John Moore was always of opinion, that a correct knowledge of the ſtate of the country would originally have led the government to employ it. * This determination was fully approved of by Generals Baird and Hope; and, we will venture to ſay, there is not one man of common underſtanding now alive, who does not deeply lament that it was afterwards changed; yet it is remarkable, that it gave as great diſſatisfaction to the army as any part of the ſubſequent operations which have been ſo bitterly attacked, upon no better authority than the murmurs of the troops.

We are now approaching towards that point of Sir John Moore's operations, at which for the firſt, and for the only time in the whole courſe of this arduous ſervice, we are diſpoſed to heſitate whether his conduct be not liable to a certain degree of cenſure. He had from the beginning clearly perceived, what no man can at preſent for an inſtant doubt, that his army had been ordered to enter Spain without any conceivable object,—without even the chance of effecting, by human means, any one valuable purpoſe. The diſperſion of the different Spaniſh armies, which he had very confidently predicted, had followed in rapid ſucceſſion. It was now the 1ſt of December; and the enemy had, above a week before, routed Caſtanos on the Ebro. It was ſtill longer ſince he had a force in Burgos, and had even puſhed on detachments of his cavalry to Valladolid. A large reinforcement (according to the General's intelligence, above 30,000) were on their march through Biſcay; and it was manifeſt, that even if no ſuch addition was made to the army in our front, it might be ſupported by a detachment from the force which had defeated Caſtanos. In truth, that force could now only have one of two deſtinations; either to march directly againſt our army, or to proceed towards Madrid. In either caſe, the junction of our three corps was endangered; but admitting that a rapid and lucky movement, favoured by a moment of ſupineneſs on the enemy's part, could have ſecured their union,—

* Despatch of Lord Caſtlereagh, Nov. 24. House of Commons Papers, p. 155.

admitting that the whole Britiſh army was brought ſafely together, and as ſoon as poſſible;—while the enemy was pouring in from the north, and advancing to Madrid from the north-eaſt—it was ſelf-evident that we could not have turned our fortunate junction to any account whatever, and that a ſpeedy retreat was the beſt that awaited us. It was further manifeſt, that the delay neceſſarily occaſioned by ſuch a junction, and by the advance of our army, muſt increaſe the difficulties of the retreat; and that every hour which the Britiſh army ſpent, and every league which they advanced after the battle of Tudela, augmented the hardſhips and dangers neceſſarily to be encountered before they could hope to leave Spain, without affording the ſmalleſt chance of aſſiſting the Spaniards. Of all this Sir John Moore was fully aware at the beginning of December; and when he called together his Generals to communicate his plan of retreating, he told them, with that manly ſpirit which ſo eminently marked all his proceedings, 'that he had not aſſembled them to requeſt their counſel, or to make them commit themſelves by giving any opinion.' He ſaid, 'he took the reſponſibility entirely upon himſelf, and only required them to prepare immediately for carrying his orders into effect.' From what new occurrences, or by what efforts of other men, he was ſoon after induced to change this wiſe and ſpirited determination, we are now to ſee. It is the only part of his whole conduct about which any doubts can now remain; and we muſt confeſs, that our opinion, originally unfavourable to the General, has been materially altered by the ſcenes diſcloſed in the correſpondence before us.

When Mr Frere was ſent to Madrid at the beginning of November, with the lateſt inſtructions from the Britiſh cabinet, and an intimate knowledge of their plans and wiſhes reſpecting Spain, he alſo carried with him the peculiar confidence of Mr Canning, then at the head of the foreign department. Although we are decidedly of opinion, that he was diſqualified for this poſt, by the accidental circumſtance of his having filled it at the time when Mr Pitt and Lord Melville, with even more than the uſual impolicy and rapacity of their councils, declared the Dollar-war of 1805, we yet are willing to allow, that it would have been difficult to find a gentleman of higher honour, more liberal accompliſhments, greater enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of the patriots, or warmer zeal for the King's ſervice. Poſſeſſed of theſe qualities, and receiving unlimited credit for the ſtill more miniſterial virtues of a ſober judgment and diſcreet temper, it was natural that his opinions ſhould be recommended to the peculiar attention of the military department by his employers, who had given him their entire confidence, and appriſed him fully of their ſentiments and inclinations. A ſlight hint, too, of this kind would certainly be implicitly

implicitly attended to by Sir John Moore. The hint, indeed, was not easily to be mistaken. 'Although' (says Lord Castlereagh, in his final instructions) 'communications either from the Spanish government or the British minister, are not to be considered by you as in the nature of orders, you will nevertheless receive such requisitions or representations, upon all occasions, with the utmost deference and attention.' * In the same despatch, he is directed to communicate with the Spanish government only through the British minister; 'to keep up a constant and intimate correspondence with him, and to cooperate in the most cordial manner with him in carrying on the public service.' † If a Spanish commander in chief is appointed, Sir John Moore is directed to obey him implicitly; and if he feels it necessary, on any occasion, to make representations, he is desired, in the first instance, to obey, and then to make this sort of appeal through the British minister to the Spanish government. ‡ These instructions amount, we think it must be allowed, to a command, that the General should consider the wishes of the Spanish government and the British envoy as having every thing short of the force of positive orders.

On the 2d of December, the General received a letter from Mr Frere, dated November 30th, strongly urging him to advance to Madrid; expatiating on the enthusiasm of the Spaniards; and describing the delays and difficulties which attended the reinforcement of the French. 'Of the people,' says Mr Frere, 'I have no doubt.'—'The government,' he adds, 'are resolute, and every man of them determined to perish with the country: they will not, at least, set the example which the ruling powers and higher orders of other countries have exhibited, of weakness and timidity.' § He informs Sir John Moore, that there is a Spanish army of 20,000 in New Castile, on which Castanos is falling back, and that reinforcements from the provinces are daily passing through Madrid, which, when joined to the British army, would 'give a force very much superior to any thing which the French could assemble.' He concludes, that 'considerations both of policy and generosity call for an immediate effort,' which he explained to be, an advance to Madrid. And he adds, that 'this step, he is well convinced, would meet with the approbation of his Majesty's government.' ¶ Mr Frere had written this letter before he was apprised of the General's determination to retreat; and he sends it with a short, and, to all appearance, an angry note, 'that he does not

* House of Commons Papers, p. 71. † Id. ibid.
‡ Id. ibid. § Moore, p. 82.—This despatch is to be found, in a very garbled state, in the House of Commons Papers.
¶ Moore, p. 83.

not know that he can, in any way, express with less offence the entire difference of their opinions.' * At the same time that he received this communication, Sir John Moore was informed, by a letter from Mr Stuart, that St Juan had repulsed the enemy; that there were great hopes of Castanos joining him; and that there were no such detachments as to prevent the junction of the British corps. The greater part of this intelligence Mr Stuart had from Morla; but he adds his own opinion, that the retreat of our army would produce a very serious impression at Madrid, and probably overturn the government. † Together with these letters arrived two Spanish generals, sent by the Junta to prevail on Sir John Moore to advance. They confirmed Mr Frere's statements; and added, that St Juan, with 20,000 men, had fortified the pass of Samosierra, and rendered the approach to Madrid impracticable. General Graham, however, was also arrived at head-quarters: he had supped with St Juan the night before; and had found that his corps had been completely routed, and that the French were marching towards the capital. Sir John Moore, therefore, persevered in his determination to retreat, notwithstanding all the hopes and the facts of Mr Frere, and the urgent entreaties of the Junta. We think it will be universally admitted that he did right; but we confess we are not quite prepared to allow, that what followed should have altered his resolution, although we do not deny that it greatly extenuates his error.

On the 5th of December, a messenger arrived with a paper, signed by the Prince of Castelfranco and Morla, the governors of Madrid, in the name of the Supreme Junta, and dated the 2d. They affirm, that Castanos is rapidly falling back on Madrid, with 25,000 men; that St Juan is on his way with 10,000; that there are 40,000 in the town; that they are under no immediate apprehensions for its safety; and they urge him to advance to their assistance with all possible rapidity, by throwing himself either into Madrid, or into the rear of the enemy. At the same time, the General received a letter from Mr Frere, dated December 3d, Talavera, whither that minister had retired with the Junta. After extolling, in the highest terms, the spirit of the people of Madrid, he 'presses upon Sir John Moore, *in the strongest manner*, the propriety, not to say the *necessity*, of supporting the determination of the Spanish people, by all the means which have been entrusted to him for that purpose.' ‡ He concludes in these words—'I have no hesitation in taking upon myself any degree of responsibility which may attach itself to this advice, as I consider

* Moore, p. 77. † Ibid. p. 78.

‡ Ibid. p. 88.; and House of Commons Papers, 11. April. p. 5.

sider the fate of Spain as depending absolutely, for the present, upon the decision which you may adopt. I say, *for the present*; for such is the spirit and character of the country, that, even if abandoned by the British, I should by no means despair of their ultimate success.' * This important letter was delivered by a Colonel Charmilly, a French emigrant, of whom Sir John Moore, at that time, knew nothing further. The information which it contained respecting Madrid, was given upon the authority of this person, who had been left there on the 2d of December. Sir John Moore, therefore, yielded to his pressing demand of an interview, and heard him expatiate, in the most lofty terms, on the scenes of enthusiasm and resolute courage which he had so recently witnessed. 'The whole inhabitants of the city,' he said, 'were in arms, and had united with the troops; the streets were barricaded; batteries were erecting all round; and the peasants were flocking to the capital.'—'The accounts,' he added, 'of the rising ardour of the North of Spain, were most favourable.' † By these requisitions from the Spanish government and the British envoy, and by the representations which accompanied them of the state of things in the capital, ‡ the General was induced to suspend his retreat, and to attempt a forward movement. He ordered Sir David Baird to advance; put himself in communication with the Marquis Romana, who had collected a few thousand men of Blake's army; and despatched General Graham to obtain more accurate intelligence. That excellent and indefatigable officer returned, on the 9th, from Talavera, where he had learned that Madrid capitulated on the 3d; but had been assured, by the deputies of the Supreme Junta, that the inhabitants continued resolute, with arms in their hands; that the French had not dared to

* Moore, p. 88., and House of Commons Papers, 11. April, p. 5. The Government, in the copies of these letters which they laid before Parliament, suppressed Colonel Charmilly's name.

† Moore, p. 89.

‡ We purposely avoid entering into the question, Whether Morla and Charmilly acted *treacherously* towards the British army, in their attempts to draw them on. It is supposed by most persons, that the former despatched his letter while he was engaged in surrendering the city; while some consider it as more probable, that he only began his treachery when he found Madrid must surrender; and even they who adopt the worst alternative, are divided with respect to the knowledge which Charmilly had of his designs. The transaction is certainly highly suspicious; but we do not view the precise character of it as necessarily connected with the present discussion. Respecting Mr Frere's choice of an agent, in this instance, we apprehend,

to enter, and were receiving no reinforcements; that the army of Castanos, at Guadalaxara, amounted to 30,000 men; the remains of St Juan's, at Talavera, to 12,000; and the French in the Retiro, at Madrid, to between 20 and 30,000 only. * This information, together with the material circumstances of his junction with General Hope, which had now taken place, and the security with which he could also join Sir David Baird, seems to have determined Sir John Moore to persist in that resolution of advancing, which he had formed under a belief that Madrid was holding out; although he now saw, in part at least, the fallacy of Mr Frere and the Junta's representations on that subject; and although General Graham, at the same time that he reported the above very doubtful pieces of intelligence, added, that St Juan had been sacrificed to the popular fury, a few hours before, by his own troops; and that Romana's force was stated by the Junta at 30,000, which was notoriously an unpardonable exaggeration.

While, however, we enumerate the circumstances which ought, in our very humble opinion, to have arrested the General's progress, even after the 5th December, when he had resolved to advance; it is but fair to observe, that he was encouraged in his perseverance by the unremitting efforts of the Spanish government and the British envoy, to whose wishes he had been commanded, 'upon all occasions, to pay the utmost deference and attention.' † The morning after he had taken his unfortunate determination, Colonel Charmilly appeared again at head-quarters, and presented that famous note from his employer, of which it is not easy to decide whether we ought most to admire the audacity or the folly. It was written at the same time with the letter which had been delivered the day before, and which, as we have seen, so powerfully assisted in urging Sir John Moore forward. But it was delivered to the French emigrant, with instructions only to deliver

---

hend, there is no diversity of opinion. With M. Charmilly's personal character we have nothing to do; though, if any part of what was positively stated in Parliament by Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, and Mr Whitbread, be well founded, it is impossible to imagine a person more unworthy of confidence. As to the paltry retort that has been attempted, by saying that this person had dined at the General's table, it is hardly necessary to observe, that all commanders are obliged to keep a sort of public table, to which every person, who comes to head-quarters with a certain rank, is invited, for once, as a matter of course. We repeat again, however, that the character of Charmilly, or even of Morla, does not enter at all into our view of the question.

* Letter from Colonel Graham. Moore, p. 113.

† Lord Castlereagh's despatches, November 14. House of Commons Papers, p. 71.

deliver it in case the first should prove ineffectual. This emissary, ignorant of the fatal success which had attended his former interview, and apprehensive that the retreat was still in contemplation, advanced into the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, surrounded by his Generals and his Staff, at the head of his forces, almost within view of the enemy, and exhibited the formal requisition of the British envoy, that, if he did not think fit to suspend his retreat, he should forthwith examine the bearer before a Council of War.‡ With whatever indignation Sir John Moore might read this message—this scarcely credible message; how deeply soever this high-spirited man might be afflicted, at having lived to see the day, when a representative of his Sovereign should send a French adventurer into the heart of his camp, to denounce him for want of courage or of zeal, and to controul him, by an appeal to his own inferior officers,—he yet recollected the station which Mr Frere filled, and, contenting himself with the instant dismissal of Charmilly, whom he did not condescend to notice any further, he wrote an answer to his friend, so calm and dignified, that, considering all the circumstances of his situation, we really think no person can read it without being sensibly affected by the picture which it presents. *

But Mr Frere was not satisfied with thus sending a friend of his own to upbraid Sir J. Moore, and almost by force controul his proceedings. He soon after despatched Mr Stuart, a friend of the General's, with instructions to use his personal influence in order to prevent the retreat, and with a letter, the contents of which, as appears by his journal, had not been communicated to him. In this letter, for which we should in vain seek a precedent, except in the other productions of the same master, Sir John Moore

‡ House of Commons Papers, 11th April, p. 5.

* Moore, p. 99. The passage to which we particularly allude, is carefully omitted in the copy presented to Parliament. After alluding to the feelings naturally excited by the letter, and on a verbal message which it should seem the Frenchman carried with him, the General adds, 'Those feelings are at an end; and I dare say, they never will be excited towards you again. If Mr Charmilly is your friend, it was, perhaps, natural for you to employ him,' &c. He says, in another part of the letter, 'I wish anxiously, as the King's minister, to continue upon the most confidential footing with you; and I hope, as we have but one interest—the public welfare, though we may occasionally see it in different aspects, that this will not disturb the harmony that should subsist between us. Fully impressed as I am with these sentiments, I shall abstain from any remark upon the two letters,' &c. See Moore, p. 99, and House of Commons Papers, 11th April, p. 7.

Moore is ſolemnly warned of the '*immenſe responſibility* with which he is charging himſelf, by adopting, upon a *ſuppoſed* military neceſſity, a meaſure which muſt be followed by immediate, if not final *ruin to our ally*, and by *indelible diſgrace to the country* with whoſe reſources he is entruſted.' He is further told, that his meaſures are exactly ſuch as he would have adopted, 'had he been ſent for the expreſs purpoſe of doing the utmoſt poſſible miſchief to the Spaniſh cauſe, with the ſingle exception of not firing a ſhot againſt their troops.' † And Mr Frere obſerves, whether ſeriouſly or not we are at ſome loſs to determine, that 'he is *unwilling* to enlarge on a ſubject in which he muſt either *ſtifle his feelings*, or expreſs them at the riſk of *giving offence.*' * To this Sir John Moore, again recollecting what Mr Frere ſeemed to have forgotten, that he was correſponding with the repreſentative of the King, only returned for anſwer, that the letter was in the ſtyle of the two former;—that he had in ſubſtance anſwered it previouſly;—and that he hoped the ſubject was now at reſt. † Along with Mr Stuart, a member of the Supreme Junta arrived, and delivered a long letter from that Body, ſtrongly urging the advance of the army, and filled with very ſanguine accounts of the ſtrength of the Spaniards, the weakneſs of the enemy, and the increaſing enthuſiaſm of the people. ‡

We have now ſtated, with that fulneſs which the importance of the ſubject demanded, the cauſes of the advance of the Britiſh army from Salamanca. It is manifeſt from this narrative, even if

† House of Com. Papers, 11. April, p. 7.

* Id. Ibid.

† Moore, p. 160. This letter does Sir J. Moore ſo much honour, that we find no traces of it whatever in the Parliamentary Papers.

‡ Moore, p. 134. This letter, too, is ſuppreſſed by the Government. Mr Frere and the Junta were at this time on their retreat to Seville; and, from every ſtage, they ſeem to have deſpatched after Sir J. Moore the moſt faſcinating ſketches of the ſtate of things, which, whithersoever they went, appear to have been, not merely going on well (as Dr Pangloss ſays), but going on in the beſt of poſſible ways. As thoſe romantic epiſtles, however, did not reach the General until the concluſion of his movement in advance, we have not ſtopt to take notice of them. They are to be found at length in Mr Moore's publication; and we ſhall only, as illuſtrative of Mr Frere's accurate intelligence, mention, that he announces the capitulation of Madrid, for the firſt time, to the General, in a letter, dated December 14th (Moore, p. 149.), in which he alſo aſſerts, that the French have only 26,000 in that quarter. Buonaparte, in his 20th Bulletin, ſays, that he reviewed 60,000, and 150 pieces of artillery, on the 18th.

if we had not his own direct assurance in his last despatch, * that he was forced into this fatal step, contrary to his judgment and inclinations, by the remonstrances of the Spanish government and the English envoy,—by the unfounded stories of popular spirit, and exaggerated accounts of their forces which reached him from those respectable quarters in rapid succession,—and by the still more imposing testimonies to the same points, which were transmitted from the constituted authorities in the capital. Influenced by these communications, Sir J. Moore believed, not indeed that there was any great probability of saving Spain, but that there was such a chance of causing a diversion, and thus enabling the Spaniards to rally in the south, as, under all the circumstances of the case, he would not be justified in throwing away, more especially when the urgent demands of the Junta and the envoy were duly considered. The question, then, resolves itself into this—Was Sir J. Moore justified in believing the statements sent to him subsequent to the 4th of December? and, if these were not entitled to his implicit belief, was he justified in believing enough of them to make it proper that he should yield to the requisitions of Mr Frere and the Junta? In determining these points, we must recollect, that statements, almost as flattering, were received before the 5th of December;—that he had found almost every part of the information originally given him from the Cabinet, utterly false;—that he had met with nothing but disappointments from the time he quitted Lisbon;—that he was quite convinced, to use his own language, that he had been sent there for no conceivable purpose. But it is still more material to remember, that, after he had resolved to retreat, for reasons altogether irresistible,—and for none more convincing than the daily proofs he was receiving of the misinformation under which he had been sent into the country, he received representations from Morla through Mr Stuart,—from the Junta through the two generals whom they sent for this purpose,—and from Mr Frere, in the elaborate despatch of November 30th,—all expressly intended to prevent him from persisting in the retreat; and yet he persevered in that wise resolution, because he had, in the person of General Graham, a witness who destroyed the credit of all those flattering tales, and entitled him to turn a deaf ear, even upon the authority of the British Government, which Mr Frere freely quoted in support of his remonstrances.

'Again, we may recollect, that, after he had resolved to advance, but while there was yet time to change his plan, he learnt the capitulation of Madrid, and might well have suspected the whole intelligence upon which he was about to proceed. Warm as is our admiration

* Dated Corunna, January 13th. House of Com. Papers, 29th March, p. 2.

admiration of Sir John Moore, and piously as we cherish his memory, we are compelled to acknowledge, that we do not recognize, in this one part of his conduct, the bold and decided tone of mind which appears in all his other measures; and that our veneration for this great captain would have led us to expect the same manly resistance to all interference with his deliberate resolutions, on the eve of their execution, which he at first displayed in forming them, and in communicating them to his fellow-soldiers. We are well aware how much we are now demanding. He would have led back in safety a murmuring and almost mutinous army; he would have excited among the Spaniards loud complaints of being deserted in a struggle, which they were unable, perhaps not very willing to maintain; he would have furnished them with a pretext for suspending efforts which they never meant to make, and for refusing to defend themselves in the only point where England could really assist them; he would have been persecuted by Mr Frere, and by the fanatical multitude in this country, for ruining the patriotic cause,—extinguishing the 'godlike enthusiasm,'—'damping the hopes of Europe,'—'daring to despair of Spain'—and sacrificing the character of England and the English army;—while the government, too happy to shift the blame from themselves, would infallibly have accused him of preventing the execution of their impossible projects, by neglecting to follow the letter of his instructions. For saving the army from the destruction into which the blind fury of the ministers and their agents was hurrying it;—for rescuing the flower of our troops from a post, not of danger, but of certain ruin, where valour could only ensure disaster, and victory itself must be followed by surrender or flight;—for preserving the honour of his gallant followers, and leading them to fields where it might again be the strength and the ornament of England;—this brave man would have been loaded with every species of obloquy, and pursued with imputations, of which the correspondence now before us contains but a foretaste. For a season, at least, his life would have been embittered by the unrestrained efforts of that mean and interested malignity, which the glories of his death have not been able to extinguish,—nor the acclamations of his weeping country to stifle,—nor the emulous applause of her enemies to shame. But this season would have passed away; the nation, instead of being undeceived somewhat sooner, at an immense cost, would have opened its eyes somewhat later to the follies of its rulers, and saved his irreparable loss; and we might now have been employed in weaving an humble wreath for his brow, instead of sorrowfully defending the approach to his tomb.

When the remonstrances of the Supreme Junta and Mr Frere

had produced the desired effect, and all murmurs at home and abroad were silenced, the army advanced with new alacrity, amidst the acclamations of the multitude in London, and of the faithful representatives in the cabinet. The despatches to Sir John Moore now changed the guarded language of mere sufferance, or ordinary official approbation,* for expressions 'of the highest satisfaction,' and confident predictions of the 'best effects from so *seasonable* and *vigorous* a demonstration.'† It was evidently not without ample grounds that the British envoy had spoken in the name of his employers; and they indeed could not fail to applaud the commander's submission to the minister and the Junta, who had originally directed that he should be guided by them; and who even, while he was afterwards endeavouring to escape from the difficulties in which his compliance had involved him, once more desired him to follow 'their wishes and determination.'‡ The history of this 'seasonable and vigorous' operation is all that now remains of our task; and it does not require such minuteness of detail as was essential in the discussion of the plan.

The main body of the army having been joined by General Hope's division, advanced towards Valladolid, where they would have General Baird in their rear. But they had not proceeded above a day's march when an intercepted despatch was received, by which it appeared that Buonaparte was advancing towards Lisbon, on the supposition (so natural to any military man) of General Moore having retreated from Salamanca, and that Soult was at Saldanha with a corps of about 18,000 men. The General instantly perceived an opening, of which some advantage might be taken. He might possibly defeat Soult before he could be reinforced; he might draw the French armies once more towards the north, and might thus turn to good account the mistake into which the first military genius of the age had fallen, from not having divined the tactics of Mr Frere and the Junta. Instead of marching upon Valladolid, therefore, he speedily effected his junction

* House of Com. papers, p. 77, 81, 82.

† Ib. p. 88.

‡ Ib. p. 92. Lord Castlereagh's despatch, Jan. 11. This most incredible instruction was sent to General Moore, when it was known that he was in full retreat; his last despatch having been dated from Astorga, Dec. 31. After all the experience which our ministry had then had of Spanish councils, they did not scruple to order that the British army should follow the 'wishes of the Spanish government, communicated through Mr Frere;' and that the General should only use his own discretion, in case 'no distinct communication had been received.'

with Sir D. Baird by a movement to the left; and directing Romana, with the shattered remains of his force, to support him, he advanced by rapid marches to the Carrion. The advanced posts of the two armies had met; the usual superiority of British valour and strength had been displayed in a brilliant affair of cavalry; the main body of the troops was under orders to attack, when authentic intelligence was received from a variety of quarters, that Buonaparte had suddenly suspended his operations in the south, and ordered the army at Talavera to move forward to Salamanca; that he was himself marching from Madrid with his accustomed rapidity to throw himself into the rear of the British; and that strong reinforcements had arrived to Soult, whose position was so advantageous, as to give him the option of either fighting or drawing us on by a retreat, while he pushed a detachment upon our flank. There was now not a moment to lose; a retreat was instantly revolved upon, and executed with that consummate skill and courage by which alone the army could have been saved from the numerous bodies that threatened to envelop it.

The General's plan was, if possible, to defend Gallicia, as well as to extricate his army from the hazard in which it was necessarily placed, by the diversion it had just succeeded in making. But this was found to be utterly impracticable, from the superiority of the enemy, the want of provisions, and the ease with which their positions might be turned. Nevertheless, it is for this reason, and because great losses inevitably happened in so rapid a movement as the army was compelled to make, amongst mountains covered with snow; in the depth of winter; ill supplied from home; opposed, not assisted, by the people whom they came to succour; almost mutinous from the hardships they encountered; and their mistaken, though honourable indignation, at having lost the opportunity of fighting. It is upon this ground that so many insidious attacks have been made upon the memory of their commander; and that men have been found (not certainly soldiers), who have dared to represent him as flying from the enemy without stopping to count his numbers, or try his strength. It is fit, therefore, that we should briefly state what force was following him, and what means he had of making a stand against it.

The corps of Soult, originally 18,000 strong, had been considerably reinforced, and was of itself superior in numbers to the British army. Junot had advanced on the right flank to Palencia. Buonaparte had left Madrid with 40,000 men, and his advanced guard passed through Tordesillas on the same day that General Moore began his retreat from Sahagun, both marching upon Benevente, which was distant from the English about forty, and from

from the French about seventy miles. * The French troops at Talavera had likewise begun to move northward, and a corps had been halted on its route to Saragossa. But the divisions under Soult and Buonapartè alone, amounted, according to every authentic statement, to 70,000 men. † Sir J. Moore had about 27,000 British; and there were 7,000 Spaniards under Romana, who acknowledged that 'his army was in effect no army.' ‡ Soult's corps pushed on to Leon, which, after the usual promises of resistance, opened its gates to him at his first appearance. Buonapartè's cavalry, and part of his artillery, actually came up with the rear of the British at Benevente, and were repulsed by the skill and gallantry of Lord Paget. But the main body was following with increasing activity; and having failed in his plan of reaching Benevente before us, Buonapartè was confident that Soult would arrive at Astorga, and cut off our retreat. Happily he was foiled in this attempt also, by the able dispositions of Sir John Moore, who, although he found Romana's army in that town contrary to his express directions, succeeded in drawing off his whole forces from it, before the enemy could come up with him. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the General was under the necessity of retreating at least to Astorga; because, had he attempted to stand before he reached that point, he must have been surrounded by Buonapartè, or by Soult, according as he chose the direct or the Benevente road, admitting that he had such a choice. Had he attempted to resist Soult on the former route, Buonapartè would have reached Astorga before him;—had he made head against Buonapartè on the latter road, Soult would have reached Astorga before him.

The next question then is, ought he to have given battle at Astorga? He was so closely followed that he had no time to prepare his position; for the enemy's advanced guard had well nigh overtak-

 en

* General Clinton has clearly proved the necessity of marching round by Benevente from the floods of the Esla. The direct road to Astorga was only three days march, which would have given the army a considerable start of the enemy. *Observations*, p. 14.

† Mr Moore (from his brother's papers) gives this number, p. 184. The General, in his despatch from Benevente, says, 'they cannot be less than 50,000;' *House of Commons Papers*, p. 163.; but he afterwards found them more numerous. Dr Neale (an unquestionable authority on this point) says, that Soult had 20,000 before he was reinforced, and that there are 120,000 on that side of Spain, p. 252—264. And Mr Ormsby, from the statements of the prisoners, gives 50,000 as the *main body*, in which was included Davoust at Astorga, besides Junot's corps of 15,000. vol. II. p. 131.

‡ See the deplorable account of it in Colonel Symes's Letter, Moore, p. 121. 128.

en him at Benevente, and marched into Astorga the day after he left it. Moreover, the country in the neighbourhood was eaten up by Romana's army, which could not subsist itself there for two days longer; and the enemy's superiority in cavalry cut them off from any more distant supplies. But, independent of these important difficulties, his position at Astorga could have been turned with the greatest ease. There is a road from La Baneza to Vigo by Orense, which was taken by General Crawfurd with 3000 men, for the purpose of easing the retreat, and preventing any corps from getting the start of us at Vigo, and the intermediate positions. No one can doubt, then, that the enemy might have marched a detachment by this route, either to Vigo, or as far as Orense, from whence a road leads to St Jago and Corunna, fit for the passage of any force. Nor was this the only means of turning the position at Astorga. The great road from Madrid to St Jago runs through Orense and Benevente; so that Buonapartè might have turned off at the latter place from his pursuit of the General, and marched any proportion of his army to St Jago. From Benevente to Corunna by this road, he would only have had a march of twenty-three English miles further than the road which the British army took. * Therefore, it is clear, that had the latter stopped at Astorga, and there completely defeated Soult, they would have found Buonapartè safely arrived at Corunna, and would have had to defeat him also before they could embark. But as Soult very certainly would in this case have refused battle, it is manifest, that, by halting at Astorga, the British army would have

* See Laborde's View of Spain, vol. II. p. 427. 438. 447. 448. and 450, and the itineraries there referred to. General Clinton asserts, that 'he knows the possibility of corps of the enemy marching by roads on their right and left was repeatedly and strongly urged to Sir John Moore at Astorga;'—*Remarks*, p. 22. Sir John Moore himself states this as consistent with his own knowledge;—Despatch of 30th December, House of Commons Papers, p. 164. Mr Moore gives (p. 202.) an extract of a report to the General from an engineer officer of great merit, whom he had sent by the Orense road to reconnoitre; it is dated *Jan.* 1. *Puebla de Senabria.* It complains of the want of artillery there,—a proof that he conceived the French artillery could reach the town; mentions a corps of 700 Spaniards as passing through to join Romana; and alludes to the neighbouring passes as capable of being forced. But what are all these authorities,—Laborde, the first topographical work on Spain,—Generals Clinton and Moore, and the engineers in their confidence,—when put into the scale against the anonymous pamphleteers, and these faithful reporters of the murmurs among the troops, Drs Ormsby and Neale?

have been surrounded and taken, even although they could have subsisted themselves on the supplies of the exhausted country during the halt, or upon the carcases of their horses, according to the prescription of that distinguished officer Dr Adam Neale. The doctrine of stopping to fight, for the purpose of being surrounded and destroyed, was not taught in the school where General Moore learnt the art of war; nor would he, in all probability, have been extolled and rewarded, as others have since been, had he exemplified it at Astorga. He pursued his retreat, and deferred the moment of resistance, until he should reach a position not liable to be turned.

Buonapartè now formed his junction at Astorga with the army of Soult; and finding that he could no longer hope to cut off the retreat of his skilful adversary, resolved to stop there, and detach such a force after him as should bring him to an engagement before he embarked. General Moore could not venture to halt until he arrived at Lugo; and even there his stay was much limited. Beside the roads already mentioned, by which Buonapartè might now, with increased facility, detach part of the troops whom he kept with him, there was another which led from Combarros to Pontferrada, turning all the positions between Astorga and Villafranca; and a continuation of the same route led towards Orense, turning Villafranca and Lugo itself. Of this there could be no doubt; for the two flank brigades of the English army took the route in question. The possibility of remaining long at Lugo was still further limited by want of provisions,—the utmost efforts of the commissariat having proved inadequate to procure above two days subsistence. Even the famous resource of Dr Neale here failed; for such horses as were not indispensably necessary had been long ago abandoned; and the remainder were, from the unhappy ignorance of his profession, which Sir John Moore probably owed to his want of a medical education, supposed to be more profitably employed in transporting stores and guns to cover the embarkation, than in regaling the men at Lugo,—until Bessieres, with his live cavalry, should get between them and their ships, while Soult cut them off in the midst of their Calmuk revels. It was thus that the General, after offering battle to the enemy in vain during a halt of two days, found himself compelled to fall back from Lugo also. The bulletins of the enemy bear honourable testimony to the skilful dispositions of his whole march, and especially to those which he made in occupying this position. Corunna was preferred to Vigo, on account both of the roads and the distance. No possibility of stopping before he reached the coast was now afforded him, as there were roads from Lugo to Corunna, both on the right and

left, a little more circuitous, but quite practicable; * and he reached that port in safety, after a retreat of unexampled difficulty and dangers, conducted through an exhausted and unfriendly country, by marches unparalleled for rapidity, with an harassed and mutinous army, and in the face of an enemy almost three times its superior in numbers.

The battle which he fought at the end of this memorable retreat, and which closed the sufferings of his followers, and his own career of glory, will live for ever in the recollection of his grateful country. But it is not this last scene of his triumph alone that will claim the lasting rewards of England. She will proudly remember, that his judgment and skill were only surpassed by his unconquerable valour; she will fondly dwell upon that matchless self-denial which subjected all his interests to her weal, as it devoted all his faculties to her service; she will hold him up to her most famous warriors in after times, when the envious clamours of the hour are hushed, and the minions of present power are forgotten, as a bright example of that entire forbearance,—that utter extinction of every selfish feeling,—that high and manly sacrifice even of the highest and manliest of passions,—that severe mortification of ambition itself, which she has a paramount right to require from him to whom she yields the guidance of her armies; and, while she records that the hero of Corunna fought no vain battles,—courted no vulgar applause in rash and senseless marches,—lost no trophies, no captives,—abandoned no hospitals to the enemy, and yielded no post of danger to feeble allies,—she will pronounce the name of Moore, to blight those unhallowed laurels which are won by the wasted blood of her children, and the tarnished honour of her arms.

Melancholy as is the picture which we have just been viewing, of all the varieties of impolicy crowded into the short space of three months, it is nevertheless rich in useful lessons, if the people of this country are still disposed to learn, and to save the state, before their rulers have consummated its destruction. We do not now allude to the information respecting Spain, which the history of

* The road from Lugo to Corunna, by St Jago, is about 32 English miles further than the direct road: that it is perfectly passable, is certain, from its having been taken by part of Sir David Baird's army in the advance. The road by Mondonedo is not so good; but, that it is practicable as far as Mondonedo, we are entitled to affirm, at least if we may venture to credit that officer upon such a question, where he is opposed by such authorities as the two Doctors and the anonymous pamphleteer.—See Despatch, 22d November, House of Commons Papers, p. 145.

of the campaign affords, or the conclusions to which every page of it drives us, touching the policy that remains to be pursued in that unfortunate country. We do not even stop to enumerate the new and convincing illustrations which it affords of those doctrines so often maintained by us upon the general conduct of the war. But we desire any man of common understanding, however warped it may be by party prejudices, to contemplate the gross mismanagement of the affairs of this nation which the foregoing narrative displays. We entreat him to consider, that, untaught by the events of the Portuguese campaign,—fully aware that the whole force of Spain had never ventured to disturb the remains of the French army behind the Ebro,—knowing that this army was receiving immense reinforcements, while the Spaniards were languishing under a feeble, perverse, and unpopular government,—our rulers sent a British army into the heart of the Peninsula, without any one earthly object, except to march so many leagues towards certain destruction, and to furnish a few empty boasts about ministerial activity and vigour. We request him to reflect, that this case is made out against them by the documents which they have themselves laid before Parliament; and that, in no one instance, have they or their advocates attempted to justify their conduct—confining their defence entirely to a criticism of the measures pursued by officers of their own choosing, and an assertion, (how groundless we have already shown), that somewhat of the loss was owing to those measures. We implore him to bear in mind, that while a small but gallant force was thus miserably sacrificed, in an enterprize of which no one has ever yet divined the object, these masters in the art of misgovernment had at their disposal an army above three times more numerous, which, if marched in due season, and to proper points, might have rescued Spain, and which, at whatever time, and in whatever place it might have taken the field, would at least have been secure from discomfiture and flight. With these lamentable and admitted truths before his eyes, we challenge any man to tell us that he can fancy a possibility of such blunders being prevented for the future, except by the exemplary punishment of those who have in fact pleaded guilty to the charge.

The Parliament of England, however, judged otherwise. The subject was brought before them by the Earl Grey, with an ability which they alone can fully appreciate who have gone through all its complicated details, and with a degree of temper which, while it suited well with the dignity of the occasion, was admirably calculated to win the favour of the Senate in that day of plebeian violence. But the 'mute eloquence of numbers' prevailed; and it was decided, that whatever might have been their past conduct,

and whatever the actual state of the empire, the projectors of the late campaign deserved the confidence of the country, and should still be entrusted with the management of its affairs. A new vigour was thus communicated to their operations; and the result has, in as far as was possible, surpassed their former achievements. As if to convince even the Parliament, which acquitted them in spi e of their confession,—as if to mock that illustrious body for the r implicit confidence,—as if to let them feel the real force of the vote which had been passed, and to demonstrate how speedily a parliamentary proceeding can carry ruin into every branch of public affairs;—*another corps*, as insufficient as Sir John Moore's to cope with the French force, was sent into the heart of Spain, when that country was overrun with victorious armies,—when the distractions and weakness of its government had increased,—when the most fanatical of our prophets foreboded the extinction of popular enthusiasm, and the native troops had given new proofs of their utter inability to stand before the legions of France. This gallant body of men, after being weakened, as before, by detachments and skirmishes in Portugal,—after being delayed, as before, for want of money and supplies, entered Spain, as before, immediately after three armies of Spaniards had been totally defeated by the enemy, and moved towards the centre of the Peninsula, exactly as before, without one earthly object in view, but to take a look at the country, and get near the French.

The parallel indeed ends here; for it was only in the *planning* that the campaign of the North was copied. The British general was attacked in front by a superior force. A rare mistake of the French general, and the extreme gallantry of English soldiers, saved him from destruction, and even enabled him to repulse the enemy; but a large army, the very same that he had somewhat whimsically boasted of having *destroyed* a few weeks before, came down upon his rear; and he was compelled to fall back upon Portugal with the utmost rapidity. Too happy to escape with any toops at all, he left his sick and wounded to the vanquished French. Scarcely hoping to carry off the victorious English, he left the 'invincible Spaniards' to get one more beating; and was in this plight driven out of the country which he came to save, by one army which he had completely beaten, and another which he had entirely destroyed! Our rulers, reflecting on the vote of last session, immediately conferred the highest honours upon this great commander; and, by a refinement of mockery, elevated him to a distinguished place among those peers who had passed it. His brother, about the same time, having been sent to newmodel the Spanish government, and to complete the conquest of the French in that quarter, signalized his arrival by the exhibition of a splendid triumph

over

over that people. He stept on shore upon a flag, representing a captured standard,—typical, it is to be presumed, of his near relationship to a person who was then driving the enemy before him in all directions, and emblematical, no doubt, of his own fixed resolution of putting a speedy end to Buonapartè. *

The folly of our government now only admitted of one increase. After the sanction which a confiding parliament had given to their former measures, it was fit that they should repeat their operations at all events in Spain. But it was desirable, also, that they should present the same design upon an enlarged scale elsewhere, both for the purpose of showing that their forte was not confined to Spanish campaigns, and to exhibit a specimen of the art, where the merit was entirely their own, and could not be divided with their allies. It was further proper, that after the approbation expressed by Parliament, of the system of frittering down our immense resources, and attempting many unattainable things at once, the whole power of England should be drawn forth and employed at once in three distinct and simultaneous failures. To demonstrate, therefore, that, if the new Spanish campaign was undertaken with inadequate forces, it was not owing to the want of a sufficient army,—they sent, at the same moment, an expedition of a few thousand men against the body of the French power in Italy; and despatched another armament to invade France in the Netherlands;—thus contriving, with that superior talent which is ever aiming at combined operations, that comprehension of mind which makes all its movements mutually dependent, and forms of the whole line of its operations one vast and solid plan;—contriving, in a word, with that last reach of genius, which they had caught from their enemy, to make Sir J. Stuart's failure support Sir A. Wellesley's, and to combine both those movements with the failure of Lord Chatham, to cover and give effect to the whole.

The diversion at Procida and Ischia is now finished; but trophies still remain from the other parts of the plan. We retain an unhealthy marsh in Estremadura, and keep a pestilential island in Holland, because the whole of the West Indies do not furnish a sufficient number of useless spots, where our army may be divided, and our hospitals filled. There wanted but one circumstance

* This transaction, in which the dignity of the British nation was so shamefully outraged, by the persons sent to represent and support it, and in which we were held up to the *laughter* of the whole world, has been repeatedly stated, and never disputed by the parties or their friends. We have also received it upon authority which enables us, however painful it may be, to pledge ourselves to its truth.

cumſtance to make the hiſtory of theſe events complete; and that too has been added by the combined force of genius and fortune. The balance of force between Auſtria and France was, for the firſt time, ſince 1800, almoſt equal; and half the diſpoſeable reſources of England would, if ſeaſonably and judiciouſly directed, not, indeed, in the beautiful bay of Naples, or againſt the iron wall of the Netherlands, but in the Gulph of Trieſte, have ſufficed to turn it in favour of our antient ally, and of European independence.

The Parliament of England is about to aſſemble once more; and the authors of our calamities cannot prevent their conduct from being at leaſt brought before that illuſtrious tribunal. Hitherto they have not made any defence; nor have they even hinted that they had any to make. They have admitted all their failures to be complete and fatal; they have confeſſed, that the opportunities which they have loſt will in all likelihood never return. After a few wretched attempts to divide the blame among themſelves, in ſhares different from thoſe in which the country is diſpoſed to apportion it, they have been compelled to allow that among themſelves it muſt all be divided, and upon them alone muſt the reſponſibility reſt. They have not dared to deny, that the proſpects of the Continent are become more diſmal than ever; that its confidence in England is gone; that the map of Europe, from Moſcow to Paris, and from Lapland to Calabria, offers to the eye only a collection of ſtates, aggrandized by her hoſtility, or ruined by the perilous bounty of her alliance. Abroad and at home—which way ſoever the eye can turn, our rulers have amply admitted, that our affairs are only not deſperate, and have themſelves come forward to declare, that the empire is reduced to a ſtate of difficulty, from which there can be at leaſt no precedent of its ever having eſcaped in former times.—And after all theſe confeſſions, their only excuſe, the only attempt they make to regain the confidence of the people, is to tell us, '*that the King has reigned fifty years.*' They have ruined our allies; they have failed in every plan; they have brought us through ſlaughter and diſgrace, loaded with ignominy, and weighed down with almoſt intolerable burthens—to the very brink of deſtruction;—'but the King is very old,' and 'he has reigned above half a century.'

It now remains to be ſeen, whether that Parliament, which ſtands in no need of reformation—which is a fair repreſentative of the people of England—which ſpeaks the ſentiments of the country—will be ſatisfied with this ſet-off; and once more acquit the miniſters of all blame for their recent miſmanagement. Holding, in common with the parliament itſelf, the doctrine of its purity and of its ſufficiency to ſave the ſtate, we cannot anticipate ſuch a deciſion. But if, unhappily,

we

we ſhould find ourſelves miſtaken; if, again, every meaſure and every miniſter be covered over with its approbation, then we will venture to predict, not that the government is acquitted, but that the Parliament ſtands condemned; and we ſhall moſt unwillingly be compelled to appear in the foremoſt rank of thoſe who muſt acknowledge that they are convinced and converted.—For it is needleſs to diſguiſe the matter. A refuſal to puniſh the authors of our misfortunes can only mean one of two things—either that there has been no blame incurred—or that it is inexpedient to declare it, becauſe ſuch a reſolution would drive the guilty perſons from the government. In the one caſe, the Parliament will ſhow that it is not the repreſentative of the country; in the other, we ſhall have a concluſive proof that the miniſters of the crown are irremovable. The reſponſibility of our rulers, that faireſt feature in the theory of the Conſtitution, will be no longer even a name, wherewithal to round parliamentary periods; and the people will thenceforward recognize, in the great council of the nation, not the guardian of their intereſts, and the champion of their rights, but a well contrived inſtrument of taxation.

The conſequences of ſuch a deciſion, therefore, will be productive of incalculable miſchief; it will complete the alienation of the country from the government, and ſhame away the boldeſt defenders of the preſent ſyſtem. In the mean time, the preſſure of the war, and of the public burthens, will rapidly increaſe. The ſcene of hoſtilities will approach to our own ſhores; and the taxes, which, like the war, have as yet only been felt at a diſtance, will at length come home to every man. * This truth will then break upon the minds of all, even of the moſt confiding and inconſiderate—the truth with which we opened the preſent diſcuſſion—that there is an intimate and neceſſary connexion between the foreign policy of the ſtate, and the happineſs of each individual within its boundaries; that every man who pays taxes—every man who values the ſecurity of his property, or his own future ſafety from foreign dominion, is immediately affected by the miſmanagement of the war; that not a plan falls to the ground, not a bad appointment of commander or ambaſſador is made at Court, not an opportunity of beating the enemy in councils, or in arms, is loſt, without our being, a little ſooner, or a little later, individually

* We do not mean to blame the additional rigour with which the taxes, especially that on property, are now levied; because it is undoubtedly fair that defaulters should be made, as far as possible, to contribute; and we only fear, the utmost ingenuity of the collectors will still be eluded by the mercantile classes. But we simply state the fact, that the country scarcely knows the weight of those taxes.

dually ſenſible of it. What will then remain for the people to do, we need ſcarcely point out. If they value their perſonal happineſs and national independence, they will watch over their rulers with redoubled jealouſy, and never reſt ſatisfied until their efforts ſhall have reſtored the indiſpenſable connexion between miſrule and retribution.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

From July to October 1809.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL ECONOMY.

A Treatise on the Diseases and Management of Sheep; with introductory Remarks on their Anatomical Structure; and an Appendix, containing Documents, exhibiting the value of the Merino breed of Sheep, and their progress in Scotland. By Sir George Stewart Mackenzie, Bart. 7s. 6d. boards.

The Art of Improving the Breeds of Domestic Animals, in a Letter to Sir J. Banks. By Sir J. Sebright, Bart. M. P. 2s. 6d.

A Treatise on the Corn Trade and Agriculture. By P. D. Parquot, late a Volunteer at the Fort, and suggester of the Life-boat at this Port. 4s.

FINE ARTS.

Lectures on Painting; delivered at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. By the late John Opie, Esq. Professor in Painting to the Royal Academy. 4to. 1*l.* 1s.

The Thames; or Graphic Illustrations of Seats, Villas, Public Buildings, and picturesque Scenery, on the Banks of that noble River. Engraved by William Cooke, from original Drawings by Samuel Owen, Esq. No. III. 4s. 6d. Large Paper 7s. 6d.

Six Etchings, by William Crotch, from Sketches by Mr O'Neill, of the Ruins of the late Fire at Christ Church, Oxford. Crown folio, 10s. 6d. Proofs 1*l.* 5s.

Collection of Portraits, sketched from Life, since 1793, by George Dance, R. A. and engraved by W. Daniel. No. III. 1*l.* 1s.

Figures of beautiful, useful, and uncommon Plants, described in the Gardener's and Botanist's Dictionary, exhibited on three hundred Copperplates, after Drawings taken from Nature. By the late Philip Miller, F. R. S. No. I. To be continued every Fortnight. 7s. 6d.

Plates 21, 22, and 23, of 4th Vol. of Vetusta Monumenta. 15s.

A new Drawing Book, in imitation of Indian Ink. No. I. (To be continued in six Monthly Numbers.) 4s.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The Mathematical Repository, No. 9.; containing several original Essays in different branches of the Mathematics; also, a variety of new Mathematical Problems, with their Solutions; and a set of Problems, to be answered in a subsequent Number. By Thomas Leybourne of the Royal Military College.

A new Treatise on Algebra, for Schools. By John Mole. 7s.

Merchants' Accounts, or Book-keeping according to the Italian Method of double Entry. By R. Langford. 8vo.

An Elementary Treatise on Geology, determining Fundamental Points in that Science; and containing an Examination of some Geological Systems, particularly of the Huttonian Theory of the Formation of the Earth. By J. A. de Luc, F.R.S. 8vo. 12s.

Enfield's New Encyclopædia. Vol. IV. 18mo. 4s. 6d.

New Theory of the Formation of Veins, with its application to the art of working Mines. Translated from the German of A. C. Werner, by Charles Anderson, M. D. 8vo. 9s.

A New Theory of the Atmosphere. By B. L. Denston. 2s. 6d.

The Complete Confectioner and Family Cook. By J. Caird. 12mo. 7s.

Elements of Geometry, Geometrical Analysis, and Plane Trigonometry; with an Appendix, Notes, and Illustrations. By John Leslie, Professor of Mathematics. 8vo. 12s.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoires de la Comtesse de Lichtenau, écrites par elle-même, et suivis de Lettres. 2 tomes. 10s.

Life of William Cobbett. By Himself. 2s. 6d.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Librarian; being an Account of scarce, valuable, and useful English Books, Manuscript Libraries, Public Records, &c. &c. By James Savage of the London Institution. Vol. II. 6s. 6d.

DRAMA.

A Collection of Farces, and other Afterpieces. Selected by Mrs Inchbald. 7 vol. royal 18mo. 1*l.* 15s. Fine Paper, 2*l.* 12s. 6d.

The Vintagers, a Musical Romance. By E. J. Eyre. 1s. 6d.

Yes or No, a Farce. By J. Pocock. 1s. 6d.

Safe and Sound, an Opera, in three Acts. By Theodore Edward Hook, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Solomon, a sacred Drama. Translated from the German of Klopstock. By Robert Huish. 5s.

Il Pastor Fido; or the Faithful Shepherd: a pastoral Tragi-Comedy in English blank Verse. From the Italian. 7s. boards.

EDUCATION.

Essays on Professional Education. By R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. F. R. S. and M. R. I. A. 4to. 1*l.* 5s.

The Elements of English Education. By John Brown. 5s.

Exercises for writing German, according to the Rules of Grammar. By George-Henry Noehden.

An Abridgement of Universal History. By the Rev. H. G. Knapp. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Preceptor and his Pupils; containing the Syntax of all Languages. By G. Crabb. Part II.

The Travels of Lycurgus to Crete, Tyre, and Egypt, in search of Knowledge. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Elements of Astronomy, according to the Newtonian Principle. By George Reynolds. 5s.

Vacation Evenings: or Conversations between a Governess and her Pupils. By Catharine Bayley. 3 vol. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

New British Spelling Book. By Joseph Guy. 8s. 6d.

The Simple Rules of Arithmetic, in Questions and Answers, suited to the Capacities of Children; with Tables of Weights and Measures. By George Reynolds.

Scripture made Easy; or Familiar Answers to the Catechetical Questions of a learned Divine. By Mrs Eves. 6s.

The History of Rome, from the Building of the City, to the Ruin of the Republic. By Edward Baldwin, Esq. 12mo. 4s.

Practical English Prosody and Versification. By J. Carey, LL.D. 4s. A Key to the preceding. 2s. 6d.

HISTORY.

Asiatic Annual Register, for the Year 1806. By the late Lawrence Dundas Campbell, Esq. Vol. viii. in Two Parts. 1*l.* 4s.

The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret. Edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq. With a Memoir of the Life of Sir Ralph Sadler; and Historical Notes, by Walter Scott, Esq. With Engravings. 2 vol. demy 4to. 5*l.* 5s.; or, in 3 volumes royal 4to., 8*l.* 8s.

Historic Anecdotes and Secret Memoirs of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. By Sir Jonah Barrington. Part I. Imperial 4to. 1*l.* 1s.

Grafton's Chronicle, or History of England, from 1189 to 1558, inclusive. 2 vol. royal 4to. 4*l.* 4s.

LAW.

Report of Cases in the High Court of Chancery. By F. Vesey, Esq. vol. xv. part. 1. 6s.

A Supplement to the Fifth Edition of the Bankrupt Laws. By William Cooke, Esq. 1s.

A Short View of Legal Bibliography. By R. W. Bridgeman, Esq. 8s.

Trial of Lord Gambier, taken in Short-hand. By Mr Gurney 8vo. 8s.

The Companion and Guide to the Laws of England. By a Member of the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple. 5s.

MAPS.

A Map of the Southern Provinces of Holland, with Part of the Netherlands. 2s. 6d.

A Map of Zealand, with the River Scheldt. 2s. 6d.

A New Map of Germany, Holland, Poland, Hungary, and Part of France. By Ignatius Heymann, head Postmaster at Trieste. 9 sheets, 2*l.* 2s. on Rollers; or, in Case, 3*l.* 3s.

The Island of Walcheren, with a General Map of the Province of Zealand. 5s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Works, in Prose and Verse, of M. A. Cowley; with Notes. By Dr Hurd, late Bishop of Worcester. 3 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Fungusiana, or the Opinions and Table Talk of the late Barnaby Fungus esq. 5s.

The Evidence delivered upon Oath, at the Bar of the Privy Council, on the Charges exhibited against General Picton; with an Appendix, containing Documents, &c. 5s.

A Digest of the Duties of Customs and Excise, payable upon all Foreign Articles imported into, or exported from Great Britain, &c. and the whole brought up to the 5th July 1809. 15s.

The Annual Review. 1808. 1*l.* 1s.

Beauties selected from the Writings of James Beattie, LL.D. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Essays on the Sources of the Pleasure received from Literary Composition. 8vo. 8s.

Essays by George Walker, F. R. S. late Professor of Theology at the New College, Manchester. 2 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 1s.

The Sixth Report of the Proceedings of the Committee for Managing the Patriotic Fund, from the 1st March 1808 to the 28th February 1809. 4s.

Proceedings of a General Court-Martial held at Chelsea, on Friday, May 5th, 1809, on Charges preferred by Brigadier-General Clinton, against the Honourable William Erskine Cochrane, Captain in the 15th Light Dragoons. 4s.

Another Guess at Junius. 3s. 6d.

A Reply to the Pamphlets lately published in Defence of the London Female Penitentiary. By William Hale. 2s. 6d.

Observations on the Causes which constitute Unsoundness in Horses, considered in regard to the Sale and Purchase of those Animals. By Richard Lawrence, Veterinary Surgeon. 5s.

The Village Manual, containing a Series of Dialogues between a Minister and his Parishioners. 6s.

Some Particulars in the Character of the late Charles James Fox, 1s. 6d.

Fragments, in Prose and Verse. By Miss Elizabeth Smith, lately deceased. 2 vol. 14s.

Supplement to the Reply to the Right Rev. Dr Milner's Observations; being an Answer to the General Vindication of a Catholic's Remarks on the Bishop of Durham's Charge. By the Rev. Thomas Le Mesurier. 2s.

Fulfilment of Moore's Prophecies, from Jan. to Aug. 1809. 6d.

Theatrical Taxation, embracing Reflections on the State of Property at the New Theatre, Covent Garden. 1s. 6d.

Strictures on Mr Hale's Reply to the Pamphlets lately published in Defence of the London Penitentiary, by G. Hodson. By William Blair, Surgeon, &c. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Essays, Biographical, Critical, and Historical, illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer and Idler. By Nathan Drake, M. D. vol. I. Foolscap 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Secret Memoirs, or Letters from London to Dublin, from a Student of Law to his Father in Ireland, on the State of Manners, Opinions, Politics, &c. 2 vol. Post 8vo. 16s.

An Address to British Manufacturers and Fair Traders. 1s. 6d.

The Statement of a few Facts, and an Impartial Appeal on the

Question at issue, between the Public and the Proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre. 1s.

Death of Buonapartè, and Universal Peace; a new Explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's Image, and Daniel's Four Beasts. By L. Mayer. 4s.

The Sixth Report of the Proceedings of the Committee for Managing the Patriotic Fund, from the 1st of March, 1808, to the 28th of February, 1809. 4s.

Justice and Generosity against Malice, Ignorance and Poverty; or an attempt to show the Equity of the New Prices at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. By Attalus, 1s.

The Ladies' Monitor, being a Series of Letters, first published in Bengal, on the Subject of Female Apparel. 6s.

Instructions to Masters of Ships; being a Digest of the Provisions, Penalties, &c. of the Pilots' Act, passed in the 48 Geo. III.; with Lists of the Pilots licensed by the Corporation of the Trinity House, and Tables of the Rates of Pilotage. 1s. 6d.

The Character of the King; or the Royal Jubilee, interspersed with authentic Anecdotes of his Majesty. 2s. 6d.

An Address to the Inhabitants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the approaching Jubilee. 1s.

Substance of the Proceedings of the General Court of Proprietors, held at the Bank on the 21st of September 1809; with the Arguments of Randall Jackson Esq., Sir Arthur Pigot and others. 1s.

A Vindication of the Jews. By Thomas Wetherby. 7s.

The Reformers' Bible, No. 1. 4to. (To be cont. weekly.) 1s. 3d.

The Opinions of different Authors on the Punishment of death; selected at the Request of a Society, having for its Object the Diffusion of Knowledge respecting the Punishment of Death, and the Improvement of Prison Discipline. By Basil Montagu esq. of Lincoln's Inn. 8vo. 8s.

Lord Somers's Tracts. By Walter Scott esq. Vol. 2. Royal 4to. 3*l.* 3s.

The First Book of Napoleon, the Tyrant of the Earth. By Eliakim the Scribe. 8vo. 6s.

A Short Introduction to the Theory of Harmonies; or, the Philosophy of Musical Sounds. By J. Marsh esq.

A Cure for Melancholy; being a select Collection of elegant Anecdotes, Bon Mots, &c. of celebrated Characters, including many Originals. 5s.

MEDICINE, SURGERY, &c.

The Philosophy of Physics. By the Rev. W. Wilson. 5s.

A plain Statement of the Comparative Advantages of the Cow-Pox and Small-Pox Inoculations. By T. Smith, M. D. 1s. 6d.

Practical Observations concerning Sea-bathing. To which are added, Remarks on the Use of the Warm Bath. By A. R. Buchan, M. D. 5s.

An Improvement in the Mode of administering the Vapour Bath, and in the Apparatus connected with it. By the Hon. Basil Cochrane. 4to. 10s. 6d.

Objections on the Opinions and Practice of Dr William Saunders, in Bilious and Liver Complaints. By Hector Campbell, M. D. 1s. 6d.

Pharmacopœia Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensis, MDCCCIX. Medium 4to. 1*l.* 4s.

The Pharmacopœia of the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1809. Translated into English, with Notes. By Richard Powell, M. D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Observations on Fungus Hæmatodes, or Soft Cancer, in several of the most important Organs of the Human Body. By James Wardrop, F. R. S. E. 8vo. 12s. Large Paper, 1*l.* 1s.

Practical Observations on Strictures of the Urethra. By Thomas Luxmoore. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

An Essay on the Causes, Prevention and Cure, of the Consumption. By L. Hope. 2s.

A Popular Treatise on Medical Police, and on Diet, Regimen, &c. By John Roberton, M. D. 2 vol. 8vo. 12s.

A Plain Statement of Facts in favour of the Cow-Pox. By John Thomson, M. D.

An Inquiry into the Laws of Epidemics, with Remarks on the Plans lately proposed for exterminating the Small-Pox. By Joseph Adams, M. D.

The History of Canine Madness and Hydrophobia, with Methods of Treatment, antient and modern. By G. Lipscomb, M. D. 7s.

The Principles of Midwifery, including the Diseases of Women and Children. By John Burns. 8vo. 12s.

A Dictionary of Practical Surgery, collected from the best and most original Sources of Information, and illustrated with Critical Remarks. By Samuel Cooper. 8vo. 15s.

Facts and Observations on the Prevention, Causes, and Method of Treatment in Pulmonary Consumption. By —— Smith, M. D. 8vo. 3s.

Surgical Observations. By John Abernethy, F. R. S. Part I. 8vo. 7s.

Heads of Lectures on the Institutions of Medicine. By Andrew Duncan, sen. M. D. & P. Sixth Edition. 8vo. 5s.

MILITARY.

A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain, commanded by Sir John Moore, K. B. Authenticated by official Papers and Original Letters. By his Brother James Moore esq. 4to. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Remarks on the Dress and Discipline of the Bengal Army. By a Bengal Officer. 5s.

Cursory Remarks on British Tactics, and on Matters relating to the Defence of the Country; with Heads of a Plan for Training the Population.

Letters from Portugal and Spain, written during the March of the British Troops under Sir J. Moore. By an Officer. 8vo. 12s.

Observations on the Movements of the British Army in Spain. By a British Officer.

MUSIC.

Select Welsh Airs, collected by George Thomson, and adapted for the Voice. Vol. I. 1*l.* 1s.

A favourite Serenata for the Harp. By G. Ferrari. 3s. 6d.

Minstrel Serenades, composed for the Harp or Piano-forte. By Edward Jones. 10s. 6d.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

The Lords of Erith; a Romance. 3 vol. 12mo.

Clara de Monfier; a Moral Tale. By Elizabeth Anne Le Noir. 3 vol. 12mo. 1*l.*

Les Querelles de Famille. Par Aug. La Fontaine. 3 tomes. 12s.

Alphonso; or the Natural Son. Translated from the French of Madame de Genlis. 3 vol. 13s. 6d.

Euston. By Charles Courtenay, Esq. 2 vol. 9s.

Ella St Laurence; or the Village of Selwood and its Inhabitants. By Mrs Isaacs. 4 vol. 1*l.* 2s.

Osrick, or Modern Horrors. By Mr Sicklemore. 3 vol. 15s.

Don Sebastian, or the House of Braganza; an Historical Romance. By Miss Anna Maria Porter. 4 vol. 12mo. 1*l.* 1s.

Edward and Laura; being a Translation of the Continuation of Rousseau's Account of the Adventures of Lord B——. 2 vol.

The Exile of Portugal. By Amelia Stuart. 2 vol. 9s.

The Mysterious Florentine; a Romance. 4 vol. 18s.

Matilda Montfort. By Peter Peregrine. 4 vol. 1*l.* 1s.

Retribution, or the Sicilian Vespers; in 3 vol. 12mo.

Cœlebia chusing a Husband. By Captain Torrens. 10s.

The Age We Live in. By Louisa Sidney Stanhope. 3 vol. 15s.

Guiscard; or the Mysterious Accusation. By Horace Vere. 2 vol. 12mo. 10s.

The Fallen Minister, and other Tales, from the German of Spiess. By Captain Hewitson. 2 vol. 12mo. 10s.

The Husband and the Lover; an Historical Moral Romance. 3 vol. 18s.

The Irish Recluse. By Sarah Isdell. 3 vol. 13s. 6d.

Tales of other Realms, collected during a Tour through Europe. By a Traveller. 2 vol. 12mo. 8s.

The Italian Marauders, a Romance. By Anna Matilda. 4 vol. 1*l.*

POLITICS.

Strictures on the Apology set up by Mr Cobbett in his "Weekly Political Register" of Saturday, June 17th, 1809. 1s.

The Rival Impostors; or Two Political Epistles to Two Political Cheats. The first addressed to Colonel Wardle; the second to William Cobbett. 2s. 6d.

An impartial Examination of Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Parliamentary Reform. 2s.

Reflections on the Appointment of Dr Milner as the Political Agent of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland. By the Rev. T. Elrington, D. D. 1s. 6d.

Outlines of a Political Survey of the English Attack on Denmark, in 1807. Translated from the Danish. 8vo. 6s.

POETRY.

Elements of Art; a Poem on Painting, in Six Cantos; with Notes and a Preface: including Strictures on the State of the Arts, Criticism, Patronage, and Public Taste. By Martin Arthur Shee, R. A. 8vo. 13s.

The Fig-Leaf: a Satirical and Admonitory Poem: dedicated, without permission, to the Fashionable World. 1s. 6d.

Edward the Second, a Tragedy, and other Poems. By Theophilus Mac. 3s. 6d.

The Sailor Boy; a Poem, in Four Cantos, illustrative of the Navy of Great Britain. 5s.

Pursuits of Agriculture, a Satirical Poem, with Notes. Canto 3. In one volume 8vo. with Plates. 2s. 6d.

The Pride of Birth; in Imitation of the Eighth Satire of Juvenal. By R. Methone, Esq. 4to. 1s. 6d.

Short Pieces in Verse. By Clericus. 8vo.

The Lion and the Water-Wagtail, a Mock-heroic Poem, in Three Cantos. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.

Sir Frantic the Reformer, or the Humours of the Crown and Anchor. 4s.

Ronald, a Legendary Tale; and other Poems. 4s. 6d.

Kennet and Kenneta, a Legendary Tale. By the Rev. J. S. Whalley, D. D. 2s. 6d.

Faction, a Poem; with Notes. 3s. 6d.

The Jubilee, a Poem. By William Jordan, Esq. 2s.

Imitations and Translations from the Antient and Modern Classics; together with Original Poems, never before published. Collected by J. C. Hobhouse, B. A. 10s. 6d.

Iberia's Crisis; a Fragment of an Epic Poem, in Three Parts; written in Spain; developing the Cause, Progress and Events of Spain's Crisis. Royal 8vo. 5s.

Gilbert; an Amatory Poem, in Eight Cantos. By James Templeman. 2s. 6d.; 4to, 12s.

Fables and Satires; with a Preface on the Esopean Fable. By Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart.; in Two Volumes, post 8vo. 15s. in bds.

Poems, by Sir John Carr, with Portrait. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

Extracts from the Religious Works of Mons. François Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon, from the French. By Miss Marshall. 10s. 6d.

Five Essays on the Proof of Man's Future Existence. To which is prefixed, Seventeen Sermons. By P. Houghton. 8vo. 7s.

Gerhard's Divine Meditations. 6s.

Six Sermons on the most Important Points of Christianity. By the Rev. A. Treston, A. M. 12s. 6d.

Discourses, Moral and Religious, preached on board his Majesty's Ship Tremendous, in 1802, 3, and 4. By the Rev. Robert Baynes. 8vo. 12s.

Letters on Godly and Religious Subjects. By Onesimus. 2 vol. 12mo. 9s.

A Collection of Hymns for Public Worship. By the Rev. Dr Williams and the Rev. Mr Boden. 4s. bound.

A View of the Origin, Progress, and Diversity, of Heathen Worship. By T. Thomas. 6s.

Remarks on various Texts of Scripture. By Edward Popham, D. D. 8vo. 10s.

A Sermon, preached at the Consecration of Christ Church, in Needwood, Staffordshire, August 15, 1809, by the Rev. Thomas Gisborne, A. M. 1s.

Εἰρηνικον, a Sermon preached at the Holy Trinity Church, Hull, on Tuesday, July 25, 1809, at the Primary Visitation of the Archbishop of York. By the Rev. J. H. Bromley. 2s. 6d.

A Sermon preached at Scarborough, at the Primary Visitation of the Archbishop of York, July 28, 1809. By the Rev. F. Wrangham. 4to. 3s. 6d.

A Sketch of the Ecclesiastical Establishment, in a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Great Yarmouth, at the Visitation of Archdeacon Yonge. By the Rev. Henry Bathurst. 2s.

Sermons and Extracts, by the Rev. Edmund Outram, D. D. Public Orator of the University of Cambridge. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

A Sermon, preached at Truro, at the Primary Visitation of the Bishop of Exeter. 1s. 6d.

The Ordination Service of the Rev. Jacob Snelgar of High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire; the Introductory Discourse by the Rev. A. Douglas of Reading, Berks; the Charge by the Rev. J. Banister of Wareham, Dorset; the Sermon by the Rev. J. Clayton, Jun. of London.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive Account of London, Westminster, Southwark, and the County of Middlesex. By E. W. Brayley. No. II. 2s. 6d.

A Descriptive and Picturesque Account of the Islands of Walcheren, Beveland, Schowen, and Cadsand. 2s. 6d.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The Voyage of Nearchus and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. Translated from the Greek. By William Vincent, D. D. Dean of Westminster. Vol. III. 12s.

The Travels of Captains Lewis and Clarke, by Order of the Government of the United States, performed in the Years 1804, 5, and 6, by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the Pacific Ocean. By Merryweather Lewis. 8vo. 9s.

A View of Spain, comprising a Descriptive Itinerary of each Province, and a General Statistical Account of the Country. By Alexander de la Borde. Translated from the French. 5 vol. 8vo., with an Atlas. 3*l.* 13s. 6d.

Contemporary Voyages and Travels, Vol. IX. 8vo. 15s.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

[We have hitherto adhered, with exemplary strictness, to our rule, of never troubling our readers with the controversies we are sometimes obliged to maintain with correspondents. For the apparent deviation from this rule, which may be inferred from the publication of the following letter, we trust that the statement contained in its two first paragraphs will be received as a sufficient apology.]

TO OLINTHUS GREGORY, ESQ. A.M., &c.

SIR,

IF your Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, inserted in the Monthly Magazine for August last, had related merely to matters of opinion, neither the editor, nor the author of the article to which that letter refers, would have thought it necessary to enter into any argument on the subject. An opinion on the merit or demerit of any work, when it is once laid before the Public, must stand or fall by itself. Though the judgment which we passed on the confused and illiberal effusion which you have been pleased to call 'An Account of the Steam Engine,' might appear to you to be ill-founded, we should not, on that account, have felt ourselves called on to defend it, but would willingly have left the Public to decide. The motives by which you profess to have been actuated, when you inserted the above account, viz. that you might provoke discussion, and that you might do a service to an unfortunate man, are no doubt very laudable in themselves, but do not seem to have been very happily directed. To insert, without warning, in a didactic work, what is absurd or erroneous, for the sake of having it contradicted, does not seem the best way of promoting useful argumentation; and the wretchedness of an author must be great indeed, if it is not aggravated by the publication of such a work as you have allowed your friend to bring forward.

The public, however, has sufficient *data* for judging between us in *this* matter. In that about which we are now principally concerned, your charges against the good faith and veracity of the author of the Review of the Steam Engine, the public has

not complete information; and we shall therefore lay before such of our readers as take any interest in the matter, a full and detailed statement of the evidence on which our assertions were founded.

The note to which you refer in the Edinburgh Review, is this. 'In looking over the articles in Mr Gregory's two volumes, we 'have not observed that there is any very scrupulous correctness 'in referring to his sources of information. For example, the 'abstract of Coulomb's experiments, and the section on horizontal wind-mills, are taken, with little variation, and no acknowledgement, from Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's Mechanics. The same is true of the article on the teeth of wheels, 'and part of the description of the thrashing machine,' &c. Edinburgh Review, January 1807, p. 327.

On this you remark—'Here, Sir, in a short note of ten lines, 'are four positive assertions, each of which is positively false. 'In contradiction to them I affirm, first, that my account of Coulomb's experiments was printed before Dr Brewster's edition of 'Ferguson's Select Lectures was published, and that no two descriptions of the same experiments can possibly be more unlike; 'Dr Brewster's being a concise summary, comprised in five pages 'of a large print, while mine is a detailed account, occupying 'nineteen pages, printed with a small type. In opposition to 'the Reviewer's further charges, of my having taken from Dr 'Brewster with no acknowledgment, I have to state as below. 'The piece in my first edition, extracted from Brewster, on 'Horizontal Wind-mills, begins thus — "Mr Brewster makes "also the following remarks on the comparative power of Ho"rizontal and Vertical Windmills;" and ends with an express 'reference to Brewster's Ferguson, Vol. II. The extract from 'Brewster, in the article "Teeth of Wheels," was preceded by 'these words—"Availing ourselves, for the most part, of the "judicious remarks just published by Mr Brewster, and termin"ated, as in the former instance, by a reference to Brewster's "Ferguson, Vol. II."—No part of the description of the thrashing machine is taken from Dr Brewster; but there is a small 'table which both that gentleman and myself have derived from 'the same source,—a source to which we have both referred.' Again, you say, addressing yourself to the editor—'I think you 'must feel indignant, that the character of the Edinburgh Review should be degraded by its being made the vehicle of wilful falsehood; for such I fear you will find it.'

The intemperate language of this attack we have no desire to retort; nor do we claim any merit from this forbearance; as nothing enables one to support an injury with so much equanimity, as the consciousness

consciousness of having the offender at his mercy. You have nothing, therefore, to fear from abusive language: our defence shall be confined to a simple and plain statement of facts, from which we think it will appear, that the assertions in our note (one of which you have misunderstood), though not perfectly accurate, are nevertheless substantially true; and are but a small part of the evidence that might have been brought in proof of the general position—'that you have not been scrupulously correct in 'referring to the sources of your information.'

When, in the note above referred to, we mentioned Coulomb's experiments, we did not mean to speak of his experiments on Friction, as you no doubt supposed, when you stated that your account of his experiments was printed before Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's Lectures was published, and that it occupies nineteen pages. This can apply only to the experiments on friction; and our note was no doubt faulty in not stating more exactly to what part of Coulomb's experiments it referred. We shall afterwards inquire into the source from which your account of those on friction is derived. At present, we have only to mention, that his experiments and observations, which we meant to speak of, are those on Windmills, of which the account that you give *is exactly copied* from Dr Brewster. This, we presume, is what cannot be denied. In your first edition, vol. ii. p. 500, you begin the description of Verier's windmill, which extends to four pages, and is word for word the same that is found in Ferguson's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 252, and the eight succeeding pages. At p. 508 of your book, an article is introduced, on the method of turning the sails of windmills to the wind; which is your own, for any thing we know: but you go on to give an account of some experiments and observations on windmills by Coulomb, which continues to the middle of the succeeding page, and which, like the preceding, is taken *verbatim* from Dr Brewster (Ferg. Lect., vol. ii. p. 258, &c.); of whom, however, you make no mention whatsoever. Thus much, therefore, for what relates to Coulomb's Experiments; from which it appears that our charge is true in its full extent, and that we might have added to it another of equal magnitude, viz. the description of Verier's windmill.

We come next to the article of Horizontal Windmills.—You begin to treat of this subject at p. 505 of the volume just referred to, and you proceed to about the middle of p. 508, copying literally from Dr Brewster, (p. 281, &c.) All this while you make no mention of his name, nor give the slightest indication that the propositions you are laying down were derived from any other source than your own knowledge. You *then* begin a paragraph with saying, 'Dr Brewster makes also the follow-

ing remarks;' and what follows is a literal copy from that author, though not pointed out by inverted commas, italics, or any other indications of a similar import. While employed in this humble task of copying, you have paid so little attention to the sense, that an error, which had found its way into Dr Brewster's book, the word *horizontal* instead of *vertical* (a trap perhaps laid by the Doctor for catching the unwary plagiary) is copied into your unacknowledged extract with the same fidelity as the rest.—(p. 507, at the bottom, in Gregory; p. 284 of Ferguson.) After having named Dr Brewster as above, you go on, for a page and a half or thereabouts, and end with a general reference to Brewster's Ferguson, vol. II. The passage contained between these references, is what you speak of in your letter to the editor of the Edinburgh Review, as a triumphant refutation of the assertions in our note; and you say, 'The piece in 'my first edition extracted from Brewster on Horizontal Wind-'mills, *begins* thus—*Mr Brewster makes the following remarks;* 'and ends with an express reference to *Brewster's Ferguson, 'vol. II.*' Now, Sir, we must be permitted to remark, that you have surely forgot all the part to which we have just adverted; and that the name of Dr Brewster is introduced, *not* at the beginning of what is copied from him, but near the end of it. Give us leave also to observe, that general references like the above are not such as the case demanded. You have copied *verbatim* and *literatim;* and therefore, it was not a slight note of reference that should have been given. Inverted commas, italics, or some other unequivocal sign, should have informed the reader that they were not your words, but those of another author, that were set before him. To copy a passage exactly from an author, and to give only a general reference to his work, or to a volume of his work, is in truth to practise a deception. It is equivalent to saying—This is no quotation, but an abstract of the meaning of an author given in my own words, in consequence of my having studied his writings, and made myself master of his opinions. Quoting in this fashion, when you at the same time appropriate the whole, is nearly as culpable as to have made no reference at all.

The article on the Teeth of Wheels, begins at p. 423, and extends to p. 432 of your second volume. The name of Dr Brewster is mentioned two or three times in the course of it; and at the end, you refer to four authors, Wolfius, Belidor, Camus, and Brewster; and to the first more particularly than any of the rest. Now, who would not suppose, on reading these references, that you had studied what all these four authors had written on the teeth of wheels, and had drawn up your article from

a diligent comparison of their different treatises? No one certainly would suspect that the nine preceding pages were taken, *word for word, from Dr Brewster alone*, and were, in reality, sixteen of his pages (p. 205, &c.) transcribed without variation. The mention made of Dr Brewster in the body of the article, leads to no suspicion of this kind; and the reference at the end to three other authors, as well as to the Doctor, induces the belief, that if you had availed yourself of any of their labours, you had done so equally, or at least in proportion to their respective values. Thus we see, that in the hands of a skilful compiler, a note of reference may, as he inclines, either discover or conceal the sources of his information.

Here, also, one may remark a curious circumstance, not unlike one already taken notice of. In consequence of an error of the engraver, Dr Brewster was obliged to introduce a note, at the bottom of p. 220, to prevent an ambiguity, arising from some letters in the figure being placed too far from the intersections which they were intended to denote. Had you bestowed much attention on the passage which you was about to transplant into your book, you would have perceived this mistake, and would have thought it the simplest way to correct the figure, and to leave out the note. You have, however, with such laudable fidelity, avoided every deviation from the original, that you have retained the error in the figure, and have also had recourse to Dr Brewster's note of explanation.

As to the thrashing machine, we readily acknowledge that there is an inaccuracy in our remark. It is not the description of the machine itself that is taken from Dr Brewster, but some remarks which follow that description, consisting of a paragraph in p. 461, and another in the following page, which concludes the article. These, together with the table to which they refer, are taken from Ferguson, vol. II. p. 351. Speaking of this table in your letter, you say that both Dr Brewster and you have taken it from Mr Fenwick. Dr Brewster, it is true, has done so; and tells us that he did. He has, however, made a selection from Fenwick's table; and has taken, not the whole, but the parts that he judged most valuable. You have taken precisely the same parts.

You affirm positively, in your letter in the Monthly Magazine, that no part of your *description* of the thrashing machine is taken from Dr Brewster. This is indeed true; but he will find himself in an error, who, on that account, supposes that it is not taken from any other author; for it is to be found in the Encyclopædia Britannica, with very little variation, the figures being also precisely the same, and drawn to the same scale. The machine described, is one which has long since given place to more improved inventions,

inventions, and is now entirely laid aside. Your description of another machine of still earlier date, viz. 1758, is derived from the same source; and both without any acknowledgement. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. *Thrashing Machine.*

The above are the instances of your making free with the works of others, which were alluded to in our Note; and, after correcting what degree of inaccuracy there was in our statement, we believe that we have only added to the evidence of our general proposition. We might add several other instances. On the subject of water-mills, at p. 485, 486, a paragraph of twenty-five lines is taken, word for word, from Dr Brewster's Ferguson, vol. II. p. 196, 197. So also, under the same article, at p. 489, in your second volume, a paragraph of sixteen lines, relating to the discovery of the maximum of the effect of water-wheels, by De Parcieux, is taken from Ferguson, p. 198. And again, at p. 492, from Ferguson, p. 164, on the subject of concave float-boards. These are given entirely without reference; and indeed the whole article of Water-Mills is drawn up in a way that gives no small insight into the secrets of compilation. You profess to follow Dr Robison in the Encyclopædia Britannica; and you go on copying literally from that work, and from Ferguson's Mechanics, nearly alternately, but without ever mentioning the latter, and without quoting the Encyclopædia, in the manner you should have done, when you copied whole pages without alteration. This continues for nearly eight pages, with now and then a paragraph of your own.

The references which have been made above, are to your first edition; in the second, several of the passages here stated to be taken from Ferguson's Mechanics, are not to be found. This makes it necessary for us to consider, a little more accurately, in what the difference of the two editions really consists.

When the first edition of your Mechanics reached Edinburgh, the liberal use which you had made of the valuable and judicious Notes with which Dr Brewster had illustrated the text of Ferguson, could not but give offence to the proprietors of that work. They conceived what you had done to be a manifest invasion of their rights, and an injury which the law might be called on to redress. In consequence of this, an interdict or injunction was applied for, or threatened to be applied for; and attornies were employed on the part of the proprietors on both sides. Certain concessions were made on your part; and the matter, if we mistake not, terminated by your agreeing that the greater part of the exceptionable passages should be *cancelled* or *recomposed*, (or, to speak more properly, *recompiled*), in a new edition. This happened in summer 1806, in the beginning of which year your book

book had been published. The second edition appeared in 1807; and this uncommonly rapid sale of a book of science might have induced a belief that a trick had been played off, which, we fear, is not quite unprecedented, the second edition being no other than the first, with a new title-page, and some other slight alterations. Of this, however, an advertisement prefixed to the first volume did not allow any idea to be entertained.

'In the new impression of this work, *which the favour of the public has thus so soon rendered necessary*, the author has not been able to discharge the debt of gratitude to those who have so liberally encouraged his performance, otherwise than by correcting some errors, and making a few slight alterations and additions in both volumes, with some corresponding improvements in two or three of the plates.'

From this we must certainly infer, that the whole of the first edition was already sold off: it is on this account that you return thanks, though we must say that the favour you announce to those who had not purchased your book, is not a very logical demonstration of your gratitude to those who had. Whatever was the case, it is certain that the second edition differs from the first almost in nothing, but in leaving out the articles taken from Dr Brewster, and in substituting some new matter in their place, *occupying exactly the same space which they had occupied.* This is done with so much exactness, that, after each alteration, the same precise order goes on in the pages, the lines, and even the words of the two editions. Were it not for the assertion involved in your advertisement, this would confirm one in the notion, that there was in fact no new impression, but merely the cancelling and reprinting of a few leaves. Those who are so uncharitable as to hold that opinion, will be at no loss to find out other facts in support of it. At page 399, vol. 1st of your first edition, the third book ends with the subject of Capillary Attraction, without having reached the middle of the page. The remainder of that page, therefore, is a blank, as is also the whole of the next, which, being the left hand page, the printer did not think suitable for beginning a new book. Now, it is exactly into these two pages, so inadequate to the purpose, that La Place's theory of Capillary Attraction, which you had announced in the advertisement, is condensed. The quantity of this alteration is so accurately adjusted, that not the least encroachment is made, either in the pages that go before, or on those that come after; and the beginning falls so happily, as to allow the *last line* of page 398, to remain in the second edition the same as in the first, *though making a part of a sentence, in the former, quite different from what it does in the latter.* The circumstances in which the above mentioned

tioned line is found, were ſuch as immediately to ſuggeſt the idea, that the leaf which follows it muſt be one that was reprinted after the original had been cancelled. The binding of a book may ſometimes give material information concerning its internal ſtructure; and, on appealing to it, we found that the leaf (p. 199. 200.) in what is called the ſecond edition, is not in continuity with any other leaf of the book, though firmly attached to them by glue. It is therefore a leaf reprinted after the cancel of the former.

A fact equally in favour of the hypotheſis, that there was no new impreſſion, is, that the *errata* in your two editions *are preciſely the ſame*, and that even the ſame table of them is found at the end. The table, indeed, might have been kept through negligence, though the *errata* were in fact corrected. This, however, is not the caſe; for if you take any *erratum* from the table, you will find, on looking up the place, that it is carefully preſerved in the new edition. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is quite unaccountable, if the editions are really different. The firſt thing that the printer does, when any work is to undergo a new impreſſion, is to correct the *errata* that have been diſcovered, in the copy to be printed from; and this is ſo plain a dictate of common ſenſe, that we cannot, in any inſtance, ſuppoſe it to have been neglected.

Still, however, before your readers have a right to form a decided opinion, it behoves them to weigh the evidence on oppoſite ſides, and to conſider on which it preponderates. Againſt the hypotheſis, we have the direct teſtimony of the author himſelf, a man of character and education, and holding a reſpectable rank in ſociety: in favour of it, we have the curious combination of circumſtances juſt ſtated, which, if taken by itſelf, would amount to a probability falling ſhort of certainty by a quantity incalculably ſmall. Every man muſt determine for himſelf what opinion he is to form, and will naturally adopt the ſuppoſition he thinks leaſt wonderful. We have ſtated the evidence fairly as it appears to us: the taſk of drawing the concluſion, we leave to thoſe who may be ſuppoſed more impartial judges.

It remains for us, Sir, to mention ſome examples, the ſame preciſely in both editions of your work, where propoſitions and demonſtrations are borrowed, without acknowledgement, from authors that have not yet been mentioned. One of the moſt remarkable of theſe is a propoſition given at page 409, &c. of your firſt volume, conſtituting two articles, and containing a very beautiful theory of the whirlpool formed by water flowing through a horizontal aperture, and impelled at the ſame time by ſome external force. No reference is here made to any book whatſoever; and the reader, of courſe, is left to aſcribe to yourſelf the whole

whole merit of this elegant investigation. The truth however is, that it is taken, word for word, from Venturi, as translated in Nicholson's Journal, vol. III. 4to. p. 13. The investigation of the proposition is so elegant, and the result to which it leads so simple, that there was great demerit in concealing the name of the author, and great weakness in supposing that it could be concealed. None but a mathematician of the first order could reasonably hope to pass for the author.

Another instance in which you have appropriated the works of a learned foreigner, relates to the same subject, (the issuing of water from a hole in the bottom or side of a vessel), and extends from about the middle of page 412 to page 419 of your first volume, which is translated with very litttle variation from the *Architecture Hydraulique* of Prony, vol. I. p. 358 to p. 365. You have not, however, mentioned the name of Prony, but have referred to Bossut, and the select Exercises at the end of Dr Hutton's Conics. The student who turns to these last, will find the subject of effluent water treated of in a manner different from yours, and less elegant; but if he look at Prony, he will find the same investigation which he admired in your book, the very same figure, and nearly the same denominations.

In your second volume, you have given an account of Coulomb's Experiments on Friction, and the Stiffness of Cords; and you will please to remember, that you were very much offended with us for supposing (which indeed we did not do) that you had borrowed this from Dr Brewster. We have, however, a charge to bring against you as heavy as that would have been, and one of which we should perhaps at this moment have been ignorant, if your heat and intemperance had not forced us to make a stricter examination. The greater part of the account just mentioned is so far from being drawn up by yourself, from the study of Coulomb's Memoir, that it is literally translated from the abridgment of that memoir given by Prony, in the first volume of his Architecture Hydraulique. From § 33. page 32. of your second volume, to the end of page 43, the whole, with the exception of a sentence here and there, is translated from the work just mentioned, page 504 to page 513; of which, however, you have made no mention. You may allege, perhaps, in your defence, that there is no great harm in all this, because both Prony and yourself were professedly giving an account of the experiments and reasonings of another person; and indeed we will most readily acknowledge, that your readers have no reason to complain that you have given them Prony's digest of these important experiments, instead of your own. You certainly could do nothing so good as to give

that which is actually contained in your book, provided you had acknowledged from whence you had taken it, and had not left your reader to give you the credit of a work which you had not performed.

But enough on a subject, in itself disagreeable, and on which nothing but the necessity of repelling your violent and abusive attack could have induced us to enter. Knowing, as you did, how vulnerable you were, not only at the points to which our inquiry has happened to be directed, but, in all human probability, at many more, we cannot commend the prudence that ventured to provoke the present investigation; but must certainly admire the boldness that, in such circumstances, could request of the editor of the Edinburgh Review, 'that his love of truth and justice would 'induce him to state, in No. xxvii., that the note of which you 'complained was erroneous throughout.' With this request we have now so far complied, that we have corrected the errors of that note, to the best of our ability: we have put the public in possession of the facts on which the judgment given in it was founded; and willingly take leave of a subject which no consideration shall induce us to resume.

We have the honour to be,

Sir, your very obedient Servants,

THE EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

Edinburgh, 1st November, 1809.

D. WILLISON, PRINTER, EDINBURGH.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1810.

No. XXX.

ART. I. *An Inquiry into the practical Merits of the System for the Government of India, under the Superintendance of the Board of Controul.* By the Earl of Lauderdale. 8vo. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. pp. 260. 1809.

IT must be admitted, we conceive, upon all hands, that the state of our Indian empire has uniformly disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country. The golden prospects of national revenue to be derived from our vast territorial possessions in the East, have hitherto flitted before us like the scenes of an enchanted landscape; and, when they appeared just on the point of being realized, have suddenly receded to a greater distance than ever. As the periodical renovation of the charter of the East India Company drew near, matters have usually assumed a very alluring aspect; but, as the day advanced, clouds have collected, and the whole atmosphere suddenly been enveloped in gloom and obscurity. To what cause, we may ask, is this melancholy result to be ascribed? Has the public formed expectations in themselves unreasonable, and which, in the nature of things, could not be gratified? Does the disappointment originate in unforeseen and uncontroulable circumstances, by which the best exertions of human prudence, vigour, and sagacity, have been unavoidably frustrated? Should it be imputed to the pernicious ambition, the incapacity, or the incorrigible supineness, of those selected by the proprietors of East India stock for the management of their concerns? Or, lastly, is it to be ascribed to the same errors or deficiencies in those to whom his Majesty has entrusted the controul of Indian policy? To one or other of these causes, we conceive that the public disappointment must necessarily be ascribed. For we cannot admit a fifth supposition,—that the governors appointed to conduct the affairs of India, equally negligent of the orders of the Directors, and of the injunctions of his Majesty's ministers, have

presumed to act in open defiance of both. The immediate recal of the delinquent would undoubtedly have been considered at all times as a necessary sacrifice to the national interest, and to the vindication of the wisdom and integrity which had been baffled and discredited by his misconduct. No such symptom of ministerial displeasure, however, has hitherto occurred; and the supposition, therefore, must be considered as inadmissible; particularly when we find that each returning viceroy has invariably received the same flattering tribute of applause which had been previously lavished on his predecessor.

As the renewal of the Company's charter must soon undergo a parliamentary discussion, it is extremely desirable that the public should be in possession of some clear and accurate views of the most momentous subject which ever engaged the attention of any legislature. It is from this motive, we presume, that the Earl of Lauderdale has been induced to publish the result of his researches on Indian affairs. His strictures, however, embrace but a limited view of a subject almost boundless; and, while we endeavour to give our readers a view of their result, we shall endeavour to state, as succinctly as possible, a few of the most important considerations involved in the decision. To develop them fully, would require, in addition to that local knowledge to which we presume to lay some claim, a far more intimate acquaintance with the posture of the Company's political and financial concerns at the present moment, than we possess the means of obtaining.

Lord Lauderdale has been long known to the public, both as a zealous statesman, and as a writer of very considerable ability; nor can we recollect any individual of his rank who has evinced a more commendable industry, both to acquire the knowledge which is suitable to his condition, and to disseminate it, when acquired, among those in whom ignorance would be most pernicious. With all his industry, however, and all his talents, his adversaries have sometimes imputed to Lord Lauderdale a degree of rashness and violence, which would make him an unsafe guide in questions of great political importance; and even his friends have acknowledged, that his zeal has sometimes been at least a match for his discretion, and that the views which his sagacity has opened, have sometimes taken a little colouring from his prejudices or his passions. It was with the caution suggested by these general impressions that we took up the work before us; and found, to our surprize as well as our satisfaction, that it contained a disquisition as remarkable for temperance of manner, as for clearness of statement and fairness of reasoning. The fruit evidently of a great deal of research, it makes no parade, either of the labour which it must have cost, or of the discoveries by which it has been repaid; but exhibits the results with exemplary conciseness

conciſeneſs and ſimplicity, and deduces the concluſions, if not with perfect accuracy and juſtice, at leaſt with plainneſs and candour. The ſubject of our Indian government certainly was not that of all others on which we ſhould have thought Lord Lauderdale moſt likely to judge without prejudice, or to write without paſſion; yet we believe, with few exceptions, the Directors of the Eaſt India Company would have little difficulty in ſubſcribing to his ſtatements, or in admitting the juſtice of much of the cenſure he infers.

The immediate object of this diſquiſition is to inquire, how far the Board of Controul, erected in 1784 for checking and regulating the proceedings of the Court of Directors in the government of India, has anſwered the purpoſes of its inſtitution. With this view he examines, by a reference to hiſtorical facts, the proofs of its efficacy; 1ſt, In preventing ſchemes of conqueſt and extenſion of dominion; 2dly, In increaſing the export of our manufactures, and the import of raw materials; 3dly, In effecting the objects to which the Company's profits were by law appropriated.

We entirely concur with the noble author in his admiration of the liberal and enlarged principles which dictated the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons in 1782. We think, too, that the orders of the Court of Directors, which contained a prohibitory condemnation of all ſchemes of conqueſt and enlargement of dominion, were founded no leſs in wiſdom than policy; and we are decidedly of opinion, that every tranſgreſſion of thoſe orders, *without evident neceſſity*, has tended to weaken their influence, and to diminiſh their reſources; and that every interference as a party in the domeſtic or national quarrels of the country powers, was wiſely forbidden by the Company. Above all, we repeat, with feelings of enthuſiaſtic approbation, the following moſt excellent reſolution—'That the maintenance of an inviolable character for 'moderation, good faith, and ſcrupulous regard to treaty, ought 'to have been the ſimple grounds on which the Britiſh governments ſhould have endeavoured to eſtabliſh an influence ſuperior 'to other Europeans, over the minds of the native powers in India; and that the danger and diſcredit ariſing from the forfeiture of this preeminence, could not be compenſated by the 'temporary ſucceſs of any plan of violence or injuſtice.' The recital introduced into the act 1784, and repeated in the act 1793, profeſſes ſimilar principles. 'Foraſmuch as, to purſue 'ſchemes of conqueſt and extenſion of dominion in India, are 'meaſures repugnant to the wiſh, the honour, and policy of this 'nation,' &c.

But, noble and enlightened as theſe principles are, it is but juſt

to obſerve, that they had uniformly actuated the policy of the Court of Directors. The territorial poſſeſſion of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, had long limited the extent of their ambition; and they impatiently waited till a ſeaſon of tranquillity might permit their ſervants abroad to conform to their orders, in deviſing the regulations beſt adapted to promote the internal proſperity of the fair and fertile regions ſubmitted by Providence to their controul. But whilſt ſuch were the principles, and *ſuch the inſtructions* of the Company to their ſervants, it muſt be confeſſed that far other views influenced the councils of Calcutta and Bombay. The annals of Mr Haſtings's adminiſtration exhibit an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of unjuſtifiable and ruinous wars. If, indeed, we except the war with Myſor, (a ſtate which has uniformly been the aggreſſor), all the military operations of that period conſtituted a direct infringement of the orders which it was the duty of the Bengal government to reſpect. The ſyſtematic aggreſſions of the Engliſh alarmed the native rulers of adjacent ſtates. But the extreme financial embarraſſment occaſioned by a plan of ſuch extenſive military combinations, rendered the efforts of that government only fatal to itſelf. The diminution of its reputation kept pace with that of its pecuniary reſources.

At ſuch a criſis it became the duty of the legiſlature to interfere. The orders of the Directors had been found inſufficient to check the irregular ambition of their own ſervants; theſe orders were now to be combined with thoſe of his Majeſty's miniſters. It might fairly be preſumed, that, in ſome caſes, they would correſpond more than before with the general policy of the ſtate; and that, in all, they would acquire ſuch an additional authority as to preclude the poſſibility of diſobedience.

Lord Lauderdale thinks himſelf warranted, by the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons in 1782, by the enactments of 1784, and much more by the ſpeeches delivered in Parliament on both theſe occaſions, to aſſume, that to check ſchemes of conqueſt and extenſion of dominion was the primary object of the inſtitution of the Board of Controul. It follows, upon this view of the caſe, that to prove its total inefficacy for the purpoſes of its inſtitution, the noble author has only to enumerate the long liſt of ſtates and kingdoms added to the Britiſh dominions ſince 1784, by which they have in fact been at leaſt doubled in extent and population. 1ſt, Myſor, nearly reduced to its original limits, has yielded to the conqueror all the additions derived from the warlike achievements of her Moſlem kings. 2d, The Carnatic, which firſt afforded a harbour to the commerce of Britain, now ſubmits to her excluſive ſway. After all the blood and treaſure expended to ſupport the queſtionable right of Mahomed Ali to the ſucceſſion of his father, the

the unqueſtionable right of his grandſon has been transferred to another. 3d, The Mahratta ſovereign of Tanjor has put the Britiſh in poſſeſſion of that fertile diſtrict. The endleſs diſputes between his family and that of Walajah, have been finally terminated by the diſpoſſeſſion of both.

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.

4th, The Suba of the Decan has condeſcended to accept a ſubſidiary Britiſh force for his protection; and diſtricts, of which the annual revenue amounts to 720,000l., have been ceded to defray this expenſe. 5th, The Vizier of Oude has reluctantly been compelled to cede a portion of his territory, the revenues of which are calculated at one million one hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds. 6th, The ſmall independent territory of the Naboh of Furrukhabad has been added to the Britiſh dominions, from an apprehenſion that the perſonal character of that chief would not tend to promote morality and good order amongſt his ſubjects. 7th, The city and port of Surat have been taken poſſeſſion of by the Bombay government. 8th, When the affairs of the Chief of the Mahratta confederacy were involved in almoſt hopeleſs embarraſſment, he applied for a ſubſidiary force, for the maintenance of which he has ceded lands in the province of Bandelcund.

This liſt no doubt is formidable: and much of what the author infers from it, it would not be eaſy to deny. Yet there are ſeveral circumſtances that ſeem to require obſervation. In the firſt place, we ſubmit to the noble author, whether he was warranted in claſſing the juſt and unavoidable war waged by the Marquis of Cornwallis againſt Myſor, in the ſame category with the events ſubſequently related. 'The relations of amity and peace,' ſays Lord Lauderdale, 'remained uninterrupted, till an attack by Tippoo Sahib, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Hyder Ali, on our ally the Rajah of Travancor, rouſed a deſire of revenge, that warfare alone could appeaſe. Submiſſive offers to ſettle all differences through a perſon of rank and dignity ſent to our camp, were rejected; Lord Cornwallis declaring, that good policy, as well as a regard to our reputation in India, required a ſevere reparation.' We can venture to ſtate, from the official documents which fell under our inſpection at that period, that although Tippu did indeed propoſe to ſend an officer of rank to adjuſt all differences, no intreaties could induce him to ſuſpend his attack on Travancor, even until that officer ſhould reach the Engliſh camp. The conqueſt of Travancor, therefore, was really made a preliminary to negotiation; and the ruin of our ally was the only certain reſult.

Nay, we have no heſitation in declaring it as our opinion, that

the laſt and deciſive warfare directed by the Marquis of Welleſley againſt the Sultan of Myſor, was alſo reconcileable both to juſtice and to policy. The intercourſe between that monarch and the French was more than ſuſpected: it was very fully proved. Whatever opinion may be formed of the policy which afterwards annexed ſo great a portion of his territories to our Indian empire, we believe the juſtice, vigour and energy which directed our Indian councils during that war, cannot juſtly be conteſted. The political operations of the ſame government at a ſubſequent period, are of a much more queſtionable nature.

But, ſays Lord Lauderdale, the object of all our regulations was, not to prevent war, but to interdict the enlargement of territory.—'The Legiſlature,' to uſe the words of an illuſtrious ſtateſman, 'meant to condemn the policy of extending our territorial poſſeſſions in India; not to pronounce, like the French aſſembly, at the commencement of the Revolution, an idle declaration againſt unjuſtifiable warfare.' Now, the truth is, unfortunately, that a juſt, defenſive and unavoidable war entails the ſame financial embarraſſments, and involves as ruinous an expenditure, as a war of ambition and aggreſſion: it becomes then a queſtion, whether a nation, which has been innocently involved in ſuch a conteſt, ſhould contentedly ſupport this great pecuniary loſs, or, when a ſucceſsful termination has been put to hoſtilities, indemnify itſelf in the only way practicable,—that is, by adding a portion of the conquered territories to its own dominions. We will confeſs that, in the circumſtances of our Indian empire, we do not think this important problem ſuſceptible of a very ſatisfactory ſolution.

It muſt be admitted, that the regular ſyſtem of aggrandizement which ſucceeded the conqueſt of Myſor, cannot be defended by the ſame arguments. It is not by an appeal to the immutable principles of juſtice,—or to the dictates of an imperious neceſſity, that we can hope to juſtify the diſpoſſeſſion of our allies, and the occupation of their territories. But, who were really the authors of theſe meaſures? Lord Lauderdale conceives that, in juſtification of thoſe adopted in Oude, Lord Welleſley 'might urge the anxiety expreſſed by the government at home, for the execution of a ſimilar plan in the caſe of the Nabob of the Carnatic, as by analogy authorizing his conduct in Oude.' But all that was enjoined by the Court of Directors in the caſe of the Carnatic, was, that the ſum which the Nabob *was already bound to pay*, ſhould be commuted for a portion of territory, whoſe revenues ſhould be equivalent. This arrangement exacted nothing additional; and was merely intended to obviate the inconveniences reſulting from the Nabob's irregularity in his payments. Lord Lauderdale, accordingly,

cordingly, appears afterwards to allow, that the Court of Directors animadverted with great energy on the ſucceſſive encroachments of their Indian governments; and admits, that their ſtrictures *were ſuppreſſed by the Board of Controul.* Whatever blame, therefore, may be due to the meaſures of Lord Welleſley's adminiſtration ſubſequently to the conqueſt of Myſor, none of it can obviouſly accrue to the Court of Directors: and it is equally clear, that they can in no caſe be conſidered as reſponſible for the formidable train of diſtreſſing conſequences and pecuniary difficulties in which they have been involved by a protracted and extenſive plan of hoſtile operations.

It is impoſſible to doubt, however, that the meaſures of Lord Welleſley had the approbation of the ſucceſſive Boards of Controul which exiſted between the period of his arrival in India and the ſecond appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis; and, waving for the preſent all conſideration of the *juſtice* or *injuſtice* of theſe individual meaſures, it is obvious that thoſe Boards and Lord Welleſley may be conſidered as partiſans of a policy favourable to the aſſumption of territory, and aggrandizement of national dominion; —a policy which, diſregarding the immediate difficulties reſulting from increaſed expenditure, looks forward to the diſtant but ſplendid proſpects attending the accompliſhment of its plans. On the other hand, the Court of Directors, and that much lamented nobleman the late Marquis Cornwallis, appear as patrons of what we ſhall venture to denominate the pacific ſyſtem;—a ſyſtem which would limit our acquiſitions within moderate boundaries, and devote all our attention to the improvement of their reſources by the ſalutary effects of good government; a ſtrict ſyſtem of diſtributive juſtice, and a gradual increaſe of agriculture and commerce. Even the beſt informed men in England, if deſtitute of local information, are not fully competent to decide on the comparative merits of theſe oppoſite plans. Certain advantages and diſadvantages of each, muſt ſtrike the moſt ſuperficial obſerver; but each of them is expoſed to greater practical objections than would at firſt ſight be imagined. We ſhall take this opportunity to ſubjoin a few obſervations on their merits; ſince it would perhaps be unfair to conſider the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons in 1782 as a concluſive and invariable rule of action, which neither more complete information, nor a total change of circumſtances, could in any caſe authorize us to modify.

We may ſuppoſe, then, that the patrons of the pacific ſyſtem would endeavour to recommend it by ſomething like the following arguments.—The countries ſubject to the Britiſh authority in India, ever ſince the acquiſition of the Dewanny, require and deſerve the full attention of Government to preſerve. Thoſe

watered by the Ganges alone, embrace a population of thirty millions of ſouls, or twice that of Great Britain and Ireland. Hiſtory furniſhes no example of ſo extenſive and populous a nation continuing long ſubject to another, placed at ſo immenſe a diſtance, and with a population ſo much inferior. Government, founded on opinion everywhere, cannot here repoſe on an opinion, that the ſtrength of the governing body is phyſically competent to enforce obedience. The diſtance, the climate, and the limited population of Britain, muſt at all times prevent the ſupporting an European military force capable of being oppoſed to native numbers. Thoſe native troops who have fought and bled in our cauſe, are nevertheleſs taken from the maſs of the inhabitants; imbued with the ſame prejudices; animated by kindred ſentiments; and expoſed to the influence of all the cauſes which may eventually excite a general ſpirit of diſcontent. The permanence of a government thus circumſtanced, muſt therefore unqueſtionably reſt on an opinion, that it is a *wiſe* and *beneficent* one; and that it is for the general intereſt to ſubmit to its authority. But a people, whoſe calculating habits render them uncommonly clear-ſighted where their own intereſt is concerned, cannot eaſily be either deceived or ſatisfied in this particular. To appear good, the government muſt really be ſo; and that, not merely in our view of it, but in theirs alſo. Beſides preſerving inviolate the great maxims of juſtice and humanity, it muſt be, in a certain degree, accommodated to the prejudices and opinions of its ſubjects.

Of theſe, one-twelfth part conſiſts of Mohammedans, the remains of the ruling power whoſe authority we have ſuperſeded, and who may be conſidered as very generally diſaffected, and willing to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity of regaining the aſcendancy of which they have been diſpoſſeſſed almoſt in our memory. The Hindus conſtitute the reſt of the population, and the only part of it on whoſe fidelity and attachment any reliance could be placed in a criſis of danger. But theſe, although willing to ſubmit to the authority of Europeans, can never be brought to aſſimilate with them. Diſcerning, reſerved, temperate and courteous, the manners of the lower claſſes of our countrymen appear to them coarſe, repulſive and ſavage. Their prejudices on this head are ſo much the more inveterate, that in many particulars the inferior orders amongſt them poſſeſs a real ſuperiority over the lower Europeans; and it may be affirmed, that a more extenſive intercourſe has only tended to heighten the contempt of the one, and the diſguſt of the other. The advantages reſulting from the attainments of ſcience, and the general diffuſion of knowledge amongſt the higher claſſes of the Engliſh, they confeſs and applaud. They admire in them

a more scrupulous veracity, and a stricter probity, than is found amongst themselves. They do justice to their benevolent principles of universal toleration in religious opinions, so conformable to their own doctrines; but, above all, they applaud that incorruptibility in judicial functions, which contrasts so advantageously with the venality of their Moslem rulers.

Keeping these principles in view, therefore, which, though apt to be overlooked by those who have taken all their notions of international relations from Europe, are yet at the bottom of every thing sound or rational in our Indian policy, it must appear, that the arrangements actually adopted for the interior administration, are wisely calculated to heighten the general impression of the wisdom and benevolence of the governing body, and to avoid the fatal effects of too rude a collision with 'the worser part' of our countrymen. The Europeans stationed in an extensive district, consist, for the most part, only of the number requisite for the due distribution of justice, the first and most important duty of every government; of those to whom the collection of the revenue is assigned, and of a medical practitioner attached to the station. All these receive such liberal salaries, as to exclude any apology for peculation. Their education and habits of life, present to public view only such qualities, and such conduct, as are calculated to conciliate and to deserve respect. Their duty consists, almost exclusively, in protecting the persons and property of those committed to their controul; and every act of authority, therefore, wears a benign and salutary form. For the Mohammedan system of finance, so discouraging to agriculture, has been substituted a perpetual rental. The landholders have thus been deprived of all pretext for undue exactions from the peasant; while, as that assessment was formed when one fifth only of the soil was supposed to be in cultivation, the improvement of the remainder holds out abundant encouragement to the industry and exertions of the proprietor. Courts of circuit decide, at short intervals, in all matters of civil and criminal jurisprudence beyond the competency of the resident magistrate of the district; and their decisions are founded on the laws acknowledged by the parties. A court of appeal is stationary at the seat of government; and the Board of Revenue, also stationary there, controuls the proceedings of the collectors of districts.

In order that a plan of administration so judiciously constructed for the interests of every class of subjects, should be successful in its operations, the utmost vigilance is obviously requisite on the part of the Governor and Council, to whom, in all cases, there lies an ultimate appeal. The necessity of detecting and punishing malversation, where so much authority is unavoidably delegated

delegated as to involve the lives and fortunes of multitudes in its exercise, indispensably demands an unceasing and vigilant superintendance. But although this was possible, within the limits of our empire, in 1786, any considerable accession to it must obviously render it inefficient, in a degree proportioned to the extent, the population, and the distance of such additions. The natives must be encouraged to prefer their complaints at the Presidency, both in person and in writing. No part of our possessions, then, should be so distant as to prevent this, or to burden it with great personal inconvenience. The institutions here sketched out, had attained a high degree of practical perfection towards the end of Lord Cornwallis's administration; and we know, that at that period there was a very general impression amongst the natives, that the wisdom of the public measures corresponded with the beneficent intentions of the English government.

The limitation of the land revenue (the only productive source of taxation in India), furnished a pledge to the surrounding states of the peaceful policy of those who voluntarily abridged their resources for war. The success of the measure, indeed, depends altogether on a continuance of the same pacific system in which it originated. With a limited revenue, the utmost attention to economy becomes indispensable; and a constant struggle against the natural propensity of all governments to increase their influence and their expenses by the creation of new offices. This important political principle requires, that we should in no degree interfere in the quarrels of other governments; that we should contract no new alliances, and avoid every possible occasion of being involved in the disputes of neighbouring powers. The allies whom we are already bound by treaty to protect, the Nuabs of Oude and of Arcot, should be maintained in their authority, without being controuled in the exercise of it. In defending their territories, situated between the British dominions and those of any state from whom aggression can be contemplated, we in fact defend our own; and the sums stipulated by those chiefs, to be paid in return for this subsidiary force, enables us to support a larger and more effective army, than if limited to the resources of our own provinces.

At the risk of prolixity, we have ventured to give at some length the probable views of the Court of Directors in the measures adopted and executed by the Marquis of Cornwallis. They all proceed upon these general principles; 1st, that the British should not attempt to impose their jurisdiction over a greater portion of territory than they are capable of governing well; 2d, that this extent is limited to that within which the supreme govern-

ment

ment can exercise a strict and vigilant superintendance over the conduct of their own officers.

A partisan of the system of aggrandizement might, however, state some important observations. It is only, might he say, because we admit and admire the practical good consequences of the wise and salutary regulations you have adopted for the government of your own territories, that we are desirous of communicating the same advantages to our neighbours. Whatever relaxation in the vigour of controul may be supposed to result from the enlargement of our possessions, it cannot for a moment be disputed, that the inhabitants of the Carnatic and of Oude will be incalculable gainers by the transfer of these territories to the Company's jurisdiction. We are very far, indeed, from asserting, that this consideration alone would authorize their assumption; but it should be recollected, that the ruin into which those fertile provinces are rapidly falling, is fairly imputable to the British government. The contrast between their former flourishing condition and their present state of decline, is truly to be considered as a national reproach, not much less severe than would accrue from their forcible seizure. The despotic governments of Asia, when left to their natural course, possess at least one advantage, that the evils which they inflict are of short duration. The imbecile rulers of the Carnatic and of Oude, whose vices and incapacity have proved so detrimental to their subjects, could never have sustained the weight of government for a twelvemonth, if left to their own resources. Like the other shortlived dynasties of Asia, the descendants of Anverredin and of Safder Jung would have made way for some military adventurer, whose interest would prompt, and whose talents would enable him, to promote the prosperity of his subjects. It is because you protect them in the exercise and abuse of their undeserved authority, that the fertile regions under their misrule are condemned to decline, to wretchedness, and to ruin. We do not reproach you with not having exercised your influence to promote salutary reforms in those countries; we admit that it would have been ineffectual; and contend, that the only alternative to prevent the utter desolation of their states, is, either to withdraw your protection—when a revolution will inevitably ensue at no distant period; or to assume the reins of government yourselves. In other circumstances, it is possible we might have preferred the former alternative. But are there no considerations, at the present moment, which forbid the dereliction of provinces contiguous to our own, and so eminently contributing to their defence? Is there no foe approaching, whose arms and whose arts will prove equally formidable to your authority? If Buonaparte finds means to throw a considerable force into India,

dia, on which of the native powers can you rely for a cordial co-operation? But, admitting their inclination, in the preſent wretched ſtate of their internal reſources, which of them poſſeſſes the means of affording aſſiſtance, or even of oppoſing effectual reſiſtance to their own ſubjugation? Relinquiſhing, then, maxims which, however juſt when abſtractedly conſidered, are unſuitable to the preſent criſis, it is now become neceſſary to adopt a more energetic line of policy; to avail yourſelves of ſuch occaſions as may occur, of taking poſſeſſion of the countries moſt deſirable in a military point of view, where this can be done without obvious injuſtice; and eſtabliſhing, in the centre of the ſtates which remain, a military force ſufficient to ſecure the doubtful fidelity of their rulers. We are not blind to the ſeductions and the dangers of ſuch a ſyſtem of proceeding, and ſtill leſs to the great financial embarraſſments which this policy muſt entail on the Eaſt India Company, both at home and abroad. We admit that the revenues of the ceded territories will not for years be ſufficient to defray the expenſe of the wars which led to their ſubjugation. We only contend, that the objects in view are ſufficiently important to juſtify us in overlooking every ſubordinate conſideration.

We are perfectly indifferent whether theſe be the arguments with which the admirers of Lord Welleſley actually defend his Indian policy;—it is enough for us that they appear to be the beſt and the moſt plauſible that can be urged in its ſupport; and, giving them all due weight, the reſult of his meaſures appears to be, that we have acquired ſome facilities in defending India againſt the approach of a foreign invader; but that we are infinitely more expoſed to internal inſurrection, from the probable miſgovernment of the diſtant provinces, and the relaxed vigour of the ſupreme power in the controul and ſuperintendance of its functionaries. Lord Lauderdale conſiders all thoſe meaſures ſimply as examples of the dereliction of the policy preſcribed by the reſolutions of Parliament, and by the orders of the Court of Directors. But the votes of laſt year clearly demonſtrate, that the Houſe of Commons of 1809 entertain very different views of Indian policy from that of 1782; and that the Directors alone have been conſiſtent in the principles adopted for the government of their Indian poſſeſſions.

We come now to conſider, under the noble author's ſecond diviſion of his ſubject, the ſucceſs of the arrangement of 1793, in increaſing the export of our manufactures, and the import of raw materials.

When we look to the vaſt encouragement which has been afforded to commercial induſtry in our intercourſe with America, it is natural, perhaps, to expect that India, compriſing a much larger population,

lation, should furnish a proportional demand for our manufactures. But it should be recollected that America was peopled by Europeans; that her inhabitants have all the same wants, the same ideas of comfort, and the same notions of luxury. Their dress is composed of the same materials; their houses furnished with the same conveniences, and embellished by the same decorations; and their tables covered with the same articles as in Europe. It cannot for a moment be doubted, that if the 30 millions of human beings who inhabit the countries adjacent to the Ganges were European colonists, an immense demand would ensue for the produce of our manufacturing industry. But still, this, compared to that from America, would not be in the ratio of the population. The climate of a great part of North America resembling our own, requires, as articles of necessity, a variety of commodities, which in India would not be used even as luxuries. But the chief source of the difference is, that, in the present state of the American population, capital has hitherto been most profitably applied in agriculture. The time will undoubtedly come, when manufacturing profits will rise to a level with agricultural; the capital and labour now exclusively devoted to the latter, will be partly occupied in the former; and thus the effects of an increased population will lead to a diminution of foreign imports, by the establishment of home manufactures. The actual predicament of America proceeds from the smallness of her population compared to the extent of her territory. But India had ceased to be in that situation antecedently to the earliest historical records. The division of casts proves the early separation of agricultural labour from the industry of the manufacturer; and when Herodotus tells us, that India was in his time the most populous country then known, the division of labour might be inferred, from his statement, as a necessary consequence, even if it had not been otherwise ascertained. Even the 30 millions of European colonists whom we have supposed to occupy the space now filled by the same number of Hindus, could not subsist merely on the profits of husbandry. Such a population, on such a superficies, implies a division of capital and labour; a division, in certain proportions, between the pursuits of the husbandman and the industry of the manufacturer. The articles required by the climate, and adapted to the taste of its present inhabitants, are furnished by their own industry. To lament that they have no taste for objects which afford us gratification, is to lament that they are Hindus. But really, whilst the climate continues what it is, and whilst their domestic habits remain unaltered, the sale of broad cloth and hardware must unavoidably be extremely limited.

We

We have felt it necessary to premise these few observations, because the noble author of the publication before us, appears not to have considered this subject with his usual accuracy.

'Before the acquisition of the territorial possessions,' says the Earl of Lauderdale, 'the East India Company conducted their commerce by exporting articles from Europe, for which there existed a demand in the East, and importing the manufactures of India best suited to the taste of their European customers.

'It is true, that India never afforded a great demand for British manufactures; for bullion, even in those times, formed the main article of export. But as gold and silver are not of British growth, and could only be acquired in return for our produce, the markets of India indirectly gave rise to a demand for goods of our manufacture, in value equivalent to those we imported.

'But by the acquisition of our territories in the East, this system was completely interrupted. The large surplus revenue which the Company enjoyed when it first acquired the territorial possession, in value far greater than both the goods and the bullion it had been accustomed to export, at once furnished means of supplying the British market with Indian produce, independent of all export from Europe. There was no longer any exchange of commodities; nothing was given by this country in return for what it annually took away.' Again, 'It would be idle to enter into detailed explanations, to point out the obvious tendency of such an intercourse to inflict irretrievable ruin on the country subjected to it; and he who knows that demand, in the mercantile sense of the word, implies not a mere wish or desire to possess, but a desire of possessing combined with the means of acquiring, will readily perceive how impossible it is, that, under such a system, their should exist a demand for the produce of British industry.'

Now, we have just two remarks to make on the doctrine contained in these passages. The first is, that though the sum and substance of the argument is, that the East India Company have no inducement to export British manufactures, because their surplus revenue supplies an ample fund for their home investments; yet the result of Lord Lauderdale's subsequent statement is, that now they have no surplus revenue whatever. With what propriety, then, can it be affirmed, that, with an immense debt to discharge in India, and under the necessity of providing an investment without adequate funds, they have no inducement to export any manufactures that would bring a profit in that country? The motives for increased exportation, on the contrary, are great and obvious. It would conciliate the manufacturing interest; it would fill up the vacant tonnage on the outward voyage; it would supply with profit in India the capital required for the home investment. If no imaginable motive can be assigned for the Directors neglecting these obvious

obvious advantages, it must in fair reasoning be admitted, that if their exportations be so limited, it can only be because the demand is so.

Our second observation is, that when Lord Lauderdale represented India as so impoverished by the nature of the trade carried on by the East India Company, as not to be able to purchase those manufactures which might in other circumstances be disposed of, his Lordship must certainly have forgotten his own preceding statement, that, anterior to the acquisition of the Dewanni, when the situation of India was confessedly highly flourishing, that country 'never afforded a great demand for British manufactures.'

Our own conviction undoubtedly is, that the enterprize of individual merchants, and that minute attention to small advantages, which is incompatible with the extent of the Company's concerns, might increase, although in a very limited degree, the quantity of our exports; but that nothing short of an European colonization can produce that effect to any considerable extent. With regard to the manufactured produce of India in the European market, it has now to sustain the competition of our own manufactures brought to an unrivalled degree of perfection: the raw produce has, in many instances, to contend against the interests of the West India planters; and both suffer by the exclusion from foreign markets, which tends to throw an undue proportion of this trade into the hands of the Americans.

But it has been said, who forces the Company to contend against all those disadvantages? Why will they not relinquish to the wishes and the enterprize of their countrymen, a traffic which they admit to be unprofitable to them? In answer to this, it certainly might be suggested, that the East India Company are no longer to be considered merely as a commercial body; and that when they acquired the Dewanny grant, the Directors exchanged high commercial profits on a small capital, for very moderate profits on a large one, accompanied by power and patronage.—But, to consider the subject merely on commercial principles. The rate of their profits concerns only themselves. What concerns the public, is to know whether the aggregate amount of the exports and imports to and from India be as great, or greater, and whether the prices be as low, or lower, than they would be, if the trade was thrown open. Now, it is universally known, that the Company, by the conditions of their charter, are obliged to *export* British manufactures to a greater amount than they can advantageously dispose of. This, private speculators would never think of. The necessity of providing funds for a half yearly dividend also compels the Company to *import* goods to a greater

amount than can be sold for a profit. Individual traders would be under no such necessity. After making every possible allowance, therefore, for superior activity, for stricter economy, and for more attention to minutiæ of every kind, it is obvious that the great advantage the private trader would possess, would be, that, unfettered in his operations, he would be left at liberty to adapt his speculations to the state of the markets. But this, although it may be the interest of the trader, is not that of the public. The public interest requires the greatest possible exportation and importation. The interest of the manufacturer, is to dispose of as much of the commodity in which he deals as possible;—that of the consumer, to obtain foreign commodities at the cheapest rate;—that of the private trader, to export and import only the quantity which can be disposed of at an advantageous rate of profit. The activity, industry, and frugality, of individual speculators would overcome none of the important obstacles to the extension of the Indian trade. They would not inspire Hindus with a taste for European luxuries; they would not diminish the skill of the English manufacturer, nor induce Buonaparte to open the ports of the Continent to Indian produce. Some years' experience, and many commercial failures, would probably be necessary to teach ardent speculators the extent of the markets at home and abroad; but, subsequently to this dear-bought discovery, the trade would probably subside within its antient limits, before the acquisition of the Dewanni: and, instead of very moderate profits on an immense capital, the traders to India would again reap a very high rate of profit on a small one. It is not difficult to decide which of these is most for the public advantage, nor which for that of the individual speculator.

We come now, in the *last* place, to consider the noble author's view of the failure in effecting the objects to which the profits of the Company were by law appropriated.

Under this head, Lord Lauderdale exhibits, in a perspicuous series, the splendid views of future financial prosperity, annually exhibited by Lord Melville, and by his successors in the Board of Controul, and contrasts them with the real result. Instead of the extinction of the Indian debt, the annual payment to government of 500,000*l.*, and the accumulation of a fund of twelve millions, as a security for their capital, the Company's debts have increased to the enormous sum of thirty-two millions; and no one of the purposes, contemplated by the act 1793, has yet been effected. In this part of his subject, many of our author's remarks have been anticipated by the Court of Directors, who were far from acquiescing, at any time, in the sanguine views of the President of the Board of Controul. The statements of Lord Melville, indeed, were all founded on the supposition of a continuance of

peace; but, certainly, the recent deſpatches from India, previouſly to his celebrated letter of June 1801, did not warrant any ſuch aſſumption. How far the brilliant proſpects which it exhibits, would have been realized, even if this had been the caſe, it is now impoſſible to aſcertain, and uſeleſs to inquire.

When the Marquis of Welleſley aſſumed the government of India, the debts of the Company at home and abroad amounted to ſixteen millions, and their territorial revenues to eight millions. At preſent the former has riſen to thirty-two millions, and the latter to fifteen. The accumulation of debt, and the additional revenue may both be fairly conſidered as the reſult of that nobleman's meaſures. Now, it cannot be denied, we conceive, that thoſe meaſures have been completely ſucceſsful. Juſt or unjuſt, politic or impolitic, all the objects which his Lordſhip had in view have at any rate been fully attained. Neither do we ſee any reaſon to imagine that Lord Welleſley miſcalculated the expenditure reſulting from the ſyſtem he purſued; or that he at any time imagined that his objects were attainable, without producing moſt of the conſequences which have enſued. Now, upon this ſuppoſition, the following dilemma is inevitable:—either Lord Welleſley's meaſures were expedient, or they were inexpedient. By thoſe who maintain the former opinion, the affairs of the Eaſt India Company muſt be conſidered as at this moment in a very flouriſhing condition; ſince their preſent financial embarraſſments are only the eſtimated price of the great political objects which have thus been accompliſhed. They may add, (though, we fear, with more plauſibility than juſtice), that the proportion between the Company's debts and their territorial revenues, is not materially altered. But they may ſurely aſſert, with truth, that neither an individual, nor a public body, can be conſidered as ruined, whoſe whole debts are confeſſedly leſs than the aggregate of his revenue for three years. The finances of Britain furniſh no grounds of abſolute deſpondency to the minds of our ſtateſmen of either party; yet the proportion which her public debt bears to her annual income, is infinitely more formidable. On the other hand, thoſe who condemn Lord Welleſley's Indian policy, only cenſure what the Court of Directors have diſapproved. They muſt therefore admit, that, of all public bodies, the Directors alone have been conſiſtent in maintaining juſt, moderate and rational principles, for the government of our Indian poſſeſſions. From experience of the fact, they muſt allow, that his Majeſty's miniſters are leſs likely to maintain ſuch principles; and, from the frequent changes of men and meaſures, it may be fairly inferred, that they are not very likely to purſue conſiſtent plans of any kind.

If we have been ſucceſsful in conveying our own ideas to the

minds of our readers, they will now be at no loss to reply to the queries with which we set out. They will probably be of opinion, that the hopes held out to the nation by Lord Melville were much too sanguine, even on the improbable supposition of a long continuance of peace; but that the adoption of a system diametrically opposite to that assumed in his calculations, led unavoidably to the total failure of all his magnificent predictions.

It is impossible to contemplate the actual posture of affairs in India, without feelings of the most painful anxiety and regret. A great part of this naturally proceeds from the approaching expiration of the Company's charter, during a period of great political and commercial embarrassment. The task of legislating for sixty millions of Asiatic subjects, is about to devolve on the representatives of the counties and boroughs of England,—on a body composed of men eminently skilled indeed in general principles, but altogether unacquainted with the circumstances which should, in the present case, limit their application. It is to be hoped that the statesmen, to whose lot it may fall to decide a question of such awful magnitude, will approach it without prejudice, and without prepossession,—without any wish to catch an ephemeral popularity, and equally uninfluenced by the dread of innovation on the one hand, and the cry of monopoly on the other.

Every benevolent mind surveying, on the spot, the fair and apparently solid fabrick reared by that truly patriotic nobleman, the Marquis of Cornwallis, for the happy and indissoluble union of two distant nations, must have exclaimed, 'Esto perpetua!' The simple principle on which he proceeded was, that each nation should submit to a limitation of all privileges that might, in their exercise, be productive of disunion. But the government of this country has hitherto appeared little aware of the delicate and uncertain tenure by which we hold the dominion of that great and extraordinary region. We have seen one commander in chief occasion a sanguinary conspiracy, for the truly important purpose of effecting a change in the dress of the Sepoys: and if we may adopt Lord Minto's statement, his successor has produced a far more general disaffecion, in order to obtain political influence, or to revenge himself for the want of it. A continuation of such appointments will very soon spare us the trouble of legislating for India; and the public should know, that our trade with that country will not survive for a day our political existence as its rulers; and that the lives of our countrymen on the spot will, in all human probability, be sacrificed in the explosion.

The people of England appear to consider the Hindus as a dull phlegmatic race, little to be moved either by good or by bad treatment, and whose weakly frames and dastardly spirits would shrink from

from resistance, under any extremity of condition. We can affirm, on the warrant of a very extensive intercourse, that, if any Englishman, who has at all conversed with them, entertains these opinions, that person has never penetrated the veil of ceremony which envelops the Hindu in the presence of strangers. Corporeal debility may be justly predicated of the inhabitants of Bengal proper; and of them *only* of the whole Indian population. Let those officers who have led to victory the youth of the upper provinces, enrolled under the Company's standard, say, whether they wanted courage to adopt, or strength to execute, the orders of their commanders! From an extensive and very intimate knowledge of their character and habits we venture to assert, and challenge contradiction, that the Hindus are an extremely volatile race, full of sensibility, powerfully affected by kind usage; and, with whatever dexterity it may be concealed, easily and permanently disgusted by the contrary. To conclude, they are, of all the people we have ever known, the most capable of adopting desperate resolutions. To such forms, and to such evils of despotism, as they were accustomed to under the Moslem government, but to those only, they submit with great resignation; and it is to this circumstance, chiefly, we presume, that they are indebted for the opinion entertained of them in Europe.

We have already stated our conviction, that the same day which terminates our political power in India, will put a period to all our intercourse with that country. To maintain the former, a wise government is much more necessary than a strong army. An army composed of British troops may be sufficiently numerous to subdue, but must be altogether inadequate to retain it, against the inclinations of the people. It were useless here to state the essentials of good government. The first is, undoubtedly, an intelligent, vigilant, and incorruptible administration of justice. But as, in all countries (but one) the weak are in some degree exposed to oppression from the powerful, we must be careful that those who are thus tempted are, in as few instances as possible, our countrymen; and that, in every district throughout the British territories, no Englishman shall appear in any other character than that of a redresser of grievances; a protector from the violence of the sufferer's *own* countrymen. To attain these objects, an establishment similar to the Company's civil service is, under any change of system, indispensable; since there is no other system by which we can be assured that no individual shall fill an office of trust, who, by a long residence in India, through a gradation of subordinate employments, shall not have obtained a competent knowledge of the laws, manners, and languages of the people he is destined to rule. But it does not appear that this primary ob-

ject can be better attained, nor the perhaps still more essential one, of excluding private European settlers from the interior of India, more effectually or less invidiously accomplished, than through the medium of the East India Company. In the same manner, the necessity of the officer speaking the language of his men, will at all times prevent the Indian army from being completely incorporated with the King's.

Our foreign politics, as connected with the native governments of India, were never very complicated; and the operations of Lord Wellesley have had a wonderful effect in simplifying them. It is the interior polity of our own immense empire that will deserve and require the full attention of his Majesty's ministers, if the Company be annihilated. Without practical experience, and destitute of local knowledge, we have no hesitation in declaring that the most penetrating European statesman must be utterly incapable even of conjecturing the effect of any regulation proposed to him, for the internal government of that vast empire. How this difficulty is to be obviated,—and how a consistent and undeviating line of policy, combining unity of principle and object, which is essential in all governments, but supremely so, in that of a distant empire, is to be obtained, amidst the frequent changes of his Majesty's councils,—are questions deserving the attention of all who desire to perpetuate the connexion between India and England. When these important points are disposed of, it will be time to attend to the commercial argument—to discriminate between the most that may be plausibly demanded, and what may be conceded, without the hazard of incurring more serious evils than the renewal of the East India Company's monopoly.

ART. II. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Victor Alfieri.* Written by Himself. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 614. London, 1810.

THIS book contains the delineation of an extraordinary and not very engaging character; and an imperfect sketch of the rise and progress of a great poetical genius. It is deserving of notice in both capacities; but chiefly in the first,—as there probably never was an instance in which the works of an author were more likely to be influenced by his personal peculiarities. Pride and enthusiasm—irrepressible vehemence and ambition—and an arrogant, fastidious, and somewhat narrow system of taste and opinions, were the great leading features in the mind of Alfieri. Strengthened, and in some degree produced, by a loose and injudicious education, those traits were still further developed by the premature and protracted indulgences of a very dissipated youth; and when, at last,

last, they admitted of an application to study, imparted their own character of impetuosity to those more meritorious exertions;—converted a taste into a pasion; and left him, for a great part of his life, under the influence of a true and irresistible inspiration. Every thing in him, indeed, appears to have been passion and ungoverned impulse; and, while he was raised above the common level of his degenerate countrymen by a stern and selfwilled haughtiness, that would have better become an antient Roman, he was chiefly distinguished from other erect spirits, by the vehemence which formed the basis of his character, and by the uncontrouled dominion which he allowed to his various and successive propensities. So constantly and entirely, indeed, was he under the influence of these domineering attachments, that his whole life and character might be summed up by describing him as the victim of a passion for horses—a passion for travelling—a passion for literature—and a passion for what he called independence.

The memoirs of such a life, and the confessions of such a man, seem to hold out a promise of no common interest and amusement. Yet, though they are here presented to us with considerable fulness and apparent fidelity, we cannot say that we have been much amused or interested by the perusal. There is a proud coldness in the narrative, which neither invites sympathy, nor flatters the imagination. The author seems to disdain giving himself *en spectacle* to his readers; and chronicles his various acts of extravagance and fits of passion, with a sober and languid gravity, to which we can recollect no parallel. In this review of the events and feelings of a life of adventure and agitation, he is never once betrayed into the language of emotion; but dwells on the scenes of his childhood without tenderness, and on the struggles and tumults of his riper years without any sort of animation. We look in vain through the whole narrative for one gleam of that magical eloquence by which Rousseau transports us into the scenes he describes, and into the heart which responded to these scenes,—or even for a trait of that sociable garrulity which has enabled Marmontel and Cumberland to give a grace to obsolete anecdote, and to people the whole space around them with living pictures of the beings among whom they existed. There is not one character attempted from beginning to end of this biography,—which is neither lively, in short, nor eloquent—neither playful, impassioned, nor sarcastic. Neither is it a mere unassuming outline of the author's history and publications, like the short notices of Hume or Smith. It is, on the contrary, a pretty copious and minute narrative of all his feelings and adventures; and contains, as we should suppose, a tolerably accurate enumeration of his migrations, prejudices and antipathies. It is not that he does not condescend to talk about trifling things,

but that he will not talk about them in a lively or interesting manner; and systematically declines investing any part of his statement with those picturesque details, and that warm colouring, by which alone the story of an individual can often excite much interest among strangers. Though we have not been able to see the original of these Memoirs, we will venture to add, that they are by no means well written, and that they will form no exception to the general observation, that almost all Italian prose is feeble and deficient in precision. There is something, indeed, quite remarkable in the wordiness of most of the modern writers in this language,—the very copiousness and smoothness of which seems to form an apology for the want of force or exactness—and to hide, with its sweet and uniform flow, both from the writer and the reader, that penury of thought, and looseness of reasoning, which are so easily detected when it is rendered into a harsher dialect. Unsatisfactory, however, as they are in many particulars, it is still impossible to peruse the memoirs of such a man as Alfieri without some interest and gratification. The traits of ardour and originality that are disclosed through all the reserve and gravity of the style, beget a continual expectation and curiosity; and even those parts of his story which seem to belong rather to his youth, rank and education, than to his genius or peculiar character, acquire a degree of importance, from considering how far these very circumstances may have assisted the formation, and obstructed the development of that character and genius; and in what respects its peculiarities may be referred to the obstacles it had to encounter, in misguidance, passion and prejudice.

Alfieri was born at Asti, in Piedmont, of noble and rich, but illiterate parents, in January 1749. The history of his childhood, which fills five chapters, contains nothing very remarkable. The earliest thing he remembers, is being fed with sweetmeats by an old uncle with square-toed shoes. He was educated at home by a good-natured stupid priest; and having no brother of his own age, was without any friend or companion for the greater part of his childhood. When about seven years old, he falls in love with the smooth faces of some male novices in a neighbouring church; and is obliged to walk about with a green net on his hair, as a punishment for fibbing. To the agony which he endured from this infliction, he ascribes his scrupulous adherence to truth through the rest of his life;—all this notwithstanding, he is tempted to steal a fan from an old lady in the family, and grows silent, melancholy, and reserved.—At last, when about ten years of age, he is sent to the academy at Turin.

This migration adds but little to the interest of the narrative, or the improvement of the writer. The academy was a great, ill-

regulated

regulated eſtabliſhment; in one quarter of which the pages of the Court, and foreigners of diſtinction, were indulged in every ſort of diſſipation,—while the younger pupils were ſtowed into filthy cells, ill fed, and worſe educated. There he learned a little Latin, and tried, in vain, to acquire the elements of mathematics; for, after the painful application of ſeveral months, he was never able to comprehend the fourth propoſition of Euclid; and found, he ſays, all his life after, that he had 'a completely anti-geometrical head.' From the bad diet, and prepoſterouſly early hours of the academy, he ſoon fell into wretched health, and, growing more melancholy and ſolitary than ever, became covered over with ſores and ulcers. Even in this ſituation, however, a little glimmering of literary ambition became viſible. He procured a copy of Arioſto from a voracious ſchoolfellow, by giving up to him his ſhare of the chickens which formed their Sunday regale; and read Metaſtaſio and Gil Blas with great ardour and delight. The inflammability of his imagination, however, was more ſtrikingly manifeſted in the effects of the firſt opera to which he was admitted, when he was only about twelve years of age.

'This varied and enchanting music,' he obſerves, 'ſunk deep into my ſoul, and made the most aſtoniſhing impreſſion on my imagination;—it agitated the inmoſt receſſes of my heart to ſuch a degree, that for ſeveral weeks I experienced the moſt profound melancholy, which was not, however, wholly unattended with pleaſure. I became tired and diſguſted with my ſtudies, while at the ſame time the moſt wild and whimſical ideas took ſuch poſſeſſion of my mind, as would have led me to pourtray them in the moſt impaſſioned verſes, had I not been wholly unacquainted with the true nature of my own feelings. It was the firſt time muſic had produced ſuch a powerful effect on my mind. I had never experienced any thing ſimilar, and it long remained engraven on my memory. When I recollect the feelings excited by the repreſentation of the grand operas, at which I was preſent during ſeveral carnivals, and compare them with thoſe which I now experience, on returning from the performance of a piece I have not witneſſed for ſome time, I am fully convinced that nothing acts ſo powerfully on my mind as all ſpecies of muſic, and particularly the ſound of female voices, and of *contro-alto*. Nothing excites more various or terrific ſenſations in my mind. Thus the plots of the greateſt number of my tragedies were either formed, while liſtening to muſic, or a few hours afterwards.' p. 71—73.

With this tragic and Italian paſſion for muſic, he had a ſovereign contempt and abhorrence for dancing. His own account of the origin of this antipathy, and of the firſt riſe of thoſe national prejudices, which he never afterwards made any effort to overcome, is among the moſt ſtriking and characteriſtic paſſages in the earlier part of the ſtory.

'To the natural hatred I had to dancing, was joined an invincible

antipathy towards my master—a Frenchman newly arrived from Paris. He possessed a certain air of polite assurance; which, joined to his ridiculous motions and absurd discourse, greatly increased the innate aversion I felt towards this frivolous art. So unconquerable was this aversion, that, after leaving school, I could never be prevailed on to join in any dance whatever. The very name of this amusement makes me shudder and laugh at the same time—a circumstance which is by no means unusual with me. I attribute, in a great measure, to this dancing-master the unfavourable, and perhaps erroneous, opinion I have formed of the French people, who, nevertheless, it must be confessed, possess many agreeable and estimable qualities: but it is difficult to weaken or efface impressions received in early youth. Reason lessens their influence as we advance in life; yet it is necessary to watch over ourselves, in order to judge without passion, and we are frequently so unfortunate as not to succeed. Two other causes also contributed to render me from my infancy disgusted with the French character. The first was the impression made on my mind by the sight of those ladies who accompanied the Dutchess of Parma in her journey to Asti, and were all bedaubed with rouge,—the use of which was then exclusively confined to the French. I have frequently mentioned this circumstance several years afterwards, not being able to account for such an absurd and ridiculous practice, which is wholly at variance with nature; for when either sick, intoxicated, or from any other cause, human beings besmear themselves with this detestable rouge,—they carefully conceal it, well knowing that, when discovered, it only excites the laughter or pity of the beholders. These painted French figures left a deep and lasting impression on my mind, and inspired me with a certain feeling of disgust towards the females of this nation.

'From my geographical studies resulted another cause of antipathy to that nation. Having seen on the chart the great difference in extent and population between England or Prussia and France, and hearing every time news arrived from the armies that the French had been beaten by sea and land;—recalling to mind the first ideas of my infancy, during which I was told that the French had frequently been in possession of Asti, and that during the last time they had suffered themselves to be taken prisoners to the number of six or seven thousand, without resistance, after conducting themselves while they remained in possession of the place with the greatest insolence and tyranny;—all these different circumstances being associated with the idea of the ridiculous dancing-master, tended more and more to rivet in my mind an aversion to the French nation.' p. 83–86.

At the early age of fourteen, Alfieri was put in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of his fortune; and launched immediately into every ſort of faſhionable folly and extravagance. His paſſion for horſes, from which he was never entirely emancipated, now took entire poſſeſſion of his ſoul; and his days were ſpent in gallopping up and down the environs of Turin, in company chiefly with the

the young English who were resident in that capital. From this society, and these exercises, he soon derived such improvement, that in a short time he became by far the most skilful jockey, farrier, and coachman, that modern Italy could boast of producing.

For ten or twelve years after this period, the life of Alfieri presents a most humiliating, but instructive picture of idleness, dissipation and *ennui*. It is the finest and most flattering illustration of Miss Edgeworth's admirable tale of Lord Glenthorn; and, indeed, rather outgoes than falls short of that high-coloured and apparently exaggerated representation. Such, indeed, is the coincidence between the traits of the fictitious and the real character, that if these Memoirs had been published when Miss Edgeworth's story was written, it would have been impossible not to suppose that she had derived from them every thing that is striking and extraordinary in her narrative. For two or three years, Alfieri contented himself with running, restless and discontented, over the different states and cities of Italy, almost ignorant of its language, and utterly indifferent both to its literature and its arts. Consumed, at every moment of inaction, with the most oppressive discontent and unhappiness, he had no relief but in the velocity of his movements and the rapidity of his transitions. Disappointed with every thing, and believing himself incapable of application or reflection, he passed his days in a perpetual fever of impatience and dissipation;—apparently pursuing enjoyment with an eagerness which was in reality inspired by the vain hope of escaping from misery. There is much general truth, as well as peculiar character, in the following simple confession.

'In spite, however, of this constant whirl of dissipation, my being master of my own actions; notwithstanding I had plenty of money, was in the heyday of youth, and possessed a prepossessing figure; I yet felt every where satiety, ennui and disgust. My greatest pleasure consisted in attending the opera buffa, though the gay and lively music left a deep and melancholy impression on my mind. A thousand gloomy and mournful ideas assailed my imagination, in which I delighted to indulge by wandering alone on the shores near the Chiaja and Portici.' I. 128.

When he gets to Venice, things are, if possible, still worse,—though, like other hypochondriacs, he is disposed to lay the blame on the winds and the weather. The tumult of the carnival kept him alive, it seems, for a few days.

'But no sooner was the novelty over, than my habitual melancholy and ennui returned. I passed several days together in complete solitude, never leaving the house, nor stirring from the window, whence I made signs to a young lady who lodged opposite, and with whom I occasionally exchanged a few words. During the rest of the day, which hung very heavy on my hands, I passed my time

time either in sleeping or in dreaming, I knew not which, and frequently in weeping without any apparent motive. I had lost my tranquillity, and I was unable even to divine what had deprived me of it. A few years afterwards, on investigating the cause of this occurrence, I discovered that it proceeded from a malady which attacked me every spring, sometimes in April, and sometimes in June: its duration was longer or shorter, and its violence very different, according as my mind was occupied.

'I likewise experienced that my intellectual faculties resembled a barometer, and that I possessed more or less talent for composition, in proportion to the weight of the atmosphere. During the prevalence of the solstitial and equinoctial winds, I was always remarkably stupid, and uniformly evinced less penetration in the evening than the morning. I likewise perceived that the force of my imagination, the ardour of enthusiasm, and capability of invention, were possessed by me in a higher degree in the middle of winter, or in the middle of summer, than during the intermediate periods. This materiality, which I believe to be common to all men of a delicate nervous system, has greatly contributed to lessen the pride with which the good I have done might have inspired me, in like manner as it has tended to diminish the shame I might have felt for the errors I have committed, particularly in my own art.' I. 140—142.

In his nineteenth year, he extends his travels to France, and stops a few weeks at Marseilles, where he passed his evenings exactly as Lord Glenthorn is represented to have done his at his Irish castle. To help away the hours, he went every night to the play, although his Italian ears were disgusted with the poverty of the recitation; and,

—'after the performance was over, it was my regular practice to bathe every evening in the sea. I was induced to indulge myself in this luxury, in consequence of finding a very agreeable spot, on a tongue of land lying to the right of the harbour, where, seated on the sand, with my back leaning against a rock, I could behold the sea and sky without interruption. In the contemplation of these objects, embellished by the rays of the setting sun, I passed my time dreaming of future delights.' I. 150, 151.

In a very short time, however, these reveries became intolerable; and he very nearly killed himself and his horses in rushing, with incredible velocity, to Paris. This is his own account of the impression which was made upon him by his first sight of this brilliant metropolis.

'It was on a cold, cloudy, and rainy morning, between the 15th and 20th of August, that I entered Paris, by the wretched suburb of Saint Marceau. Accustomed to the clear and serene sky of Italy and Provence, I felt much surprised at the thick fog which enveloped the city, especially at this season. Never in my life did I experience more disagreeable feelings than on entering the damp and dirty suburb

suburb of Saint Germain, where I was to take up my lodging. What inconsiderate haste, what mad folly had led me into this sink of filth and nastiness! On entering the inn, I felt myself thoroughly undeceived; and I should certainly have set off again immediately, had not shame and fatigue withheld me. My illusions were still further dissipated when I began to ramble through Paris. The mean and wretched buildings; the contemptible ostentation displayed in a few houses dignified with the pompous appellation of hotels and palaces; the filthiness of the Gothic churches; the truly Vandal-like construction of the public theatres at that time, besides innumerable other disagreeable objects, of which not the least disgusting to me was the plastered countenances of many very ugly women, far outweighed in my mind the beauty and elegance of the public walks and gardens, the infinite variety of fine carriages, the lofty façade of the Louvre, as well as the number of spectacles and entertainments of every kind.' I. 153, 154.

There, then, as was naturally to be expected, he again found himself tormented 'by the demon of melancholy;' and, after trying in vain the boasted stimulant of play, he speedily grew wearied of the place and all its amusements, and resolved to set off, without delay, for England. To England, accordingly, he goes, at midwinter; and with such a characteristic and compassionable craving for all sorts of powerful sensations, that 'he rejoiced exceedingly at the extreme cold, which actually froze the wine and bread in his carriage during a part of the journey.' Prepared, as he was, for disappointment, by the continual extravagance of his expectation, Alfieri was delighted with England. 'The roads, the inns, the horses, and, above all, the incessant bustle in the suburbs, as well as in the capital, all conspired to fill my mind with delight.' He passed a part of the winter in good society in London; but soon 'becoming disgusted with assemblies and routs, determined no longer to play the lord in the drawing-room, but *the coachman* at the gate:' and accordingly contrived to get through three laborious months, by being 'five or six hours every morning on horseback, and being seated on the coachbox for two or three hours every evening, whatever was the state of the weather.' Even these great and meritorious exertions, however, could not long keep down his inveterate malady, nor quell the evil spirit that possessed him; and he was driven to make a hasty tour through the west of England, which appears to have afforded him very considerable relief.

'The country then so much enchanted me that I determined to settle in it; not that I was much attached to any individual, but because I was delighted with the scenery, the simple manners of the inhabitants, the modesty and beauty of the women, and, above all, with the enjoyment of political liberty,—all which made me overlook its

its mutable climate, the melancholy almost inseparable from it, and the exorbitant price of all the necessaries of life.' I. 162, 163.

Scarcely, however, was this bold resolution of *settling* adopted, when the author is again 'seized with the mania of travelling;' and skims over to Holland in the beginning of summer. And here he is still more effectually diverted than ever, by falling in love with a young married lady at the Hague, who was obliging enough to return his affection. Circumstances, however, at last compel the fair one to rejoin her husband in Switzerland; and the impetuous Italian is affected with such violent despair, that he makes a desparate attempt on his life, by taking off the bandages after being let blood; and returns sullenly to Italy, without stopping to look at any thing, or uttering a single word to his servant during the whole course of the journey.

This violent fit of depression, however, and the seclusion by which it was followed, led him, for the first time, to look into his books; and the perusal of the lives of Plutarch seems to have made such an impression on his ardent and susceptible spirit, that a passion for liberty and independence now took the lead of every other in his soul, and he became for life an emulator of the antient republicans. He read the story of Timoleon, Brutus, &c., he assures us, with floods of tears, and agonies of admiration. 'I was like one beside himself, and shed tears of mingled grief and rage at having been born at Piedmont, and at a period, and under a government, where it was impossible to conceive or execute any great design.' The same sentiment, indeed, seems to have haunted him for the greater part of his life; and is expressed in many passages of these Memoirs besides the following.

'Having lived two or three years almost wholly among the English; having heard their power and riches every where celebrated; having contemplated their great political influence, and on the other hand viewing Italy wholly degraded from her rank as a nation, and the Italians, divided, weak, and enslaved, I was ashamed of being an Italian, and wished not to possess any thing in common with this nation.' I. p. 121.

'I was naturally attached to a domestic life; but after having visited England at nineteen, and read Plutarch with the greatest interest at twenty years of age, I experienced the most insufferable repugnance at marrying and having my children born at Turin.' I. p. 175.

The time, however, was not yet come when study was to ballast and anchor this agitated spirit. Plutarch was soon thrown aside; and the patriot and his horses gallop off to Vienna. The state of his mind, both as to idleness and politics, is strikingly represented in the following short passage.

'I

'I might easily, during my stay at Vienna, have been introduced to the celebrated poet Metastasio, at whose house our minister, the old and respectable Count Canale, passed his evenings in a select company of men of letters, whose chief amusement consisted in reading portions from the Greek, Latin and Italian classics. Having taken an affection for me, he wished, out of pity to my idleness, to conduct me thither. But I declined accompanying him, either from my usual awkwardness, or from the contempt which the constant habit of reading French works had given me for Italian productions. Hence I concluded, that this assemblage of men of letters, with their classics, would be only a dismal company of pedants. Besides, I had seen Metastasio, in the gardens of Schoenbrunn, perform the customary genuflexion to Maria Theresa in such a servile and adulatory manner, that I, who had my head stuffed with Plutarch, and who embellished every theory, could not think of binding myself, either by the ties of familiarity or friendship, with a poet who had sold himself to a despotism which I so cordially detested.' I. p. 182, 183.

From Vienna he flew to Prussia, which, he says, looked all like one great guardhouse; and where he could not repress 'the horror and indignation he felt at beholding oppression and despotism assuming the mask of virtue.' From Prussia he passed on to Denmark; where his health was seriously affected by the profligacy in which he indulged; and where the only amusement he could relish, consisted in 'driving a sledge with inconceivable velocity over the snow.' In this way he wandered on through Sweden and Finland to Russia; and experienced, as usual, a miserable disappointment on arriving at St Petersburg.

'Alas! no sooner had I reached this Asiatic assemblage of wooden huts, than Rome, Genoa, Venice, and Florence, rose to my recollection; and I could not refrain from laughing. What I afterwards saw of this country tended still more strongly to confirm my first impression, that it merited not to be seen. Every thing, except their beards and their horses, disgusted me so much, that, during six weeks I remained among these savages, I wished not to become acquainted with any one, nor even to see the two or three youths with whom I had associated at Turin, and who were descended from the first families of the country. I took no measure to be presented to the celebrated Autocratrix Catharine II.; nor did I even behold the countenance of a sovereign who in our days has outstripped fame. On investigating, at a future period, the reason of such extraordinary conduct, I became convinced that it proceeded from a certain intolerance of character, and a hatred to every species of tyranny, and which in this particular instance attached itself to a person suspected of the most horrible crime—the murder of a defenceless husband.' I. p. 194, 195.

This rage for liberty continued to possess him in his return through

through Prussia, and really seems to have reached its acmé when it dictated the following most preposterous passage,—which, we cannot help suspecting, is indebted for part of its absurdity to the translator.

'I visited Zorndorff, a spot rendered famous by the sanguinary battle fought between the Russians and Prussians, where thousands of men on both sides were immolated on the altar of despotism, and thus escaped from the galling yoke which oppressed them. The place of their interment was easily recognized by its greater verdure, and by yielding more abundant crops than the barren and unproductive soil in its immediate vicinity. *On this occasion, I reflected with sorrow, that slaves seem every where only born to fertilize the soil on which they vegetate.*' I. 196, 197.

After this he meets with a beautiful *ass* at Gottingen, and regrets that his indolence prevented him from availing himself of this excellent opportunity for writing some immeasurably facetious verses 'upon this recounter of a German and an Italian ass in so celebrated an university!' After a hasty expedition to Spa, he again traverses Germany and Holland, and returns to England in the twenty-third year of his age; where he is speedily involved in some very distressing and discreditable adventures. He engages in an intrigue with an English lady of rank, and is challenged and slightly wounded by her husband. After this eclat, he consoles himself with the thought of marrying the frail fair, with whom he is, as usual, most heroically in love; when he discovers, to his infinite horror and consternation, that, previous to her connexion with him, she had been equally lavish of her favours to her husband's *groom*, whose jealous resentment led him to watch and expose this new infidelity. After many struggles between shame, resentment, and unconquerable love, he at last tears himself from this sad sample of English virtue, and makes his way to Holland, bursting with grief and indignation; but without seeming to think that there was the slightest occasion for any degree of contrition or self-condemnation. From Holland he goes to France, and from France to Spain—as idle, and more oppressed with himself than ever—buying and caressing Andalusian horses, and constantly ready to sink under the heavy burden of existence. At Madrid he has set down an extraordinary trait of the dangerous impetuosity of his temper. His faithful servant, in combing his hair, happened accidentally to give him a little pain by stretching one hair a little more than the rest, upon which, without saying one word, he first seized a candlestick, and felled him to the ground with a huge wound in his temple, and then drew his sword to despatch him, upon his offering to make some resistance. The sequel of the story is somewhat

what more creditable to his magnanimity, than this part of it is to his self-command.

'I was shocked at the brutal excess of passion into which I had fallen. Though Elias was somewhat calmed, he still appeared to retain a certain degree of resentment; yet I was not disposed to display towards him the smallest distrust. Two hours after his wound was dressed I went to bed, leaving the door open, as usual, between my apartment and the chamber in which he slept; notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Spaniards, who pointed out to me the absurdity of putting vengeance in the power of a man whom I had so much irritated. I said even aloud to Elias, who was already in bed, that he might kill me if he was so inclined during the night; and that I justly merited such a fate. But this brave man, who possessed as much elevation of soul as myself, took no other revenge for my outrageous conduct, except preserving for several years two handkerchiefs stained with blood which had been bound round his head, and which he occasionally displayed to my view. It is necessary to be fully acquainted with the character and manners of the Piedmontese, in order to comprehend the mixture of ferocity and generosity displayed on both sides in this affair.

'When at a more mature age, I endeavoured to discover the cause of this violent transport of rage. I became convinced that the trivial circumstance which gave rise to it, was, so to speak, like the last drop poured into a vessel ready to run over. My irascible temper, which must have been rendered still more irritable by solitude and perpetual idleness, required only the slightest impulse to cause it to burst forth. Besides, I never lifted a hand against a domestic, as that would have been putting them on a level with myself. Neither did I ever employ a cane, nor any kind of weapon, in order to chastise them, though I frequently threw at them any moveable that fell in my way, as many young people do, during the first ebullitions of anger; yet I dare to affirm that I would have approved, and even esteemed the domestic who should on such occasions have rendered me back the treatment he received, since I never punished them as a master, but only contended with them as one man with another.' I. 244—6.

At Lisbon he forms an acquaintance with a literary countryman of his own, and feels, for the first time of his life, a glow of admiration on perusing some passages of Italian poetry. From this he returns to Spain, and, after lounging over the whole of that kingdom, returns through France to Italy, and arrives at Turin in 1773. Here he endeavours to maintain the same unequal contest of dissipation against ennui and conscious folly, and falls furiously in love, for the third time, with a woman of more than doubtful reputation, ten years older than himself. Neither the intoxication of this passion, however, nor the daily exhibition of his twelve fine horses, could repress the shame and indigna-

tion which he felt at thus wasting his days in inglorious licentiousness; and his health was at last seriously affected by those compunctious visitings of his conscience. In 1774, while watching by his unworthy mistress in a fit of sickness, he sketched out a few scenes of a dramatical work in Italian, which was thrown aside and forgotten immediately on her recovery; and it was not till the year after, that, after many struggles, he formed the resolution of detaching himself from this degrading connexion. The efforts which this cost him, and the means he adopted to ensure his own adherence to his resolution, appear altogether wild and extravagant to our northern imagination. In the first place, he had himself lashed with strong cords to his elbow chair, to prevent him from rushing into the presence of the syren; and, in the next place, he cut off his hair, in order to make it impossible for him to appear with decency in any society. The first fifteen days, he assures us, he spent entirely 'in uttering the most frightful groans and lamentations,' and the next in riding furiously through all the solitary places in the neighbourhood. At last, however, this frenzy of grief began to subside; and, most fortunately for the world and the author, gave place to a passion for literature, which absorbed the powers of this fiery spirit during the greater part of his future existence. The perusal of a wretched tragedy on the story of Cleopatra, and the striking resemblance he thought he discovered between his own case and that of Antony, first inspired him with the resolution of attempting a dramatic piece on the same subject; and, after encountering the most extreme difficulty from his utter ignorance of poetical diction, and of pure Italian, he at last hammered out a tragedy, which was represented with tolerable success in 1775. From this moment his whole heart was devoted to dramatic poetry; and literary glory became the idol of his imagination.

In entering upon this new and arduous career, he soon discovered that greater sacrifices were required of him than he had hitherto offered to any of the former objects of his idolatry. The defects of his education, and his long habits of indolence and inattention to every thing connected with letters, imposed upon him far more than the ordinary labour of a literary apprenticeship. Having never been accustomed to the use of the pure Tuscan, and being obliged to speak French during so many years of travelling, he found himself shamefully deficient in the knowledge of that beautiful language, in which he proposed to enter his claims to immortality; and began, therefore, a course of the most careful and critical reading of the great authors who had adorned it. Dante and Petrarca were his great models of purity; and, next to them, Ariosto and Tasso; in which four writers, he

gives

gives it as his opinion, that there is to be found the perfection of every style, except that fitted for dramatic poetry—of which, he more than insinuates, that his own writings are the only existing example. In order to acquire a perfect knowledge and command of their divine language, he not only made many long visits to Tuscany, but absolutely interdicted himself the use of every other sort of reading, and abjured for ever that French literature which he seems to have always regarded with a mixture of envy and disdain. To make amends for this, he went resolutely back to the rudiments of his Latin; and read over all the classics in that language with a most patient and laborious attention. He likewise committed to memory many thousand lines from the authors he proposed to imitate; and sought, with the greatest assiduity, the acquaintance of all the scholars and critics that came in his way,—pestering them with continual queries, and with requesting their opinion upon the infinite quantity of bad verses which he continued to compose by way of exercise. His two or three first tragedies he composed entirely in French prose; and afterwards translated, with infinite labour, into Italian verse. His whole process of composition, indeed, was very systematical and laborious; and the distinct account he has left of it, is not among the least curious passages in these volumes.

'I ought here to explain to the reader what is meant by the terms *conceive*, *develop*, and *put into verse*, which so frequently occur in the course of this work. All my tragedies, so to speak, have been composed three times. By this method, I at least avoided the error of too much haste, which should always be carefully guarded against in such productions, since, if they are ill-conceived at first, it is a fault not easily remedied. By the term *conceive*, is to be understood the distributing of the subject into acts and scenes, fixing the number of the personages, and tracing, in two pages of prose, a summary of the plot. By *developing*, I mean the writing dialogues in prose for the different scenes indicated in this rude sketch, without rejecting a single thought; and with as much enthusiasm as possible, without embarrassing myself with the style or composition. By *versifying*, in short, must be understood, not only converting this prose into verse, but also curtailing the exuberances of the style, selecting the best thoughts, and clothing them in poetic language. After these three operations, I proceed, like other authors, to polish, correct, and amend. But if the conception or development of the piece be imperfect, or erroneous, the superadded labour will never produce a good tragedy. In this way did I execute the whole of my dramatic works, beginning with Philippe; and I am convinced that this constituted more than two thirds of the labour. If, on peperusing the manuscript, after a sufficient period had been suffered to elapse, in order that I might forget the original distribution of the scenes, I

felt myself assailed by such a crowd of ideas and emotions as compelled me, so to speak, to take up my pen, I concluded that my sketch was worthy of being unfolded; but if, on the contrary, I felt not an enthusiasm equal at least to what I had experienced on conceiving the design, I either changed my plan, or threw the papers into the fire. As soon as I became satisfied that my first idea was perfect, I expanded it with the greatest rapidity, frequently writing two acts a day, and seldom less than one; so that in six days my tragedy was—I will not say *finished*, but *created*.

'In this manner, without any other judge than my own feelings, I have only finished those, the sketches of which I had written with energy and enthusiasm; or, if I have finished any other, I have at least never taken the trouble to clothe them in verse. This was the case with Charles I, which I began to write in French prose, immediately after finishing Philippe. When I had reached to about the middle of the third act, my heart and my hand became so benumbed, that I found it impossible to hold my pen. The same thing happened in regard to Romeo and Juliet, the whole of which I nearly expanded, though with much labour to myself, and at long intervals. On reperusing this sketch, I found my enthusiasm so much repressed, that, transported with rage against myself, I could proceed no farther, but threw my work into the fire.' II. 48—51.

Two or three years were passed in these bewitching studies; and, during this time, nine or ten tragedies, at the least, were in a considerable state of forwardness. In 1778, the study of Machiavel revived all that early zeal for liberty, which he had imbibed from the perusal of Plutarch; and he composed with great rapidity his two books of 'La Tiranide;'—perhaps the most nervous and eloquent of all his prose compositions. About the same period, his poetical studies experienced a still more serious interruption, from the commencement of his attachment to the Countess of Albany, the wife of the late Pretender;—an attachment that continued to soothe or to agitate all the remaining part of his existence. This lady, who was by birth a princess of the house of Stolberg, was then in her twenty-fifth year, and resided with her ill-matched husband at Florence. Her beauty and accomplishments made, from the first,* a powerful impression on the

* His first introduction to her, we have been informed, was in the great gallery of Florence;—a circumstance which led him to signalize his admiration by an extraordinary act of gallantry. As they stopped to examine the picture of Charles XII. of Sweden, the Countess observed, that the singular uniform in which that prince is usually painted, appeared to her extremely becoming. Nothing more was said at the time; but, in two days after, Alfieri appeared in the streets in the exact *costume* of that warlike sovereign,—to the utter consternation of all the peaceful inhabitants.

the inflammable heart of Alfieri, guarded as it now was with the love of glory and of literature; and the loftineſs of his character, and the ardour of his admiration, ſoon excited correſponding ſentiments in her, who had ſuffered for ſome time from the ill temper and groſs vices of her ſuperannuated huſband. Though the author takes the trouble to aſſure us that 'their intimacy never exceeded the ſtricteſt limits of honour,' it is not difficult to underſtand, that it ſhould have aggravated the ill humour of the old huſband; which increaſed, it ſeems, ſo much, that the lady was at laſt forced to abandon his ſociety, and to take refuge with his brother, the Cardinal York, at Rome. To this place Alfieri ſpeedily followed her; and remained there, divided between love and ſtudy, for upwards of two years, when her holy guardian becoming ſcandalized at their intimacy, it was thought neceſſary for her reputation, that they ſhould ſeparate. The effects of this ſeparation he has himſelf deſcribed in the following ſhort paſſage.

'For two years I remained incapable of any kind of study whatever, ſo different was my preſent forlorn ſtate from the happiness I enjoyed during my late reſidence in Rome:—there, the Villa Strozzi, near to the warm baths of Dioclesian, afforded me a delightful retreat, where I paſſed my mornings in ſtudy, only riding for an hour or two through the vaſt ſolitudes which, in the neighbourhood of Rome, invite to melancholy, meditation, and poetry. In the evening I proceeded to the city, and found a relaxation from ſtudy in the ſociety of her who conſtituted the charm of my exiſtence; and, contented and happy, I returned to my ſolitude, never at a later hour than eleven o'clock. It was impoſſible to find, in the circuit of a great city, an abode more cheerful, more retired—or better ſuited to my taſte, my character, and my purſuits. Delightful ſpot!—the remembrance of which I ſhall ever cheriſh, and which through life I ſhall long to reviſit.' II. p. 121, 122.

Previouſly to this time, his extreme love of independence, and his deſire to be conſtantly with the miſtreſs of his affections, had induced him to take the very romantic ſtep of reſigning his whole property to his ſiſter, reſerving to himſelf merely an annuity of 24,000 livres, or little more than 500*l.* As this tranſference was made with the ſanction of the King, who was very well pleaſed, on the whole, to get rid of ſo republican a ſubject, it was underſtood, upon both ſides, as a tacit compact of expatriation; ſo that, upon his removal from Rome, he had no houſe or fixed reſidence to repair to. In this deſolate and unſettled ſtate, his paſſion for horſes revived with additional fury; and he undertook a voyage to England, for the ſole purpoſe of purchaſing a number of thoſe noble animals; and devoted eight months 'to the ſtudy of noble heads, fine necks, and well turned buttocks, without once opening a book, or purſuing any literary avocation.' In London, he

purchaſed fourteen horſes,—in relation to the number of his tragedies!—and this whimſical relation frequently preſenting itſelf to his imagination, he would ſay to himſelf with a ſmile—'Thou haſt gained a horſe by each tragedy!'—Truly, the noble author muſt have been far gone in love, when he gave way to ſuch innocent deliration.—He conducted his fourteen friends, however, with much judgment acroſs the Alps; and gained great glory and notoriety at Sienna, from their daily proceſſion through the ſtreets, and the feats of dexterity he exhibited in riding and driving them.

In the mean time, he had printed twelve of his tragedies, and imbibed a ſovereign contempt for ſuch of his countrymen as pretended to find them harſh, obſcure, or affectedly ſententious. In 1784, after an abſence of more than two years, he rejoined his miſtreſs at Baden, in Alſace; and, during a ſtay of two months with her, ſketched out three new tragedies. On his return to Italy, he took up his abode for a ſhort time at Piſa,—where, in a fit of indignation at the faults of Pliny's Panegyric on Trajan, he compoſed in five days that animated and eloquent piece of the ſame name, which alone, of all his works which have fallen into our hands, has left on our minds the impreſſion of ardent and flowing eloquence. His rage for liberty likewiſe prompted him to compoſe ſeveral odes on the ſubject of American independence, and ſeveral miſcellaneous productions of a ſimilar character:—at laſt, in 1786, he is permitted to take up his permanent abode with his miſtreſs, whom he rejoins at Alſace, and never afterwards abandons. In the courſe of the following year, they make a journey to Paris, with which he is nearly as much diſſatisfied as on his former viſit,—and makes arrangements with Didot for printing his tragedies in a ſuperb form. In 1788, however, he reſolves upon making a complete edition of his whole works at Kehl; and ſubmits, for the accommodation of his fair friend, to take up his reſidence at Paris. There they receive intelligence of the death of her huſband, which ſeems, however, to make no change in their way of life;—and there he continues buſily employed in correcting his various works for publication, till the year 1790, when the firſt part of theſe Memoirs cloſes with anticipations of miſery from the progreſs of the revolution, and profeſſions of devoted attachment to the companion whom time had only rendered more dear and reſpected.

The ſupplementary part bears date in May 1803—but a few months prior to the death of the author; and brings down his hiſtory, though in a more ſummary manner, to that period. He ſeems to have lived in much uneaſineſs and fear in Paris, after the commencement of the revolution; from all approbation, or even toleration of which *tragic farce*, as he terms it, he exculpates himſelf

himſelf with much earneſtneſs and ſolemnity; but, having veſted the greater part of his fortune in that country, he could not conveniently abandon it. In 1791, he and his companion made a ſhort viſit to England, with which he was leſs pleaſed than on any former occaſion,—the damp giving him a diſpoſition to gout, and the late hours interfering with his habits of ſtudy. The moſt remarkable incident in this journey, occurred at its termination. As he was paſſing along the quay at Dover, in his way to the packet-boat, he caught a glimpſe of the bewitching woman on whoſe account he had ſuffered ſo much, in his former viſit to this country nearly twenty years ago. She ſtill looked beautiful, he ſays, and beſtowed on him one of thoſe enchanting ſmiles which convinced him that he was recognized. Unable to controul his emotion, he ruſhed inſtantly aboard—hid himſelf below—and did not venture to look up till he was landed on the oppoſite ſhore. From Calais he addreſſed a letter to her of kind inquiry, and offers of ſervice; and received an anſwer, which, on account of the ſingular tone of candour and magnanimity which it exhibits, he has ſubjoined in the Appendix. It is undoubtedly a very remarkable production, and ſhows both a ſtrength of mind and a kindneſs of diſpoſition which ſeem worthy of a happier fortune.

In the end of 1792, the increaſing fury of the revolution rendered Paris no longer a place of ſafety for foreigners of high birth; and Alfieri and his Counteſs with ſome difficulty effected their eſcape from it, and eſtabliſhed themſelves, with a diminiſhed income, at his beloved Florence. Here, with his uſual impetuoſity, he gave vent to his anti-revolutionary feelings, by compoſing an apology for Louis XVI., and a ſhort ſatirical view of the French exceſſes, which he entitled 'the Antigallican.' He then took to acting his own plays; and, for two or three years, this new paſſion ſeduced him in a good degree from literature. In 1795, however, he tried his hand in ſome ſatirical productions; and began, with much zeal, to reperuſe and tranſlate various paſſages from the Latin claſſics. Latin naturally led to Greek; and, in the forty-ninth year of his age, he ſet ſeriouſly to the ſtudy of this language. Two whole years did this ardent genius dedicate to ſolitary drudgery, without being able to maſter the ſubject he had undertaken. At laſt, by dint of perſeverance and incredible labour, he began to underſtand a little of the eaſier authors; and, by the time he had completed his fiftieth year, ſucceeded in interpreting a conſiderable part of Herodotus, Thucydides and Homer. The peruſal of Sophocles, in the following year, impelled him to compoſe his laſt tragedy of Alceſte in 1798. In the end of this year, the progreſs of the French armies threatened to violate the tranquillity of his Tuſcan retreat; and, in the ſpring following, upon

the occupation of Florence, he and his friend retired to a ſmall habitation in the country. From this aſylum, however, they returned ſo precipitately on the retreat of the enemy, that they were ſurpriſed by them on their ſecond invaſion of Tuſcany in 1800; and had more to ſuffer, it appears, from the importunate civility, than from the outrages of the conquerors. The French general, it ſeems, was a man of letters, and made ſeveral attempts to be introduced to Alfieri. When evaſion became impoſſible, the latter made the following haughty but guarded reply to his warlike admirer—

" If the General, in his official capacity, commands his preſence, Victor Alfieri, who never reſists conſtituted authority of any kind, will immediately haſten to obey the order; but if, on the contrary, he requests an interview only as a private individual, Alfieri begs leave to obſerve, that being of a very retired turn of mind, he wiſhes not to form any new acquaintance, and therefore entreats the French general to hold him excuſed." II. 286, 287.

Under theſe diſaſtrous circumſtances, he was ſuddenly ſeized with the deſire of ſignalizing himſelf in a new field of exertion; and ſketched out no fewer than ſix *comedies* at once, which were nearly finiſhed before the end of 1802. His health, during this year, was conſiderably weakened by repeated attacks of irregular gout and inflammatory affections; and the memoir concludes with the deſcription of a collar and medal which he had invented, as the badge of 'the order of Homer,' which, in his late ſprung ardour for Greek literature, he had founded and endowed. Annexed to this record is a ſort of poſtſcript, addreſſed, by his friend the Abbé Caluſo, to the Counteſs of Albany; from which it appears, that he was carried off by an inflammatory or gouty attack in his bowels, which put a period to his exiſtence, after a few days illneſs, in the month of October 1803. We have ſince learned, that the publication of his poſthumous works, which had been begun by the Counteſs of Albany at Milan, has been ſtopped by the French government; and that ſeveral of the manuſcripts have, by the ſame authority, been committed to the flames.

We have not a great deal to add to this copious and extraordinary narrative. Many of the peculiarities of Alfieri may be ſafely referred to the accident of his birth, and the errors of his education. His *ennui*, arrogance and diſſipation, are not very unlike thoſe of many ſpoiled youths of condition; nor is there any thing very extraordinary in his ſubſequent application to ſtudy, or the turn of his firſt political opinions. The peculiar nature of his purſuits, and the character of his literary productions, afford more curious matter for ſpeculation.

In reflecting on the peculiar miſery which Alfieri and ſome other

ther eminent persons are recorded to have endured, while their minds were withheld from any worthy occupation, we have sometimes been tempted to conclude, that, to suffer deeply from *ennui* is an indication of superior intellect; and that it is only to minds destined for higher attainments that the want of an object is a source of real affliction. Upon a little reflection, however, we are disposed to doubt of the soundness of this opinion; and really cannot permit all the shallow coxcombs who languish under the burden of existence, to take themselves, on our authority, for spell-bound geniuses. The most powerful stream, indeed, will stagnate the most deeply, and will burst out to more wild devastation, when obstructed in its peaceful course; but the weakly current is, upon the whole, most liable to obstruction; and will mantle and rot at least as dismally as its betters. The innumerable blockheads, in short, who betake themselves to suicide, dram-drinking, or dozing in dirty nightcaps, will not allow us to suppose that there is any real connexion between ennui and talent; or that fellows who are fit for nothing but mending shoes may not be very miserable if they are unfortunately raised above their proper occupation.

If it does frequently happen that extraordinary and vigorous exertions are found to follow this heavy slumber of the faculties, the phenomenon, we think, may be explained, without giving any countenance to the supposition, that vigorous faculties are most liable to such an obscuration. In the first place, the relief and delight of exertion must act with more than usual force upon a mind which has suffered from the want of it; and will be apt to be pushed further than in cases where the exertion has been more regular. The chief cause, however, of the signal success which has sometimes attended those who have been rescued from ennui, we really believe to be their ignorance of the difficulties they have to encounter, and that inexperience which makes them venture on undertakings which more prudent calculators would decline. We have already noticed, more than once, * the effect of early study and familiarity with the best models in repressing emulation by despair; and have endeavoured, upon this principle, to explain why so many original authors have been in a great degree without education. Now, a youth spent in lassitude and dissipation leads necessarily to a manhood of ignorance and inexperience; and has all the advantages, as well as the inconveniences, of such a situation. If any feeling of strength, ambition, or other extraordinary impulse, therefore, prompt such a person to attempt any thing arduous, it is likely that he will go about it with all that rash and vehement courage which results from unconsciousness of the obstacles that

* Vol. viii. p. 329. Vol. xiii. p. 250.

are to be overcome; and it is needless to say how often success is ensured by this confident and fortunate audacity. Thus Alfieri, in the outset of his literary career, ran his head against dramatic poetry, almost before he knew what was meant either by poetry or the drama; and dashed out a tragedy while but imperfectly acquainted with the language in which he was writing, and utterly ignorant either of the rules that had been delivered, or the models which had been created by the genius of his great predecessors. Had he been trained up from his early youth in fearful veneration for these rules and these models, it is certain that he would have resisted the impulse which led him to place himself, with so little preparation, within their danger; and most probable that he would never have thought himself qualified to answer the test they required of him. In giving way, however, to this propensity, with all the thoughtless freedom and vehemence which had characterized his other indulgences, he found himself suddenly embarked in an unexpected undertaking, and in sight of unexpected distinction. The success he had obtained with so little knowledge of the subject, tempted him to acquire what was wanting to deserve it; and justified hopes, and stimulated exertions, which earlier reflection would, in all probability, have for ever prevented.

The *morality* of Alfieri seems to have been at least as relaxed as that of the degenerate nobles, whom in all other things he professed to reprobate and despise. He confesses, without the slightest appearance of contrition, that his general intercourse with women was profligate in the extreme; and has detailed the particulars of three several intrigues with married women, without once appearing to imagine that they could require any apology or expiation. On the contrary, while recording the deplorable consequences of one of them, he observes, with great composure, that it was distressing to him to contemplate a degradation, of which he had, 'though innocently,' been the occasion. The general arrogance of his manners, too, and the occasional brutality of his conduct towards his inferiors, are far from giving us an amiable impression of his general character; nor have we been able to find, in the whole of these confessions, a single trait of kindness of heart, or generous philanthropy, to place in the balance against so many indications of selfishness and violence. There are proofs enough, indeed, of a firm, elevated, and manly spirit; but small appearance of any thing gentle, or even, in a moral sense, of any thing very respectable. In his admiration, in short, of the worthies of antiquity, he appears to have copied their harshness and indelicacy at least as faithfully as their loftiness of character; and, at the same time, to have combined with it all the licentiousness and presumption of a modern Italian noble.

We

We have been somewhat perplexed with his politics. After speaking, as we have seen, of the mild government of the kings of Sardinia,—after adding that, 'when he had read Plutarch and visited England, he felt the most insurmountable repugnance at marrying, or having his children born at Turin,'—after recording that a monarch is a master, and a subject a slave,—and 'that he shed tears of mingled grief and rage at having been born in such a state as Piedmont;'—after all this—after giving up his estates to escape from this bondage, and after writing his books on the Tiranide, and his odes on American liberty,—we really were prepared to find him taking the popular side, at the outset at least of the French revolution, and exulting in the downfal of one of those hateful despotisms, against the whole system of which he had previously inveighed with no extraordinary moderation. Instead of this, however, we find him abusing the revolutionists, and extolling their opponents with all the zeal of a professed antijacobin—writing an eulogium on the dethroned monarch like Mr Pybus, and an Antigallican like Peter Porcupine. Now, we are certainly very far from saying, that a true friend of liberty might not execrate the proceedings of the French revolutionists; but a professed hater of royalty might have felt more indulgence for the new republic; and such a crazy zealot for liberty, as Alfieri showed himself in Italy, both by his writings and his conduct, might well have been carried away by that promise of emancipation to France, which deluded sounder heads than his in all the countries of Europe.—There are two keys, we think, in the work before us, to this apparent inconsistency. Alfieri, with all his abhorrence of tyrants, was, in his heart, a great lover of aristocracy; and he had a great spite and antipathy at the French nation, collectively and individually.

Though professedly a republican, it is easy to see, that the republic he wanted was one on the Roman model,—where there were Patricians as well as Plebeians, and where a man of great talents had even a good chance of being one day appointed Dictator. He did not admire kings indeed—because he did not happen to be born one, and because they were the only beings to whom he was born inferior: but he had the utmost veneration for nobles—because fortune had placed him in that order, and because the power and distinction which belonged to it were agreeable to him, and, he thought, would be exercised for the good of his inferiors. When he heard that Voltaire had written a tragedy on the story of Brutus, he fell into a great passion, and exclaimed, that the subject was too lofty for 'a French plebeian, who, during twenty years, had subscribed himself Gentleman in ordinary to the King!'

This

This love of aristocracy, however, will not explain the defence of monarchy and the abuse of republics, which formed the substance of his Antigallican. But the truth is, that he was antigallican from his youth up; and would never have forgiven that nation, if they had succeeded in establishing a free government,—especially while Italy was in bondage. The contempt which Voltaire had expressed for Italian literature, and the general degradation into which the national character had fallen, had sunk deep into his fierce and haughty spirit, and inspired him with an antipathy towards that people by whom his own countrymen had been subdued, ridiculed, and outshone. This paltry and vindictive feeling leads him, throughout this whole work, to speak of them in the most unjust and uncandid terms. There may be some truth in his remarks on the mean and meagre articulation of their language, and on their 'horrible *u*, with their little lips drawn in to pronounce it, as if they were blowing hot soup.' Nay, we could even excuse the nationality which leads him to declare, that 'he would rather be the author of ten good Italian verses, than of volumes written in *English* or *French*, or any such harsh and unharmonious jargon,—though their cannon and their armies should continue to render these languages fashionable.' But we cannot believe in the sincerity of an amorous Italian, who declares, that he never could get through the first volume of Rousseau's Heloise; or of a modern author of regular dramas, who professes to see nothing at all admirable in the tragedies of Racine or Voltaire. It is evident to us, that he grudged these great writers the glory that was due to them, out of a vindictive feeling of national resentment; and that, for the same reason, he grudged the French nation the freedom, in which he would otherwise have been among the first to believe and to exult.

It only remains to say a word or two of the literary productions of this extraordinary person;—a theme, however interesting and attractive, upon which we can scarcely pretend to enter on the present occasion. We have not yet been able to procure a complete copy of the works of Alfieri; and, even of those which have been lately transmitted to us, we will confess that a considerable portion remains to be perused. We have seen enough, however, to satisfy us that they are deserving of a careful analysis, and that a free and enlightened estimate of their merit may be rendered both interesting and instructive to the greater part of our readers. We hope soon to be in a condition to attempt this task; and shall, in the mean time, confine ourselves to a very few observations suggested by the style and character of the tragedies with which we have been for some time acquainted.

These pieces approach much nearer to the antient Grecian mo-

del,

del, than any other modern production with which we are acquainted—in the simplicity of the plot, the fewness of the persons, the directness of the action, and the uniformity and elaborate gravity of the composition. Infinitely less declamatory than the French tragedies, they have less brilliancy and variety, and a deeper tone of dignity and nature. As they have not adopted the choral songs of the Greek stage, however, they are, on the whole, less poetical than those antient compositions; although they are worked throughout with a fine and careful hand, and diligently purified from every thing ignoble or feeble in the expression. The author's anxiety to keep clear of figures of mere ostentation, and to exclude all show-pieces of fine writing in a dialogue of deep interest or impetuous passion, has betrayed him, on some occasions, into too sententious and strained a diction, and given an air of labour and heaviness to many parts of his composition. He has felt, perhaps a little too constantly, that the cardinal virtue of a dramatic writer is to keep his personages to the business and the concerns that lye before them; and by no means to let them turn to moral philosophers, or rhetorical describers of their own emotions. But, in his zealous adherence to this good maxim, he seems sometimes to have forgotten, that certain passions are declamatory in nature as well as on the stage; and that, at any rate, they do not all vent themselves in concise and pithy sayings, but run occasionally into hyperbole and amplification. As it is the great excellence, so it is occasionally the chief fault of Alfieri's dialogue, that every word is honestly employed to help forward the action of the play, in serious argument, necessary narrative, or the direct expression of natural emotion. There are no excursions or digressions,—no episodical conversations,—and none but the most brief moralizings. This gives a certain air of solidity to the whole structure of the piece, that is apt to prove oppressive to an ordinary reader, and reduces the entire drama to too great uniformity.

We make these remarks chiefly with a reference to French tragedy. For our own part, we believe that those who are duly sensible of the merit of Shakespeare, will never be much struck with any other dramatical composition. There are no other plays, indeed, that paint human nature,—that strike off the characters of men with all the freshness and sharpness of the original,—and speak the language of all the passions, not like a mimic, but an echo—neither softer nor louder—nor differently modulated from the spontaneous utterance of the heart. In these respects he disdains all comparison with Alfieri, or with any other mortal; nor is it fair, perhaps, to suggest a comparison, where no rivalry can be imagined. Alfieri, like all the continental dramatists, considers a tragedy as a poem. In England, we look upon it rather

as a repreſentation of character and paſſion. With them, of courſe, the ſtyle and diction, and the congruity and proportions of the piece, are the main objects;—with us, the truth and the force of the imitation. It is ſufficient for them, if there be character and action enough to prevent the compoſition from languiſhing, and to give ſpirit and propriety to the poliſhed dialogue of which it conſiſts;—we are ſatisfied, if there be management enough in the ſtory not to ſhock credibility entirely, and beauty and poliſh enough in the diction to exclude diſguſt or deriſion. In his own way, we think, Alfieri is excellent. His fables are all admirably contrived and completely developed; his dialogue is copious and progreſſive; and his characters all deliver natural ſentiments with great beauty, and often with great force of expreſſion. In our eyes, however, *it is* a fault that the fable is too ſimple, and the incidents too ſcanty; and that all the characters expreſs themſelves with equal felicity, and urge their oppoſite views and pretenſions with equal ſkill and plauſibility. We ſee at once, that an ingenious author has verſified the ſum of a dialogue; and never, for a moment, imagine that we hear the real perſons contending. There may be more eloquence and dignity in this ſtyle of dramatizing;—there is infinitely more deception in ours.

With regard to the diction of theſe pieces, it is not for *tramontane* critics to preſume to offer any opinion. They are conſidered, in Italy, we believe, as the pureſt ſpecimens of the *favella Toscana* that late ages have produced. To us they certainly ſeem to want ſomething of that flow and ſweetneſs to which we have been accuſtomed in Italian poetry, and to be formed rather upon the model of Dante than of Petrarca. At all events, it is obvious that the ſtyle is highly elaborate and artificial; and that the author is conſtantly ſtriving to give it a ſort of factitious force and energy, by the uſe of condenſed and emphatic expreſſions, interrogatories, antitheſes, and ſhort and inverted ſentences. In all theſe reſpects, as well as in the chaſtiſed gravity of the ſentiments, and the temperance and propriety of all the delineations of paſſion, theſe pieces are exactly the reverſe of what we ſhould have expected from the fiery, fickle and impatient character of the author. From all that Alfieri has told us of himſelf, we ſhould have expected to find in his plays great vehemence and irregular eloquence—ſublime and extravagant ſentiments—paſſions riſing to frenzy—and poetry ſwelling into bombaſt. Inſtead of this, we have a ſubdued and conciſe repreſentation of energetic diſcourſes—paſſions not loud, but deep—and a ſtyle ſo ſeverely correct and ſcrupulouſly pure, as to indicate, even to unſkilful eyes, the great labour which muſt have been beſtowed on its purification.

rification. No characters can be more different than that which we ſhould infer from reading the tragedies of Alfieri, and that which he has aſſigned to himſelf in theſe authentic Memoirs.

ART. III. *Advice to Young Ladies on the Improvement of the Mind.* By Thomas Broadhurſt. 8vo. London. 1808.

MR Broadhurſt is a very good ſort of a man, who has not written a very bad book upon a very important ſubject. His object (a very laudable one) is to recommend a better ſyſtem of female education than at preſent prevails in this country—to turn the attention of women from the trifling purſuits to which they are now condemned—and to cultivate faculties which, under the actual ſyſtem of management, might almoſt as well not exiſt. To the examination of his ideas upon theſe points, we ſhall very cheerfully give up a portion of our time and attention.

A great deal has been ſaid of the original difference of capacity between men and women;—as if women were more quick, and men more judicious—as if women were more remarkable for delicacy of aſſociation, and men for ſtronger powers of attention. All this, we confeſs, appears to us very fanciful. That there is a difference in the underſtandings of the men and the women we every day meet with, every body, we ſuppoſe, muſt perceive; but there is none ſurely which may not be accounted for by the difference of circumſtances in which they have been placed, without referring to any conjectural difference of original conformation of mind. As long as boys and girls run about in the dirt, and trundle hoops together, they are both preciſely alike. If you catch up one half of theſe creatures, and train them to a particular ſet of actions and opinions, and the other half to a perfectly oppoſite ſet, of courſe their underſtandings will differ, as one or the other ſort of occupations has called this or that talent into action: there is ſurely no occaſion to go into any deeper or more abſtruſe reaſoning, in order to explain ſo very ſimple a phenomenon. Taking it, then, for granted, that nature has been as bountiful of underſtanding to one ſex as the other, it is incumbent on us to conſider what are the principal objections commonly made againſt the communication of a greater ſhare of knowledge to women, than commonly falls to their lot at preſent: for though it may be doubted whether women ſhould learn all that men learn, the immenſe diſparity which now exiſts between their knowledge, we ſhould hardly think could admit of any rational defence. It is not eaſy to imagine that there can be any juſt cauſe why a woman of forty

ſhould

ſhould be more ignorant than a boy of twelve years of age. If there be any good at all in female ignorance, this (to uſe a very colloquial phraſe) is ſurely too much of a good thing.

Something in this queſtion muſt depend, no doubt, upon the leiſure which either ſex enjoys for the cultivation of their underſtandings;—and we cannot help thinking, that women have fully as much, if not more idle time upon their hands than men. Women are excluded from all the ſerious buſineſs of the world: men are lawyers, phyſicians, clergymen, apothecaries, and juſtices of the peace—ſources of exertion which conſume a great deal more time than producing and ſuckling children; ſo that, if the thing is a thing that ought to be done—if the attainments of literature are objects really worthy the attention of females, they cannot plead the want of leiſure as an excuſe for indolence and neglect. The lawyer who paſſes his day in exaſperating the bickerings of Roe and Doe, is certainly as much engaged as his lady who has the whole of the morning before her to correct the children and pay the bills. The apothecary, who ruſhes from an act of phlebotomy in the weſtern parts of the town, to inſinuate a bolus in the eaſt, is ſurely as completely abſorbed as that fortunate female who is darning the garment, or preparing the repaſt of her Æſculapius at home; and, in every degree and ſituation of life, it ſeems that men muſt neceſſarily be expoſed to more ſerious demands upon their time and attention, than can poſſibly be the caſe with reſpect to the other ſex. We are ſpeaking always of the fair demands which ought to be made upon the time and attention of women; for, as the matter now ſtands, the time of women is conſidered as worth nothing at all. Daughters are kept to occupations in ſewing, patching, mantuamaking and mending, by which it is impoſſible they can earn tenpence a day. The intellectual improvement of women is conſidered to be of ſuch ſubordinate importance, that twenty pounds paid for needle work would give to a whole family leiſure to acquire a fund of real knowledge. They are kept with nimble fingers and vacant underſtandings, till the ſeaſon for improvement is utterly paſſed away, and all chance of forming more important habits completely loſt. We do not therefore ſay that women have more leiſure than men, if it be neceſſary they ſhould lead the life of artiſans; but we make this aſſertion only upon the ſuppoſition, that it is of ſome importance women ſhould be inſtructed; and that many ordinary occupations, for which a little money will find a better ſubſtitute, ſhould be ſacrificed to this conſideration.

We bar, in this diſcuſſion, any objection which proceeds from the mere novelty of teaching women more than they are already taught. It may be uſeleſs that their education ſhould be improved,

or

or it may be pernicious; and these are the fair grounds on which the question may be argued. But those who cannot bring their minds to consider such an unusual extension of knowledge, without connecting with it some sensation of the ludicrous, should remember, that, in the progress from absolute ignorance, there is a period when cultivation of mind is new to every rank and description of persons. A century ago, who would have believed that country gentlemen could be brought to read and spell with the ease and accuracy, which we now so frequently remark,—or supposed that they could be carried up even to the elements of antient and modern history? Nothing is more common, or more stupid, than to take the actual for the possible—to believe that all which is, is all which can be; first to laugh at every proposed deviation from practice as impossible—then, when it is carried into effect, to be astonished that it did not take place before.

It is said, that the effect of knowledge is to make women pedantic and affected; and that nothing can be more offensive, than to see a woman stepping out of the natural modesty of her sex, to make an ostentatious display of her literary attainments. This may be true enough; but the answer is so trite and obvious, that we are almost ashamed to make it. All affectation and display proceed from the supposition of possessing something better than the rest of the world possesses. Nobody is vain of possessing two legs and two arms;—because that is the precise quantity of either sort of limb which every body possesses. Who ever heard a lady boast that she understood French?—for no other reason, that we know of, but because every body in these days does understand French; and though there may be some disgrace in being ignorant of that language, there is little or no merit in its acquisition. Diffuse knowledge generally among women, and you will at once cure the conceit which knowledge occasions while it is rare. Vanity and conceit we shall of course witness in men and women as long as the world endures: but by multiplying the attainments upon which these feelings are founded, you increase the difficulty of indulging them, and render them much more tolerable, by making them the proofs of a much higher merit. When learning ceases to be uncommon among women, learned women will cease to be affected.

A great many of the lesser and more obscure duties of life, necessarily devolve upon the female sex. The arrangement of all household matters, and the care of children in their early infancy, must of course depend upon them. Now, there is a very general notion, that the moment you put the education of women upon a better footing than it is at present, at that moment there will be an end of all domestic economy; and that, if you once

suffer women to eat of the tree of knowledge, the rest of the family will very soon be reduced to the same kind of aerial and unsatisfactory diet. These, and all such opinions, are referable to one great and common cause of error;—that man does every thing, and that nature does nothing;—and that every thing we see, is referable to positive institution, rather than to original feeling. Can any thing, for example, be more perfectly absurd than to suppose, that the care and perpetual solicitude which a mother feels for her children, depends upon her ignorance of Greek and Mathematics; and that she would desert an infant for a quadratic equation? We seem to imagine, that we can break in pieces the solemn institution of nature, by the little laws of a boarding-school; and that the existence of the human race depends upon teaching women a little more, or a little less;—that Cimmerian ignorance can aid parental affection, or the circle of arts and sciences produce its destruction. In the same manner, we forget the principles upon which the love of order, arrangement, and all the arts of economy depend. They depend not upon ignorance nor idleness; but upon the poverty, confusion and ruin which would ensue from neglecting them. Add to these principles, the love of what is beautiful and magnificent, and the vanity of display;—and there can surely be no reasonable doubt, but that the order and economy of private life is amply secured from the perilous inroads of knowledge.

We would fain know, too, if knowledge is to produce such baneful effects upon the material and the household virtues, why this influence has not already been felt? Women are much better educated now than they were a century ago; but they are by no means less remarkable for attention to the arrangements of their household, or less inclined to discharge the offices of parental affection. It would be very easy to show, that the same objection has been made at all times to every improvement in the education of both sexes, and all ranks,—and been as uniformly and completely refuted by experience. A great part of the objections made to the education of women, are rather objections made to human nature, than to the female sex: for it is surely true, that knowledge, where it produces any bad effects at all, does as much mischief to one sex as to the other,—and gives birth to fully as much arrogance, inattention to common affairs, and eccentricity among men, as it does among women. But it by no means follows, that you get rid of vanity and self-conceit, because you get rid of learning. Self-complacency can never want an excuse; and the best way to make it more tolerable, and more useful, is to give to it as high, and as dignified an object as possible. But at all events, it is unfair to bring forward against a part of the world an objec-

tion which is equally powerful against the whole. When foolish women think they have any distinction, they are apt to be proud of it; so are foolish men. But we appeal to any one who has lived with cultivated persons of either sex, whether he has not witnessed as much pedantry, as much wrongheadedness, as much arrogance, and certainly a great deal more rudeness, produced by learning in men, than in women: therefore we should make the accusation general—or dismiss it altogether; though, with respect to pedantry, the learned are certainly a little unfortunate, that so very emphatic a word, which is occasionally applicable to all men embarked eagerly in any pursuit, should be reserved exclusively for them: for, as pedantry is an ostentatious obtrusion of knowledge, in which those who hear us cannot sympathize, it is a fault of which soldiers, sailors, sportsmen, gamesters, cultivators, and all men engaged in a particular occupation, are quite as guilty as scholars; but they have the good fortune to have the vice only of pedantry,—while scholars have both the vice, and the name for it too.

Some persons are apt to contrast the acquisition of important knowledge with what they call simple pleasures; and deem it more becoming that a woman should educate flowers, make friendships with birds, and pick up plants, than enter into more difficult and fatiguing studies. If a woman has no taste and genius for higher occupations, let her engage in these, to be sure, rather than remain destitute of any pursuit. But why are we necessarily to doom a girl, whatever be her taste or her capacity, to one unvaried line of petty and frivolous occupation? If she is full of strong sense, and elevated curiosity, can there be any reason why she should be diluted and enfeebled down to a mere culler of simples, and fancier of birds?—why books of history and reasoning are to be torn out of her hand, and why she is to be sent, like a butterfly, to hover over the idle flowers of the field? Such amusements are innocent to those whom they can occupy; but they are not innocent to those who have too powerful understandings to be occupied by them. Light broths and fruits are innocent food only to weak or to infant stomachs; but they are poison to that organ in its perfect and mature state. But the great charm appears to be in the word *simplicity*—simple pleasures! If by a simple pleasure is meant an innocent pleasure, the observation is best answered by showing, that the pleasure which results from the acquisition of important knowledge is quite as innocent as any pleasure whatever; but if by a simple pleasure is meant one, the cause of which can be easily analyzed, or which does not last long, or which in itself is very faint; then simple pleasures seem to be very nearly synonymous with small

pleaſures; and if the ſimplicity were to be a little increaſed, the pleaſure would vaniſh altogether.

As it is impoſſible that every man ſhould have induſtry or activity ſufficient to avail himſelf of the advantages of education, it is natural that men who are ignorant themſelves, ſhould view, with ſome degree of jealouſy and alarm, any propoſal for improving the education of women. But ſuch men may depend upon it, however the ſyſtem of female education may be exalted, that there will never be wanting a due proportion of failures; and that after parents, guardians and preceptors have done all in their power to make every body wiſe, there will ſtill be a plentiful ſupply of women who have taken ſpecial care to remain otherwiſe; and they may reſt aſſured, if the utter extinction of ignorance and folly is the evil they dread, that their intereſts will always be effectually protected, in ſpite of every exertion to the contrary.

We muſt in candour allow, that thoſe women who begin, will have ſomething more to overcome than may probably hereafter be the caſe. We cannot deny the jealouſy which exiſts among pompous and fooliſh men, reſpecting the education of women. There is a claſs of pedants, who would be cut ſhort in the eſtimation of the world a whole cubit, if it were generally known that a young lady of eighteen could be taught to decline the tenſes of the middle voice, or acquaint herſelf with the Æolic varieties of that celebrated language. Then women have, of courſe, all ignorant men for enemies to their inſtruction, who being bound (as they think), in point of ſex, to know more, are not well pleaſed, in point of fact, to know leſs. But, among men of ſenſe and liberal politeneſs, a woman, who has ſucceſsfully cultivated her mind, without diminiſhing the gentleneſs and propriety of her manners, is always ſure to meet with a reſpect and attention bordering upon enthuſiaſm.

There is in either ſex a ſtrong and permanent diſpoſition to appear agreeable to the other: and this is the fair anſwer to thoſe who are fond of ſuppoſing, that an higher degree of knowledge would make women rather the rivals than the companions of men. Preſuppoſing ſuch a deſire to pleaſe, it ſeems much more probable, that a common purſuit ſhould be a freſh ſource of intereſt, than a cauſe of contention. Indeed, to ſuppoſe that any mode of education can create a general jealouſy and rivalry between the ſexes is ſo very ridiculous, that it requires only to be ſtated in order to be refuted. The ſame deſire of pleaſing ſecures all that delicacy and reſerve which are of ſuch ineſtimable value to women. We are quite aſtoniſhed, in hearing men converſe on ſuch ſubjects, to find them attributing ſuch beautiful effects to ignorance. It would appear, from the tenor of ſuch objections,

that

that ignorance had been the great civilizer of the world. Women are delicate and refined, only because they are ignorant;—they manage their household, only because they are ignorant;—they attend to their children, only because they know no better. Now, we must really confess, we have all our lives been so ignorant as not to know the value of ignorance. We have always attributed the modesty and the refined manners of women, to their being well taught in moral and religious duty,—to the hazardous situation in which they are placed,—to that perpetual vigilance which it is their duty to exercise over thought, word, and action,—and to that cultivation of the mild virtues, which those who cultivate the stern and magnanimous virtues expect at their hands. After all, let it be remembered, we are not saying there are no objections to the diffusion of knowledge among the female sex. We would not hazard such a proposition respecting any thing; but we are saying, that, upon the whole, it is the best method of employing time; and that there are fewer objections to it than to any other method. There are, perhaps, 50,000 females in Great Britain who are exempted by circumstances from all necessary labour: but every human being must do something with their existence; and the pursuit of knowledge is, upon the whole, the most innocent, the most dignified, and the most useful method of filling up that idleness, of which there is always so large a portion in nations far advanced in civilization. Let any man reflect, too, upon the solitary situation in which women are placed,—the ill treatment to which they are sometimes exposed, and which they must endure in silence, and without the power of complaining,—and he must feel convinced that the happiness of a woman will be materially increased, in proportion as education has given to her the habit and the means of drawing her resources from herself.

There are a few common phrases in circulation, respecting the duties of women, to which we wish to pay some degree of attention, because they are rather inimical to those opinions which we have advanced on this subject. Indeed, independently of this, there is nothing which requires more vigilance than the current phrases of the day, of which there are always some resorted to in every dispute, and from the sovereign authority of which it is often vain to make any appeal. 'The true theatre for a woman is the sick chamber;'—'Nothing so honourable to a woman as not to be spoken of at all.' These two phrases, the delight of *Noodledom*, are grown into common-places upon the subject; and are not infrequently employed to extinguish that love of knowledge in women, which, in our humble opinion, it is of so much importance to cherish. Nothing, certainly, is so ornamental and

delightful in women as the benevolent virtues; but time cannot be filled up, and life employed, with high and impassioned virtues. Some of these feelings are of rare occurrence—all of short duration—or nature would sink under them. A scene of distress and anguish is an occasion where the finest qualities of the female mind may be displayed; but it is a monstrous exaggeration to tell women that they are born only for scenes of distress and anguish. Nurse father, mother, sister and brother, if they want it;—it would be a violation of the plainest duties to neglect them. But, when we are talking of the common occupations of life, do not let us mistake the accidents for the occupations;—when we are arguing how the twenty-three hours of the day are to be filled up, it is idle to tell us of those feelings and agitations above the level of common existence, which may employ the remaining hour. Compassion, and every other virtue, are the great objects we all ought to have in view; but no man (and no woman) can fill up the twenty-four hours by acts of virtue. But one is a lawyer, and the other a ploughman, and the third a merchant; and then, acts of goodness, and intervals of compassion and fine feeling, are scattered up and down the common occupations of life. We know women are to be compassionate; but they cannot be compassionate from eight o'clock in the morning till twelve at night;—and what are they to do in the interval? This is the only question we have been putting all along, and is all that can be meant by literary education.

Then, again, as to the notoriety which is incurred by literature.—The cultivation of knowledge is a very distinct thing from its publication; nor does it follow that a woman is to become an author, merely because she has talent enough for it. We do not wish a lady to write books,—to defend and reply,—to squabble about the tomb of Achilles, or the plain of Troy,—any more than we wish her to dance at the opera, to play at a public concert, or to put pictures in the exhibition, because she has learned music, dancing and drawing. The great use of her knowledge will be, that it contributes to her private happiness. She may make it public; but it is not the principal object which the friends of female education have in view. Among men, the few who write bear no comparison to the many who read. We hear most of the former, indeed, because they are, in general, the most ostentatious part of literary men; but there are innumerable men, who, without ever laying themselves before the public, have made use of literature to add to the strength of their understandings, and to improve the happiness of their lives. After all, it may be an evil for ladies to be talked of: But we really think those ladies who are talked of only as Miss Edgeworth, Mrs Barbauld, and Mrs Hamilton

Hamilton are talked of, may bear their misfortunes with a very great degree of Chriſtian patience; and ſuch ſingular examples of ill fortune, may perhaps render the ſchool of adverſity a little more popular than it is at preſent.

Their exemption from all the neceſſary buſineſs of life, is one of the moſt powerful motives for the improvement of education in women. Lawyers and phyſicians have in their profeſſions a conſtant motive to exertion; if you neglect their education, they muſt in a certain degree educate themſelves by their commerce with the world: they muſt learn caution, accuracy, and judgment, becauſe they muſt incur reſponſibility. But if you neglect to educate the mind of a woman, by the ſpeculative difficulties which occur in literature, it can never be educated at all: if you do not effectually rouſe it by education, it muſt remain for ever languid. Uneducated men may eſcape intellectual degradation; uneducated women cannot. They have nothing to do; and if they come untaught from the ſchools of education, they will never be inſtructed in the ſchool of events.

Women have not their livelihood to gain by knowledge; and that is one motive for relaxing all thoſe efforts which are made in the education of men. They certainly have not; but they have happineſs to gain, to which knowledge leads as probably as it does to profit; and that is a reaſon againſt miſtaken indulgence. Beſides, we conceive the labour and fatigue of accompliſhments to be quite equal to the labour and fatigue of knowledge; and that it takes quite as many years to be charming, as it does to be learned.

Another difference of the ſexes is, that women are attended to, and men attend. All acts of courteſy and politeneſs originate from the one ſex, and are received by the other. We can ſee no ſort of reaſon, from this diverſity of condition, for giving to women a trifling and inſignificant education; but we ſee in it a very powerful reaſon for ſtrengthening their judgment, and inſpiring them with the habit of employing time uſefully. We admit many ſtriking differences in the ſituation of the two ſexes, and many ſtriking differences of underſtanding, proceeding from the different circumſtances in which they are placed: but there is not a ſingle difference of this kind which does not afford a new argument for making the education of women better than it is. They have nothing ſerious to do;—is that a reaſon why they ſhould be brought up to do nothing but what is trifling? They are expoſed to greater dangers;—is that a reaſon why their faculties are to be purpoſely and induſtriouſly weakened? They are to form the characters of future men;—is that a cauſe why their own characters are to be broken and frittered down as they now are? In ſhort,

there is not a ſingle trait in that diverſity of circumſtances, in which the two ſexes are placed, that does not decidedly prove the magnitude of the error we commit in neglecting (as we do neglect) the education of women.

If the objections againſt the better education of women could be overruled, one of the great advantages that would enſue, would be the extinction of innumerable follies. A decided and prevailing taſte for one or another mode of education there muſt be. A century paſt, it was for houſewifery,—now it is for accompliſhments. The object now is, to make women artiſts,—to give them an excellence in drawing, muſic, painting and dancing,—of which, perſons who make theſe purſuits the occupation of their lives, and derive from them their ſubſiſtence, need not be aſhamed. Now, one great evil of all this is, that it does not laſt. If the whole of life, as ſomebody ſays, were an Olympic game,—if we could go on feaſting and dancing to the end,—this might do; but this is merely a proviſion for the little interval between coming into life, and ſettling in it; while it leaves a long and dreary expanſe behind, devoid both of dignity and cheerfulneſs. No mother, no woman who has paſſed over the few firſt years of life, ſings, or dances, or draws, or plays upon muſical inſtruments. Theſe are merely means for diſplaying the grace and vivacity of youth, which every woman gives up, as ſhe gives up the dreſs and the manners of eighteen: ſhe has no wiſh to retain them; or, if ſhe has, ſhe is driven out of them by diameter and deriſion. The ſyſtem of female education, as it now ſtands, aims only at embelliſhing a few years of life, which are in themſelves ſo full of grace and happineſs, that they hardly want it; and then leaves the reſt of exiſtence a miſerable prey to idle inſignificance. No woman of underſtanding and reflection can poſſibly conceive ſhe is doing juſtice to her children by ſuch kind of education. The object is, to give to children reſources that will endure as long as life endures,—habits that time will ameliorate, not deſtroy,—occupations that will render ſickneſs tolerable, ſolitude pleaſant, age venerable, life more dignified and uſeful, and therefore death leſs terrible: and the compenſation which is offered for the omiſſion of all this, is a ſhort-lived blaze,—a little temporary effect, which has no other conſequence than to deprive the remainder of life of all taſte and reliſh. There may be women who have a taſte for the fine arts, and who evince a decided talent for drawing, or for muſic. In that caſe, there can be no objection to their cultivation; but the error is, to make theſe things the grand and univerſal object,—to inſiſt upon it that every woman is to ſing, and draw, and dance,—with nature, or againſt nature,—to bind her apprentice to ſome accompliſhment, and, if

ſhe

ſhe cannot ſucceed in oil or water colours, to prefer gilding, varniſhing, burniſhing, box-making, or ſhoe-making, to real and ſolid improvement in taſte, knowledge, and underſtanding.

A great deal is ſaid in favour of the ſocial nature of the fine arts. Muſic gives pleaſure to others. Drawing is an art, the amuſement of which does not centre in him who exerciſes it, but is diffuſed among the reſt of the world. This is true; but there is nothing, after all, ſo ſocial as a cultivated mind. We do not mean to ſpeak ſlightingly of the fine arts, or to depretiate the good humour with which they are ſometimes exhibited; but we appeal to any man, whether a little ſpirited and ſenſible converſation—diſplaying, modeſtly, uſeful acquirements—and evincing rational curioſity, is not well worth the higheſt exertions of muſical or graphical ſkill. A woman of accompliſhments may entertain thoſe who have the pleaſure of knowing her for half an hour with great brilliancy; but a mind full of ideas, and with that elaſtic ſpring which the love of knowledge only can convey, is a perpetual ſource of exhilaration and amuſement to all that come within its reach;—not collecting its force into ſingle and inſulated achievements, like the efforts made in the fine arts—but diffuſing, equally over the whole of exiſtence, a calm pleaſure—better loved as it is longer felt—and ſuitable to every variety and every period of life. Therefore, inſtead of hanging the underſtanding of a woman upon walls, or hearing it vibrate upon ſtrings,—inſtead of ſeeing it in clouds, or hearing it in the wind,—we would make it the firſt ſpring and ornament of ſociety, by enriching it with attainments upon which alone ſuch power depends.

If the education of women were improved, the education of men would be improved alſo. Let any one conſider (in order to bring the matter more home by an individual inſtance) of what immenſe importance to ſociety it is, whether a nobleman of firſt-rate fortune and diſtinction is well or ill brought up;—what a taſte and faſhion he may inſpire for private and for political vice;—and what miſery and miſchief he may produce to the thouſand human beings who are dependent on him! A country contains no ſuch curſe within its boſom. Youth, wealth, high rank and vice, form a combination which baffles all remonſtrance and invective, and beats down all oppoſition before it. A man of high rank, who combines theſe qualifications for corruption, is almoſt the maſter of the manners of the age, and has the public happineſs within his graſp. But the moſt beautiful poſſeſſion which a country can have, is a noble and a rich man, who loves virtue and knowledge;—who, without being feeble or fanatical, is pious—and who, without being factious, is firm and independent;—who, in his po-

litical life, is an equitable mediator between king and people; and, in his civil life, a firm promoter of all which can shed a luſtre upon his country, or promote the peace and order of the world. But if theſe objects are of the importance which we attribute to them, the education of women muſt be important, as the formation of character for the firſt ſeven or eight years of life ſeems to depend almoſt entirely upon them. It is certainly in the power of a ſenſible and well educated mother to inſpire, within that period, ſuch taſtes and propenſities as ſhall nearly decide the deſtiny of the future man; and this is done, not only by the intentional exertions of the mother, but by the gradual and inſenſible imitation of the child; for there is ſomething extremely contagious in greatneſs and rectitude of thinking, even at that age: and the character of the mother with whom he paſſes his early infancy, is always an event of the utmoſt importance to the child. A merely accompliſhed woman cannot infuſe her taſtes into the minds of her ſons; and, if ſhe could, nothing could be more unfortunate than her ſucceſs. Beſides, when her accompliſhments are given up, ſhe has nothing left for it but to amuſe herſelf in the beſt way ſhe can; and, becoming entirely frivolous, either declines the fatigue of attending to her children, or, attending to them, has neither talents nor knowledge to ſucceed: and, therefore, here is a plain and fair anſwer to thoſe who aſk ſo triumphantly, why ſhould a woman dedicate herſelf to this branch of knowledge? or why ſhould ſhe be attached to ſuch ſcience?—because, by having gained information on theſe points, ſhe may inſpire her ſon with valuable taſtes, which may abide by him through life, and carry him up to all the ſublimities of knowledge;—becauſe ſhe cannot lay the foundation of a great character, if ſhe is abſorbed in frivolous amuſements—nor inſpire her child with noble deſires, when a long courſe of trifling has deſtroyed the little talents which were left by a bad education.

It is of great importance to a country, that there ſhould be as many underſtandings as poſſible actively employed within it. Mankind are much happier for the diſcovery of barometers, thermometers, ſteam-engines, and all the innumerable inventions in the arts and ſciences. We are every day and every hour reaping the benefit of ſuch talent and ingenuity. The ſame obſervation is true of ſuch works as thoſe of Dryden, Pope, Milton and Shakeſpeare. Mankind are much happier that ſuch individuals have lived and written;—they add every day to the ſtock of public enjoyment—and perpetually gladden and embelliſh life. Now, the number of thoſe who exerciſe their underſtandings to any good purpoſe, is exactly in proportion to thoſe who exerciſe it at all; but, as the matter ſtands at preſent, half the talent in the

univerſe

univerſe runs to waſte, and is totally unprofitable. It would have been almoſt as well for the world, hitherto, that women, inſtead of poſſeſſing the capacities they do at preſent, ſhould have been born wholly deſtitute of wit, genius, and every other attribute of mind, of which men make ſo eminent an uſe: and the ideas of uſe and poſſeſſion are ſo united together, that, becauſe it has been the cuſtom in almoſt all countries to give to women a different and a worſe education than to men, the notion has obtained that they do not poſſeſs faculties which they do not cultivate. Juſt as, in breaking up a common, it is ſometimes very difficult to make the poor believe it will carry corn, merely becauſe they have been hitherto accuſtomed to ſee it produce nothing but weeds and graſs—they very naturally miſtake its preſent condition for its general nature. So completely have the talents of women been kept down, that there is ſcarcely a ſingle work, either of reaſon or imagination, written by a woman, which is in general circulation, either in the Engliſh, French, or Italian literature;—ſcarcely one that has crept even into the ranks of our minor poets.

If the poſſeſſion of excellent talents is not a concluſive reaſon why they ſhould be improved, it at leaſt amounts to a very ſtrong preſumption; and, if it can be ſhown that women may be trained to reaſon and imagine as well as men, the ſtrongeſt reaſons are certainly neceſſary to ſhow us why we ſhould not avail ourſelves of ſuch rich gifts of nature; and we have a right to call for a clear ſtatement of thoſe perils which make it neceſſary that ſuch talents ſhould be totally extinguiſhed, or, at moſt, very partially drawn out. The burthen of proof does not lye with thoſe who ſay, Increaſe the quantity of talent in any country as much as poſſible—for ſuch a propoſition is in conformity with every man's feelings; but it lyes with thoſe who ſay, Take care to keep that underſtanding weak and trifling, which nature has made capable of becoming ſtrong and powerful. The paradox is with them, not with us. In all human reaſoning, knowledge muſt be taken for a good, till it can be ſhown to be an evil. But now, Nature makes to us rich and magnificent preſents; and we ſay to her—You are too luxuriant and munificent—we muſt keep you under, and prune you;—we have talents enough in the other half of the creation;—and, if you will not ſtupify and enfeeble the mind of women to our hands, we ourſelves muſt expoſe them to a narcotic proceſs, and educate away that fatal redundance with which the world is afflicted, and the order of ſublunary things deranged.

One of the greateſt pleaſures of life is converſation;—and the pleaſures of converſation are of courſe enhanced by every increaſe of knowledge: not that we ſhould meet together to talk of alkalis

and

and angles, or to add to our ſtock of hiſtory and philology—though a little of all theſe things is no bad ingredient in converſation—but, let the ſubject be what it may, there is always a prodigious difference between the converſation of thoſe who have been well educated, and of thoſe who have not enjoyed this advantage. Education gives fecundity of thought, copiouſneſs of illuſtration, quickneſs, vigour, fancy, words, images and illuſtrations;—it decorates every common thing, and gives the power of trifling, without being undignified and abſurd. The ſubjects themſelves may not be wanted, upon which the talents of an educated man have been exerciſed; but there is always a demand for thoſe talents which his education has rendered ſtrong and quick. Now, really nothing can be farther from our intention than to ſay any thing rude and unpleaſant; but we muſt be excuſed for obſerving, that it is not now a very common thing to be intereſted by the variety and extent of female knowledge, but it is a very common thing to lament, that the fineſt faculties in the world have been confined to trifles utterly unworthy of their richneſs and their ſtrength.

The purſuit of knowledge is the moſt innocent and intereſting occupation which can be given to the female ſex; nor can there be a better method of checking a ſpirit of diſſipation, than by diffuſing a taſte for literature. The true way to attack vice, is by ſetting up ſomething elſe againſt it. Give to women, in early youth, ſomething to acquire, of ſufficient intereſt and importance to command the application of their mature faculties, and to excite their perſeverance in future life;—teach them, that happineſs is to be derived from the acquiſition of knowledge, as well as the gratification of vanity; and you will raiſe up a much more formidable barrier againſt diſſipation than an hoſt of invectives and exhortations can ſupply.

It ſometimes happens that an unfortunate man gets drunk with very bad wine,—not to gratify his palate, but to forget his cares: he does not ſet any value on what he receives, but on account of what it excludes;—it keeps out ſomething worſe than itſelf. Now, though it were denied that the acquiſition of ſerious knowledge is of itſelf important to a woman, ſtill it prevents a taſte for ſilly and pernicious works of imagination;—it keeps away the horrid traſh of novels; and, in lieu of that eagerneſs for emotion and adventure, which books of that ſort inſpire, promotes a calm and ſteady temperament of mind.

A man who deſerves ſuch a piece of good fortune, may generally find an excellent companion for all the viciſſitudes of his life;—but it is not ſo eaſy to find a companion for his underſtanding, who has ſimilar purſuits with himſelf, or who can comprehend the plea-

ſure

ſure he derives from them. We really can ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be otherwiſe; nor comprehend how the pleaſures of domeſtic life can be promoted by diminiſhing the number of ſubjects in which perſons who are to ſpend their lives together take a common intereſt.

One of the moſt agreeable conſequences of knowledge, is the reſpect and importance which it communicates to old age. Men riſe in character often as they increaſe in years;—they are venerable from what they have acquired, and pleaſing from what they can impart. If they outlive their faculties, the mere frame itſelf is reſpected for what it once contained; but women (ſuch is their unfortunate ſtyle of education) hazard every thing upon the caſt of the die;—when youth is gone, all is gone. No human creature gives his admiration for nothing; either the eye muſt be charmed, or the underſtanding gratified. A woman muſt talk wiſely, or look well. Every human being muſt put up with the coldeſt civility, who has neither the charms of youth nor the wiſdom of age. Neither is there the ſlighteſt commiſeration for decayed accompliſhments:—no man mourns over the fragments of a dancer, or drops a tear on the relics of muſical ſkill. They are flowers deſtined to periſh; but the decay of great talents is always the ſubject of ſolemn pity; and, even when their laſt memorial is over, their ruins and veſtiges are regarded with pious affection.

There is no connexion between the ignorance in which women are kept, and the preſervation of moral and religious principle; and yet certainly there is, in the minds of ſome timid and reſpectable perſons, a vague, indefinite dread of knowledge, as if it were capable of producing theſe effects. It might almoſt be ſuppoſed, from the dread which the propagation of knowledge has excited, that there was ſome great ſecret which was to be kept in impenetrable obſcurity,—that all moral rules were a ſpecies of deluſion and impoſture, the detection of which, by the improvement of the underſtanding, would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to all, and particularly to women. If we could poſſibly underſtand what theſe great ſecrets were, we might perhaps be diſpoſed to concur in their preſervation; but, believing that all the ſalutary rules which are impoſed on women are the reſult of true wiſdom, and productive of the greateſt happineſs, we cannot underſtand how they are to become leſs ſenſible of this truth in proportion as their power of diſcovering truth in general is increaſed, and the habit of viewing queſtions with accuracy and comprehenſion eſtabliſhed by education. There are men, indeed, who are always exclaiming againſt every ſpecies of power, becauſe it is connected with danger: their dread of abuſes is ſo much ſtronger than their admiration of uſes, that they

they would cheerfully give up the uſe of fire, gunpowder, and printing, to be freed from robbers, incendiaries and libels. It is true, that every increaſe of knowledge may poſſibly render depravity more depraved, as well as it may increaſe the ſtrength of virtue. It is in itſelf only power; and its value depends on its application. But, truſt to the natural love of good where there is no temptation to be bad,—it operates no where more forcibly than in education. No man, whether he be tutor, guardian, or friend, ever contents himſelf with infuſing the mere ability to acquire; but, giving the power, he gives with it a taſte for the wiſe and rational exerciſe of that power; ſo that an educated perſon is not only one with ſtronger and better faculties than others, but with a more uſeful propenſity—a diſpoſition better cultivated—and aſſociations of a higher and more important claſs.

In ſhort, and to recapitulate the main points upon which we have inſiſted.—Why the diſproportion in knowledge between the two ſexes ſhould be ſo great, when the inequality in natural talents is ſo ſmall; or why the underſtanding of women ſhould be laviſhed upon trifles, when nature has made it capable of higher and better things, we profeſs ourſelves not able to underſtand. The affectation charged upon female knowledge is beſt cured by making that knowledge more general; and the economy devolved upon women is beſt ſecured by the ruin, diſgrace, and inconvenience which proceeds from neglecting it. For the care of children, nature has made a direct and powerful proviſion; and the gentleneſs and elegance of women is the natural conſequence of that deſire to pleaſe, which is productive of the greateſt part of civilization and refinement, and which reſts upon a foundation too deep to be ſhaken by any ſuch modifications in education as we have propoſed. If you educate women to attend to dignified and important ſubjects, you are multiplying, beyond meaſure, the chances of human improvement, by preparing and *medicating* thoſe early impreſſions, which always come from the mother; and which, in a great majority of inſtances, are quite deciſive of character and genius. Nor is it only in the buſineſs of education that women would influence the deſtiny of men;—if women knew more, men muſt learn more—for ignorance would then be ſhameful—and it would become the faſhion to be inſtructed. The inſtruction of women improves the ſtock of national talents, and employs more minds for the inſtruction and amuſement of the world;—it increaſes the pleaſures of ſociety, by multiplying the topics upon which the two ſexes take a common intereſt;—and makes marriage an intercourſe of underſtanding as well as of affection, by giving dignity and importance to the female character.

The education of women favours public morals; it provides for every

every ſeaſon of life, as well as for the brighteſt and the beſt; and leaves a woman when ſhe is ſtricken by the hand of time, not as ſhe now is, deſtitute of every thing, and neglected by all; but with the full power and the ſplendid attractions of knowledge,—diffuſing the elegant pleaſures of polite literature, and receiving the juſt homage of learned and accompliſhed men.

ART. IV. *Æschyli Tragœdiæ, ex Editione Thomæ Stanleii. Accedunt Notæ VV. DD. quibus suas intertexuit Samuel Butler, A. M.* Cantabrigiæ, Typis ac Sumtibus Academicis. Tom. I. 4to. Tom. I. & II. 8vo. 1809.

WE expected, in our laſt Number, to have completed the examination of the firſt volume of this important publication; but, having been unfortunately prevented by the preſſure of time, we now proceed to the conſideration of the Fragments of the loſt dramas on the ſubject of Prometheus, which are printed from Stanley, with his verſion and commentary, and the notes of other critics, forming an appendix to the firſt volume.

Theſe dramas are uſually diſtinguiſhed by the titles of Προμηθεὺς, Πυρφόρος & Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος; but, from a paſſage in Pollux ix. 8, wherein he cites the Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεὺς, Meurſius and Hemſterhuis conclude that this was a diſtinct play from the Π. Πυρφόρος; which is very improbable; for the title is nowhere elſe quoted; and Pollux might eaſily call it Πυρκαεύς, whilſt claſſing it with the Καύκλιος Πυρκαεὺς of Sophocles. Mr Butler, therefore, judiciously follows Canter and Stanley in thinking that there were only three plays on the ſubject of Prometheus. We have before mentioned our diſapprobation of his notion, that theſe three, with the Supplices, formed a Tetralogia Promethea; but, in doing ſo, we inadvertently committed a miſtake. The author of the argument to the Perſæ, ſtates, that Æſchylus gained the prize in the archonſhip of Menon by the following tetralogy, the Perſæ, Glaucus Potnienſis, Phineus and Prometheus; 'that is,' we ſaid, 'either the Prometheus Vinctus or Solutus; for the Prometheus Ignifer ſeems to have been a ſatyric drama, as was the Glaucus Potnienſis.' We ſhould have ſaid, the Glaucus Pontius or Marinus; for the other was a tragedy: the Phineus was probably the ſatyric drama of the tetralogy. Mr Butler, in a note, p. 215. 8vo, has no doubt but that the Prometheus of Epicharmus was a ſatyric drama. Now, we believe that the comic writers never compoſed ſatyric dramas; which were invented by Pratinas, a tragic writer, contemporary with Æſchylus, and ſeem to have been appropriated

appropriated to the buſkin. Herman has diſcuſſed the queſtion in his Epiſtola de Dramate Comico-Satyrico, but ſcarcely at ſufficient length. We proceed now to offer ſome obſervations on the Fragments, in the order which Mr Butler has adopted. The account which he has given of ſome of them, is not ſo complete as it might have been: we will endeavour to ſupply the deficiency, taking for the baſis of our remarks the text printed by Stanley.

FRAG. I. PROM. IGNIFER. I. A. Gell. N. A. xiii. 18. '*Id quoque animadvertimus, apud Æschylum in* Πυρφόρῳ Προμηθεῖ, *et Euripidem in* Ἰνοῖ *eundem esse versum absque paucis syllabis.* Σιγῶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ, καὶ λέγων τὰ καίρια. *Euripides autem sic,* Σιγᾷν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἵν' ἀσφαλές.' Which, as Gronovius remarks, more nearly reſembles the 580th verſe of the Choeph., than that quoted by A. Gellius, to the ſimilar lines adduced by Gronovius and Pauw; Valcknaer, Diatrib. p. 175, adds Eumen. 277.

FRAG. II. Pollux x. 17. λίναδες καὶ πίσσα καὶ ὠμολίνου μακροὶ τόνοι. The edition of Aldus omits the ſecond καὶ, and has ὁμολίνου. Salmaſius and Stanley, λίναδες, πίσσα, καὶ ὠμολίνου μακροὶ τόνοι. Pauw, λίνα δὲ, πίσσα, κὠμολίνου μακροὶ τόνοι. both evidently futile corrections. Bentley, Epiſt. ad Hemſterhuis. p. 96. Λίνα δὲ γεῖσσα κὠμολίνου μακροὶ τόνοι. 'Lineæ fimbriæ et crudi lini teniæ.'—'Sed,' he adds, 'cum editio Aldina habeat λίναδες πίσσα, et Codd. MSS. λίνα δὲ σπίσσα, 'merito illud ſigma haud temere irrepſiſſe videatur. Verius igitur, credo, reponas λινᾶ δὲ σπεῖρα, κὠμολίνου μακροὶ τόνοι;' which is a moſt ſingular miſtake; for, how can we believe Bentley not to have obſerved, that, by this correction, he introduced a ſpondee into the ſecond foot? γεῖσσα is far more probable; though this ſenſe of it occurs but ſeldom: indeed, we do not now remember any inſtance, except that of Ariſtophanes quoted by Heſychius.

FRAG. III. in Plut. p. 150. H. St. Euſtath. p. 415. Ed. Rom. The introductory words of Plutarch prove that this was a ſatyric drama; of which, indeed, the Fragments themſelves contain internal evidence. PROM. SOL. FRAGM. I. apud Strab. IV. p. 183. Dionyſ. Halic. I. Mr Butler has given theſe references; but he does not mention that in Dionyſius is ἐν οἶδα for σαφ' οἶδα, μέμψει for μέμψῃ, and θοῦρός περ ὢν for θηρὸς περῶν, as H. Stephens had corrected the words in Strabo. Secondly, he gives Salmaſius the credit of σὺ Βαλὼν διώξεις for συμβαλὼν δηώσεις, which is the correction, and an excellent one it is, of Paulus Leopardus, Em. v. 17.; nor does he notice that Leopardus, Salmaſius and Heath, all leave a ſpondee in the fourth foot of the ſeventh verſe. νεφέλην δ' ὑποσχὼν, νιφάδι στρογγύλων πετρῶν. We have heard γογγύλων conjectured; but we think it a comic word.

FRAG.

FRAG. IV. The arrangement suggested by Mr Butler had been previously made by Toup. in Suid. I. p. 94.

FRAG. V. apud Galen. de Morb. Epid. p. 454. συστρέψας is Bentley's correction, Epist. ad Mill. p. 50, and not Pauw's.—Ruhnken, Ep. Crit. p. 65, for ἵν' εὐλαβοῦ quotes σὺ δ' εὐλαβοῦ, which we do not approve.

FRAG. VII. Steph. Byz. in v. Ἄβιοι; for ἥξει, Stanley, Pauw, and Mr Butler, read ἥξεις; but the true reading is ἵξει. See Prom. v. 723. Orph. Argon. 641. Ὕλας ἐξήκετο νηός, Ruhnken, from the MSS. ἐξίκετο. ἀνδρῶν απάντων is the conjecture of Hartungus. Loc. Memorab. I. 4. Valcknaer in Adoniaz. p. 217, conjectures Σκυθῶν ἁπάντων, which we conceive not to be Greek. (θνητῶν and γάπονος for γωτόμος, Stanley copied from Grotius, Exc. p. 48.) Valcknaer thinks also, that Stephanus was deceived by a faulty manuscript in quoting Γαβιους from Æschylus; and we perfectly agree with him in his opinion. Toup. in Suid. III. 493, thinks that it should be written FAβίους, with the digamma, which we imagine to be totally out of the question.

We shall now consider that most deplorably corrupt play, the *Supplices*, which we never peruse, without regretting deeply the loss of that invaluable Codex Manuscriptus, which the reverend Mr Adams is recorded to have thrown upon the fire in the transports of his joy. Had this valuable 'chartaceous copy' been preserved, together with the marginal annotations of the learned possessor, the bulky labours of nine or ten commentators might probably have been spared.

V. 4. Mr Butler has not remarked that Porson retains the old reading λεπτοβαθῶν, without the article: τῶν does not appear to us to be indispensable, though it improves the verse. V. 39. πατραδελφίαν. We agree with Mr Butler in adopting the correction of Pauw, πατραδελφείαν; though the alteration is not absolutely necessary; for the similar instances of κικια, ὑπεροπλια, κατηφίη, μορίη, αἰθρίη, κονία, ὁρμία, καλίη, προεδρίη, and several others, may be urged in defence of the quantity of its penultima. Great confusion exists amongst the nouns terminating in εια and ια, from the different modes of writing the diphthong EI in different ages. V. 44. Herman, in his edition of the Orphica, p. 314, has given ἀνθονομούσας, as a correction of his own, for ἀνθονόμου τῶς; when, in fact, Porson has printed ανθονομουσας, which was probably suggested to him by the reading of Robortellus. V. 84. ὕβριν δ' ἐτύμως στυγοῦντες Πέλοιτ' ἂν ἔνδικοι γάμοις—a syllable is wanting after στυγοῦντες;—we would supply οὐ, and construe it thus—'If ye indeed hate insolent violence, ye cannot be with justice concerned in this marriage.'

An excellent conjecture of Bothe's, in v. 101, is unnoticed: he reads δαπέδων for δ' ἀπιδὼν. So seldom does that unfortunate editor

blunder upon the truth, that it is but fair to give him credit when he really deserves it:—he has need enough of it. There is a dismally tedious note on v. 130, in which a conjecture or two is set forth in the form of a query. 'Nec tamen placet,' says Mr Butler; which observation, with regard to ourselves, is strictly true. Schutz is certainly right in taking δορὸς with ἄχειματον, notwithstanding that the learned editor, on this occasion, 'desiderates Mr Schutz's wonted elegance.' But where, in the name of fortune, did Mr Butler learn to talk of the *elegance* of this commentator, which is a topic he insists on in frequent laudatory remarks? May we not expect to hear of the *elegant* Le Clerk, the *elegant* Pauw, the *elegant* Bothe? What possible claim an editor can have to this epithet, who possesses neither learning, taste, nor literary honesty, we are at a loss to conceive.

Mr Butler renders ἅλα στέγων δορὸς, 'mare arcens à ligno;' which is so evidently false that it would be superfluous to prove it so. V. 184. Ἵκετε. Ἥκετε Porsonus; 'quod quis non prætulerit?'—but why is not the reason assigned, viz. that ἵκω is never used by the Attic poets in the active voice? V. 212. πρὸς φρονούσας ἐννέπεις. Φρονοῦντας, Med. Ask. D. Guelph. Which of these readings Mr Butler prefers, he has given us no clue to conjecture. Is it not strange that he should have omitted to remark, that the metre requires, and the well-known canon of Dawes confirms, the reading of these three MSS.?—which, if it be admitted, establishes φυλάξομαι in the succeeding verse. V. 222. is cited by Plutarch, p. 1077. For νῦν, in v. 228, we think νῷν should be read. V. 261. τῶνδε τἀπὶ τάδε κρατῶ. We conceive the true reading to be τῶνδε τἄπειτα κρατῶ, as before τἀπέκεινα. τῶνδέ τ' ἔπει τάδε Guelph. τῶνδ' ἔτ' ἔπειτα δὲ Ald. κρατῶ governs an accusative case, v. 262. V. 274. μήνη καὶ δάκη. μηνεῖται ἄκη, Med. Ald. Rob. If we mistake not, Porson's correction was γαῖα μηνίτη δάκη. His emendation of vv. 321. 326. is admirable. For εὐφώνῳ, in the latter of these verses, we should probably read ἀφθόνῳ, ἀφώνῳ Med. Ald. ἀφθώνῳ Ask. D. Rob. V. 355. ἀμπέτραις. Mr Butler's conjecture, ἃ 'μ πέτραις, appears to us very probable.

The strophe and antistrophe, which Mr Butler has arranged at v. 369, are capable of a much more rythmical division; but we shall forbear to suggest it, as our hints will probably have been superseded by the appearance of Dr Burney's work on the choric metres of Æschylus, before these remarks can issue from the press. V. 544. ἐφάπτωρ Ἰοῦς. Porson ἔφαπτορ, which Herman proposes as his own correction. Orphic. p. 314. The commentators make strange work of v. 568; and Mr Butler hallucinates with the rest—ὅν τ' ἐπέρχεται Τυφῶ μένος. Ὕδωρ τὸ Νείλου νόσοις ἄθικτον. 'Pulcherrime,' says Mr B. 'interpres Gallicus—*Où se repand, amenée par Typhon, l'eau du Nil.*' This may be *beautiful*, and it is new;

 but

but it is not true: and, till the French translator, or the English editor, shall explain to us the construction and the meaning which they have adopted, we shall continue to think that Νείλου is the antecedent to ὅν.

V. 744. Wesseling. ad Herod. IV. p. 347. reads μῆχος for the common reading μῆκος; but, we think, without reason.

V. 783. We think that the two first verses of the strophe should be read thus.

STROPHE.

γᾶβοῦνις ἔνδικον σέβας,
τί πεισόμεσθα; ποῖ φύγωμεν Ἀπίας . . . .

ANTISTROPHE.

ἀφυκτον· οὐκ ἔτ' ἂν πελοι.
μελαινόχρως δὲ πάλλεταί μοῦ καρδιᾶ.

V. 814. τέμνω, for εὕρω, is undoubtedly the true reading. But the passage from Ælian, adduced by Abresch, is nothing to the purpose. We are surprised that Mr Butler should not have illustrated the phrase, or at least have referred us to Stanley's note on the Agamemnon, v. 17. & Ruhnkens, Hymn. Cerer. 229.

V. 815. and the 16 following lines, may, we think, be reduced under the form of Strophe and Antistrophe. We will give them as we would propose that they should be read; and we request the reader to compare them with the common text.

STROPHE.

Ἴυζε δ' ὀμφὰν οὐρανίαν, *
θεοῖσι μέλη λίτανα, καὶ
τέλεά γ' ἐμοὶ πελόμενάπως
λυσίμαχ', ἐπειδὴ, πάτερ, †
βίαν οὐ φιλεῖς ὁρῶη
ὄμμασιν ἐνδίκοις.
σεβίζου δ' ἱκέτας σέθεν,
γαιοῦχε παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ.

ANTISTROPHE.

γένος γάρ Αἰγύπτιον ὕβριν
δύσφορον ἀρσενογενὲς,
μετά με δρόμοισι διόμενοι,
φυγάδα μάταις πολυθρόοις
βία διζηνται λαβεῖν.
σὸν δ' ἐπίπαν ζυγὸν
ταλάντου. τί δ' ἄνευ σέθεν
θνατοῖς τέλειόν ἐστιν;

We scarcely know what to say of v. 855, &c. except that the conjectures of Mr Butler and his learned friend are equally inadmissible, since μέθεσθαι requires a genitive case.

* ουρανίαν, Ald. Tum. † Edd. λύσιμα μάχιμα δ' ἔπιδε.

V. 879. Ἴϋζε καὶ λάκαζε. Mr Butler first conjectures λάκιζε; and then, in the Second Commentary, renders λάκαζε *vestem abscinde;* fortifying himself behind his friends the lexicographers, who, as usual, fail him in the time of need. We will give the learned editor a specimen of the caution which should be used, in citing the authority of these auxiliaries. The following gloss is given from Hesychius. Λακίζει· θωπεύει, ῥηγνύει, ῥήσσει; in which, we suppose, Mr Butler sees no need of correction. But it is evident that two glosses are confounded; and we read, *at our peril,* Λαικάζει. θωπεύει. Λακίζει. ῥηγνύει. ῥήσσει. Scholiast. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 63. λαικάζει. ἐξαπατᾷ. A similar confusion exists in the gloss of Hesychius on Λασκάζει, where also should be read λαικάζει.

V. 886. ὃς ἐρωτᾷς· ὁ μέγας Νεῖλος. '*Mira est,*' says Mr Butler, '*emendatio Scaligeri.* ὦ ἔρως γοᾶς ὁ μέγας· Νεῖλος.' Where this emendation comes from, we know not; but if Valcknaer may be believed, Diatrib. p. 53, Scaliger's conjecture was ὁ ἔρως γᾶς.

V. 899. With regard to βᾶ, μᾶ, and πᾶ, about which interjections Mr Butler seems to be in doubt, all that we could tell him about them has been anticipated by Valcknaer, in Adoniaz. Theocr. p. 382., to whom we refer him. Three unhappy conjectures are started at v. 917. The true reading is to be restored partly from Schutz, and partly from a MS. note of Porson. "ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ὀξὺ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. *Vid. Eurip. Orest.* 1544. *Soph. El.* 30." Thucyd. II. 1 F τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ΟΞΕΩΣ δεχόμενοι. II. 89. τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ΟΞΕΩΣ δεχεσθε. Il. p. 256. ὣς ἔφατ'. ΟΞΥ δ' ΑΚΟΥΣΕΝ ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας.

V. 957. ἴσθι τάδ', ἤδη πόλεμον αἱρήσει νέον; which Porson corrected in the following admirable manner—

ἢ 'σται τάδ', ἢ δεῖ πόλεμον αἱρεσθαι νέον;

V. 994. δορὶ ἀνημέρῳ θανών, is thus restored by the same great critic—δορυκανεῖ μόρῳ θανών. And here we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise, that none of these emendations which the late Professor communicated to his friends, should have reached Mr Butler's ears; for we cannot help thinking, that he might have come to the knowledge of them without much trouble. Such is the veneration which we feel for the name of Porson, that we think it a duty incumbent on every English scholar, who is preparing an edition of a Greek author, to inquire diligently what has been said by that incomparable scholar on the subject, and to record his opinions, with deference and fidelity. The arrangement of a chorus by Dr Burney, which is given at v. 1019. from the Monthly Review, Jan. 1798, is a sufficient proof of the metrical skill of that eminent scholar. But the conjecture of Bothe, θέλκτορι, for θεάκτορι, v. 1048, appears to us quite indisputable,

able, inasmuch as it improves the rhythm and the sense, and is confirmed by v. 1063. σὺ δὲ δίλογος ἂν ἄθικτον. On the metrical notes of Mr Butler it is difficult to decide: we do not believe that the metres of Æschylus can ever be defined with certainty, except in a few instances.

In the philological commentary on v. 97, Mr Butler alludes to a passage in Pausanias. If he intends to publish the Fragments, this passage will enable him to refer to the Glaucus Pontius a verse which Stanley has inserted in the Fragmenta Incerta. δαῦλος ἡ ὑπήνη καὶ γυναῖος πυθμήν—Eustath. in Il. B. p. 274. Etym. M. v. Δαῦλις, Pausan. p. 253. Ald.; which was overlooked by Paulus Leopardus. Em. XI. 24.

Mr Müller's remarks on the first part of the Supplices are unusually facetious. We were somewhat startled at his expression, '*Curiosam* Apidis historiam'—*the curious history of Apis.* This we conceive to be curious Latin, at all events. He makes some amends, however, at v. 809, by quoting a passage from Seneca, which singularly resembles some well known lines of Shakespeare: '*Scalpello aperitur ad illam magnam libertatem via, et puncto securitas constat.*' Ep. LXX. The resemblance is remarked by Mr Butler.

In v. 559, Stanley seems to imagine, that Λύδια γύαλα are the *plains* of Lydia; and adds, '*Planam fuisse Lydiam innuit adagium,* Λυδὸν εἰς πεδίον προκαλεῖν.' In the first place, γύαλον always signifies 'a hollow;' and, in the proverb adduced, Λυδὸν is 'a Lydian;' and the meaning of it is, 'to challenge a Lydian (*i. e.* a coward) to the fight.' Plato and Menander apud Schol. Plat. p. 29. Ἱππεῖς προκαλεῖσθαι εἰς πίδιον—'to catch a Tartar;' which is exactly an opposite adage.

Of the heap of useless annotations which have been written on this play, Mr Butler has given a tolerably copious selection; but he has also inserted a considerable number of useful remarks from Abresch, Valcknaer, and his own Adversaria. We beg leave, however, to enter a vigorous protest against the publication of any more of the lucubrations of Mr Müller; which, to speak the truth plainly, are mostly unqualified nonsense, and serve only to augment the bulk of commentaries, already too voluminous. The additional notes, which Mr Butler has published from the MSS. of Stanley, are highly valuable, and display the extensive reading of that learned man. They are principally illustrations of sentiments or expressions; and, in this species of commentary, Stanley was peculiarly successful. There are many, however, which Mr Butler might have enlarged with the observations of later critics, where they could throw additional light on the subject. For specimens of the value of these Curæ Posteriores of Stanley, we refer the reader to vv. 78, 119, 189, 198, 300, 314, 645, 980.

We now take leave of Mr Butler for the preſent, and ſhall be happy to renew our acquaintance with him on the appearance of another volume. A little more diſcretion in the ſelection of the notes, and a little more care in compreſſing thoſe which are ſelected, will certainly enhance the value of the work. Many parts of it will undoubtedly be ſerviceable to readers of Æſchylus; but it is extremely troubleſome to pick out the wheat from the quantity of chaff which hides it. For ourſelves, we ſhould have been better pleaſed had Mr Butler contented himſelf with publiſhing what he terms the Commentarius Criticus, containing a ſynopſis of the various lections. This would have formed a neat octavo volume of about 200 pages, extremely uſeful to the ſtudent who reads Æſchylus with critical attention. But we are decidedly of opinion, that to republiſh literally the text of Stanley's edition, was a ſuperfluous and uſeleſs undertaking. This portion of the book, we conceive no reader will make uſe of: the philological commentary will ſcarcely repay the trouble of peruſing it. But the 'Notæ Criticæ' are worth conſulting; perhaps we may ſay, *muſt* be conſulted, by him who would ſtudy the text in its pureſt form. In diſcuſſing the comparative merit of the text, as it ſtands in the volume before us, and the critical commentary which is ſubjoined to it, we may apply the remark which Scaliger is ſaid to have made concerning the Perſius of Caſaubon—'*La ſauce vaut mieux que le poiſſon.*'

ART. V. 1. *Report of the Royal College of Phyſicians of London on Vaccination; with an Appendix, containing the Opinions of the Royal Colleges of Phyſicians of Edinburgh and Dublin, and of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London, of Dublin, and of Edinburgh.* Ordered to be printed, 8th July 1807. pp. 13. Folio.

2. *Miniſtère de l'Interieur; Séance Générale de la Société Centrale etablie pour l'Extinction de la Petite Verole en France, par la Propagation de la Vaccine.* pp. 130. 8vo. 12. Juin 1806.

3. *L. 30,000 for the Cow-Pox!!! An Address (to Lord H. P., and) to the British Parliament on Vaccination, (of the greateſt Importance to Mankind); wherein the Report of the College of Phyſicians is completely confuted.* Audi alteram partem—*Be candid, be juſt.* By Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, Eſq. Second Edition; with an Appendix and Plates. pp. 85 & xxi. 8vo. London, 1807.

4. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c &c. on the Expediency and Propriety of regulating, by Parliamentary Authority, the Practice of Variolous Inoculation,*

Inoculation, with a View to the Extermination of the Small-Pox. pp. 36. 8vo. London, 1807.

5. *A Popular View of Vaccine Inoculation, with the Practical Mode of conducting it, showing the Analogy between the Small-Pox and Cow-Pox, and the Advantages of the Latter.* By Joseph Adams, M. D. F. L. S. Phisician to the Small-Pox and Inoculation Hospitals, &c. pp. 161. 12mo. London, 1807.
6. *The Cow-Pox Chronicle, or Medical Reporter. (Stamped Newspaper.)* Jan. 23d, 1808.
7. *The Fatal Effects of Cow-Pox Protection; manifested by a Narrative of the Occurrences which have recently happened at Ringwood in Hampshire.* 8vo. London, 1808.
8. *Report of the Royal Jennerian Society on the supposed Failures at Ringwood.* Feb. 1808.
9. *The Vaccine Scourge, in Answer to the Calumnies and Falsehoods lately circulated with great Industry by that extraordinary Surgeon Mr Birch, and other Antivaccinists.* 'A Rod for a Fool's Back.' 8vo. London, 1808.
10. *The Vaccine Phantasmagoria.* pp. 27. 4to. London. 1808.
11. *Hints for the Consideration of Parliament, in a Letter to Dr Jenner on the supposed Failures of Vaccination at Ringwood, including a Report of the Royal Jennerian Society on that Subject, after a careful Public Investigation upon the Spot; also containing Remarks on the prevalent abuse of Variolous Inoculation, and on the dreadful Expense of Out-Patients attending at the Small-Pox Hospital.* By William Blair, Surgeon, &c. pp. 300. 8vo. London, 1808.
12. *Debates in Parliament, respecting the Jennerian Discovery, including the late Debate on the future Grant of 20,000l. to Dr Jenner; together with the Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London, with introductory Remarks.* By Charles Murray. pp. 164. 8vo. London, 1808.
13. *A Statement of some Objections to the Bill as amended by the Committee of the House of Commons, to prevent the spreading of the Infection of the Small-Pox; to which is subjoined, a Copy of the Bill.* By A. Highmore, Gent. pp. 32. 8vo. London, 1808.
14. *An Answer to Mr Highmore's Objections to the Bill before Parliament, to prevent the spreading of the Infection of the Small-Pox; with an Appendix, containing some interesting Communications from foreign Medical Practitioners on the Progress and Efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation.* By Charles Murray. pp. 70. 8vo. London, 1808.
15. *An Inquiry into the Laws of Epidemics; with Remarks on the Plans lately proposed for exterminating the Small-Pox.* By Joseph Adams, M. D. &c. pp. 157. London, 1809.

16. *Practical Observations on the Inoculation of Cow-Pox, pointing out a new mode of obtaining and preserving the Infection; and also a certain Test of perfect Vaccination. Illustrated by Cases and Plates. The Second Edition; with an Appendix, containing additional Observations, together with a Plan for extinguishing the Contagion of the Small-Pox in the British Empire, and for rendering the Vaccine Inoculation general and effectual.* By James Bryce, F. R. S. Edinburgh, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. pp. 214. and Append. pp. 132. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.

17. *An Inquiry into the antivariolous Power of Vaccination; in which, from the State of the Phenomena, and the Occurrence of a great variety of Cases, the most serious Doubts are suggested, of the Efficacy of the whole Practice; and its Powers, at best, proved to be only Temporary; from which also will appear the Necessity of, and proper Period for, again submitting to Inoculation with variolous Virus.* By Thomas Brown, Surgeon, Musselburgh. *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit.* pp. 327. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.

18. *Report of the Surgeons of the Edinburgh Vaccine Institution, containing an Examination of the Opinions and Statements of Mr Brown of Musselburgh on Vaccination.* Drawn up at the Desire of the Managers, and published by their Direction, for the Benefit of the Institution. pp. 35. with Append. pp. 8. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.

19. *A Letter, in reply to the Report of the Surgeons of the Vaccine Institution, Edinburgh; with an Appendix, containing a variety of interesting Letters on the Subject of Vaccination, and including a Correspondence with Dr Duncan, Dr Lee, and Mr Bryce: from which also the Public will be able to appretiate the Authority of the Surgeons of the Vaccine Institution, and to form a correct Opinion of the whole Subject.* By Thomas Brown, Surgeon, Musselburgh. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.

On a former occasion we entered at considerable length into the merits of Vaccination, and gave a sketch of the acrimonious controversy it had excited in the medical world. Since that time the subject has acquired still greater interest, and has given rise to various legislative projects, of no common delicacy and importance. It is very probable, we think, that these will soon be renewed and multiplied; and, in disposing of them, we are well aware, that the utmost caution will be requisite; lest, on the one hand, we prevent the adoption of safe and effectual means, for limiting the ravages of the most loathsome and destructive of our diseases—or, on the other, increase, by precipitate coercion, the evils we wish to avert.

The

The long liſt of publications prefixed to this article, and which, after all, is but a ſmall portion of what has lately been written on the ſubject, will give our readers an idea of the keenneſs with which the vaccine controverſy is ſtill maintained. While the vaccinists have been ſtrengthening their poſition by parliamentary votes and collegiate reports;—while Mr Blair has been flogging Mr Birch, and Mr Ring has been ſounding a peal in the ears of Dr Moſely,—the nicknames, handbills, ſquibs, and caricatures of their adverſaries, have been too ſucceſsfully employed, where they were calculated to do moſt miſchief—among the weak and the ignorant. This diſgraceful warfare, we muſt however remark, has been almoſt entirely confined to the metropolis; and, till within theſe few months, was unknown on this ſide of the Tweed.

It would be both an irkſome and unprofitable taſk, to attempt to give a regular view of all that has been written for and againſt cowpox, ſince the ſubject was formerly under our conſideration. With a few praiſeworthy exceptions, the diſpute has been carried on with the ſame violence and diſregard of accuracy, either in obſerving or in reaſoning, which we had formerly ſo much occaſion to reprobate. In truth, vaccination has had to ſtruggle, not only againſt the indefatigable activity of avowed opponents, but alſo againſt the treacherous manœuvres of pretended friends, and the miſguided zeal of injudicious partiſans. While Dr Auban recommends vaccination to the followers of Mahomet as a preventive, not only of ſmallpox, but alſo of the plague, Dr Gillum, in the courſe of his arguments for a *gradual* introduction of cowpox, ſeriouſly expreſſes his fears to Lord Hawkeſbury, that by relinquiſhing ſmallpox inoculation, we ſhall have the plague again introduced among ourſelves. This ſagacious conjecture is aſſumed as a fact in another lucubration of the ſame author,—'On the Efficacy of inoculated Smallpox *in promoting the Population of Great Britain.*'—'Inoculation,' obſerves this profound and patriotic writer, 'has ſupplied mild ſmallpox, and 'conſequently ſaved to the country the multitude of inhabit-'ants formerly deſtroyed by the plague. Hence, had ino-'culation been known, and ſeaſonably employed, the plague 'of London in 1665 might have been prevented, and the lives 'of 100,000 of its inhabitants ſaved, excluſive of their off-'ſpring.

'*Et nati natorum, et qui nascuntur ab illis.*'

But, leaving Dr Gillum to his profound meditations, it is time for us to enter upon the cardinal point of the controverſy, which is, whether vaccination be an effectual preventive of ſmallpox or

not. This, it is evident, is entirely a question of fact; and will be more satisfactorily answered, in proportion to the extent and uniformity of our actual experience and observation. In both respects, we do not know almost any disputable point, certainly not one in the whole range of medical science, of which the affirmative is as decisively proved. The great majority, we may say all the respectable part of the profession, now concur in considering vaccination as a safe and perfect security against smallpox; in recommending and promoting it in evident opposition to their private interest; and in entrusting to it, in full confidence of its efficacy, not merely the lives of their patients, but of their children and dearest relatives. Those who received the first accounts of it with most scepticism and doubt, are now its firmest patrons and advocates; and, in this instance, the young and the enthusiastic have been ultimately supported by the testimony of the old and experienced. In proof of this, we need only quote the concluding paragraph of the report of the London College of Physicians, who, under the authority of Parliament, endeavoured to collect the opinion of the profession at large.

'From the whole of the above considerations, the College of Physicians feel it their duty strongly to recommend the practice of vaccination. They have been led to this conclusion by no preconceived opinion, but by the most unbiassed judgment, formed from an irresistible weight of evidence which has been laid before them. For when the number, the respectability, the disinterestedness, and the extensive experience of its advocates are compared with the feeble and imperfect testimonies of its few opposers; and when it is considered that many, who were once adverse to vaccination, have been convinced by further trials, and are now to be ranked among its warmest supporters, the truth seems to be established as firmly as the nature of such a question admits; so that the College of Physicians conceive, that the public may reasonably look forward, with some degree of hope, to the time when all opposition shall cease, and the general concurrence of mankind shall at length be able to put an end to the ravages at least, if not to the existence, of the smallpox.'

The detailed and valuable report of the Central Society to the minister of the interior of France, is not less satisfactory; nor has any feeling of national rivalry prevented them from owning their obligations to this country for one of the most unexpected and beneficial discoveries ever made in the art of medicine. We could easily quote similar testimonies, in favour of vaccination, from every Medical Board in Europe. The remotest corners of the globe, indeed, have now experienced its efficacy. In every country into which it has been introduced, its progress has been

been uniform and steady; and no experiment, perhaps, was ever conducted on so extensive a scale, nor any discovery so rapidly disseminated. We have no *data* to estimate correctly the number of individuals, of every race, and of every climate, who have been vaccinated; or to ascertain the proportion of favourable cases: but these are not necessary in order to enable us to form a decisive opinion upon the great questions regarding vaccination. A remedy, a mode of practice, or an opinion, may become fashionable in *one* country from adventitious circumstances; but they will not make their way in *all* countries, and under all variety of circumstances. Vaccination, however, has penetrated to the remotest corners of the globe; and, wherever it has been introduced, the increasing experience of every year has only served to confirm the general confidence in its efficacy. It is impossible to explain these facts upon any other principle, than that the advantages derived from it are substantial and permanent. Simple as the practice is, it is attended with some trouble; and nothing but a very firm and general conviction of its utility, could induce the bulk of the population of any country, much less of so many countries, to submit to it.

Nor is the great extent of the practice to be explained, by ascribing it to any undue influence of professional men. Their persuasions might have considerable weight within a certain circle of friends and patients; and imitation might lead a considerable number more to follow their example: but we repeat, that nothing but a conviction of its utility could have induced so large a proportion of the inhabitants of the world to receive and adopt it. Even the patronage it has experienced from medical men of every description, is conclusive in its favour. When first promulgated, it was received with scepticism and distrust; its phenomena were strictly investigated; and its reputed antivariolous powers repeatedly exposed to the severest tests, until all doubts were removed. In Scotland, we know of only *one* medical man who is not satisfied with it, and who does not recommend or practise it; and the same gentleman is the only individual of the profession, in any country, who, as far as we have learned, has abandoned it, after having been satisfied, or rather, as we shall presently see, pretending to have been satisfied of its efficacy. It must also be remembered, that the general practice of vaccination is injurious to the pecuniary interests of the profession; and therefore, the patronage bestowed upon it by them is a most honourable proof of the candour and disinterestedness of the profession at large. We have heard a great deal of railing about jobs and jobbing; and Mr Brown has insinuated, 'that the motives of

its

its greatest advocates are not more disinterested than those of its greatest enemies.' But although it might be granted that a few individuals may have been actuated by the desire of notoriety,—by a sure introduction into practice,—or by the hopes of being appointed to a lucrative office in the vaccine institutions, still, the motives of the great majority of the profession, are evidently above all suspicion. The inoculator cannot expect the same remuneration for performing an apparently easy operation, for the event of which the most timid mother has not a moment's anxiety, as for conducting his patient safely through a painful, loathsome, and dangerous disease. Vaccination has even cut off entirely a very considerable source of the professional emoluments of the physician. Natural smallpox is entirely banished from the higher and middling classes of society; and the cowpox is too insignificant a complaint to require the consultation of an extraordinary medical attendant. But, although vaccination be adopted and recommended by far the greatest and most respectable part of the profession, still it has been most obstinately opposed by a few individuals, and by means the best calculated to make an impression on the timid and ignorant. We shall now examine the grounds of their opposition, and their pretensions to our notice. They contend that vaccination does not afford sufficient security against smallpox; that it has injurious effects on the constitution; and that it has put an end to inoculation, without serving the same purposes.

The first is the most important objection; not on account of its being better founded than the others, but on account of the nature of the evidence brought in support of it; which consists in a multiplicity of statements, originating in misconception or misrepresentation, and not admitting of a general and permanent refutation. One fact is no sooner explained or contradicted, than another is invented.

The boldest and most determined antivaccinists of the present day, however, will scarcely venture to maintain, as they did once, that Cow-Pox affords no security whatever. The thousands, and tens of thousands, in every quarter of the world, whom it has enabled to resist variolous contagion,—the total extinction of that pestilence in whole countries, and the security against its importation, which they have experienced from there being no subjects for it to operate upon,—leave no doubt upon the subject. Hence, most of those who originally maintained that opinion, in the most positive and peremptory manner, have now shifted their ground; and contend, that though vaccination must be allowed to impart security *for a time*, this security gradually decays, and is at last exhausted,

exhausted. This hypothetical objection was satisfactorily refuted long ago by Drs Willan and Stanger. The latter found, by direct experiment, that the insertion of variolous matter into the arms of twenty children, who had been vaccinated in 1801, produced exactly the same effects in 1802 and in 1804. This same opinion, however, has been lately brought forward, with much parade and pretension, by Mr Thomas Brown, surgeon inMusselburgh, as if it were something new and incontrovertible. The sensation produced by the vaunting advertisements of this gentleman's book in the public papers, induced the Managers of the Public Dispensary and Vaccine Institution, to make a strict inquiry into the cases he had referred to; and a report from the surgeons of that useful charity was drawn up and published. Mr Brown has since replied, both in a pamphlet and in the newspapers; and we shall now proceed to examine his statements and arguments a little more closely, both because they are the most recent and the most detailed that have been laid before the public, and because the reputed facts, having taken place in our immediate neighbourhood, are more easily inquired into.

Before we can admit that any instance of unsuccessful vaccination has been established, we must be satisfied of two things; *first*, that the patients were properly vaccinated; and, *secondly*, that they were afterwards affected with the small-pox.

The difficulty of ascertaining the former of these circumstances, is the chief cause of what are called cowpox failures. 'There is little doubt,' say the London College, 'that some of the failures are to be imputed to the inexperience of the early vaccinators.' And, indeed, when we consider that, from the very nature of the cow-pox, the distinction between a mere local affection, affording no security even for a day, and a perfect constitutional affection, is so small, as to require the utmost attention on the part of the most experienced; that, at the beginning of the practice, all the necessary minutiæ were not thoroughly understood; that from the simplicity and safety of the operation, ladies and clergymen, midwives and farriers, vied with each other in multiplying their inoculations: And when we also consider that the total number of those vaccinated in Great Britain, during the few years which have elapsed since the promulgation of the discovery, is perhaps not less than those variolated since inoculation was first introduced, it is so far from being surprising that some failures have taken place, that we ought rather to wonder that they have been so few. Even now, some practitioners seem to be ignorant of what is necessary to constitute constitutional cowpox. Of this number, we cannot help suspecting, is our Scotish anti-

vaccinist,

vaccinist, who, at the same time, displays considerable ignorance of the phenomena of smallpox. 'In conformity, then,' says he, 'both with my own experience of the phenomena of inoculation and vaccination, I contend, that if you have a vesicle, attended with an areola, you may depend upon the production of whatever effects it is capable of.' Some of the other antivaccinists go still farther, and represent every puncture by a lancet armed with vaccine virus, whatever effect it produce, or even if it should not produce any effect at all, as a true vaccination, for which the supporters of the practice must be responsible, in case smallpox should supervene.

The testimony of persons entertaining such opinions cannot possibly be admitted, as to the fact of the vaccination having been complete, even when they have had an opportunity of witnessing the progress of the vesicle. The cases, which they state on hearsay evidence, and on the authority of ignorant mothers, of course are still more suspicious; and, in truth, there is no tale so improbable, no story so palpably absurd, but, provided it be adverse to vaccination, it is immediately received with open ears and willing hearts, by Drs Mosely and Squirrel, and Messrs Birch and Lipscomb. If it militate against cowpox, it must be true; and it is needless to investigate it. Mr Brown, we must do him the justice to say, is honest or hardy enough to confess this.

'It is perhaps proper to notice, that I carefully avoided having any communication with the different practitioners by whom the children were vaccinated, being aware of the strong hold which system has upon the human mind; more especially in this very important subject; thinking it best, for the attainment of truth, to state with the greatest possible accuracy, the parents' account of the circumstances that attended the vaccination of their children, notice the appearance of the arm, and give the names of the families, whereby an opportunity is afforded to any of the practitioners to satisfy themselves.'

In his reply to the surgeons of the vaccine institution, he betrays still less reserve in maintaining the same doctrine. Some of his statements with regard to certain cases of supposed failure at Haddington, having been contradicted by the medical gentleman who had the care of them, with a civil expression of his regret that Mr Brown had not applied to him *before* publishing his book, that learned person most valiantly replies—

'Far from regreting that I did not communicate with the medical gentlemen at Haddington, before I mentioned in my book that such cases had occurred there, I have daily reason to congratulate myself on the opinion I had formed of the extensive and alarming effects of system on the human mind; for, had I done so, and afterwards had

had been regulated by the information I certainly would have received, undoubtedly no such opinions would have been promulgated; and which,' says Mr Brown, 'I now find many very respectable characters, both in and out of the profession, consider as entitled to attention and respect.'

Such a confession is of itself sufficient to destroy all confidence in Mr Brown's testimony. It proves a conviction in his own mind, that, had he communicated with *the only persons* who could possibly give satisfactory evidence with regard to these cases, it would have been adverse to his views. In the same spirit, accordingly, we find him bringing forward cases, in which he admits, that 'the pustules were so small, and the inflammation so trifling, as to make the practitioner in attendance suspect that he had not undergone the true form of the disease;' and others, in which the inoculator informed the parents, at the time, that the child was *not* properly vaccinated. Nay, he gives the names of respectable practitioners, as having performed that operation to their perfect satisfaction, on patients whom, to their knowledge, they never saw. 'The oldest (of two children) was vaccinated by me,' says Mr Brown, 'when four months old, in the arm; and the other by *Mr Keith*, surgeon of the Berwickshire militia in both, about the same age. I recollect perfectly, that the vesicle and areola were quite characteristic; and the mother describes, that the areola in both were equal to the size of half-a-crown; and that Mr Keith saw the arm in its progress, and expressed himself satisfied of the child having passed through the disease.' Now, the whole of this statement turns out to be incorrect; and the most charitable supposition is, that the mother imposed upon Mr Brown, by saying what she saw was agreeable to him. 'So far from having vaccinated the child in question,' writes Mr Keith, in a letter which we are authorised to quote, 'I never, to my knowledge, *saw it*; but, on inquiry, find that it was vaccinated by *my hospital serjeant*, at the request of the mother, who supplied the hospital with milk; *the first and only time* of his ever attempting the operation. He saw it *but once* at the distance of eight days after; and at present only recollects, that the vesicle was *smaller* than he had been in the habit of seeing in those vaccinated by me. These examples fully develop the motives of Mr Brown's conduct in carefully avoiding all communication with the gentlemen by whom these cases were said to be vaccinated; and explain why, in a pretended investigation of truths of such importance, he wilfully shut his eyes, and, when the object he ought to have drawn from nature was before him, chose to copy its reflection from a distorting mirror.

It

It should also be remembered, that, of those vaccinated gratuitously, either at public institutions, or by individual surgeons, a great number never return to show the progress of the vesicle; and yet, nothing was more common than for these people, in order to excuse their laziness and indifference, to report that the surgeons were well satisfied with the appearances, and had even taken matter from the arm. This, indeed, occurred so frequently, at the Vaccine Institution of Edinburgh, that the managers were at last obliged to order, that each patient should deposit a pledge, to be forfeited, unless they attend regularly at the stated periods. This has had the best effects; though for a time it diminished the number of applicants.

Another prolific source of alleged failures, is the mistaking chicken-pox, and other eruptive distempers, for small-pox. That such a mistake has often been made, even by practitioners of much experience, cannot be doubted. The diagnosis of regular consitutional small-pox, is indeed abundantly easy; and if we were to refuse that name to every eruption which had not the nosological character, or did not correspond with the best systematic descriptions, we should hear very seldom of small-pox after vaccination. It would be foreign to our present purpose, to inquire into the nature of all the varieties and modifications of which small-pox is said to be susceptible. It is enough for us to prove, that, since the introduction of vaccination, eruptive diseases, of a very different nature, have been confounded with small-pox. Mr Brown's cases are especially liable to objection on this account, because he has coupled them with a theory which sets all diagnosis at defiance. Mr Brown contends, in direct contradiction to all analogy and observation, that before his period of security is elapsed, persons who have been vaccinated are liable to be partially affected by the small-pox; that at an early period, it produces a slight rash; at a more advanced period, papulæ, which disappear without suppurating; afterwards pustules, which continue a few days; and at length complete small-pox. What opinion is to be formed of the professional knowledge or candour of a man, who records such cases as the following as instances of small-pox after vaccination? 'The oldest fell sick on 'the Wednesday following; and, at the time I saw the other, 'was confined to bed, and had been so for two days. He was 'extremely sick, and affected with starting, sneezing, and other 'symptoms of eruptive fever. When I called, *three days after*, 'the sickness was gone, and *no pustular eruption followed.*' p. 192. This is one of Mr Brown's cases of natural small-pox. His inoculated small-pox is no less singular. Thus, in his twelfth case, 'No *constitutional symptoms* could be detected; a slight 'heat

'heat appeared on the ſkin, but little or no alteration on the 'pulſe.' Next day, 'from the report of Mr M. and the maid, '*she had sneezed repeatedly*, which they attributed to cold; and 'her appetite appeared impaired.' The day after, 'ſhe had 'ſneezed ſome the preceding night; only drank tea to breakfaſt, 'but eat no bread.' Such ſtatements are truly ridiculous; but we muſt refer our readers, for an able analyſis of the whole ſeries by the ſurgeons of the Vaccine Inſtitution, to their Report.

After ſuch a refutation of Mr Brown's ſtatements, his hypotheſis is ſcarcely worthy of any notice, in ſo far as it is founded on obſervation; and it is obviouſly contrary to all analogy, although he has attempted to bolſter it up, by miſtating the moſt univerſally received principles of pathological ſcience. It is well known, that two general conſtitutional diſeaſes cannot exiſt in the body at the ſame time. But it is equally well known, that an attack of ſuch a diſeaſe, as ſoon as it is over, leaves the body as ſuſceptible to the impreſſions of any other as it was before; nay, in many caſes, renders it much more ſo; ſince, in every elementary writer, we find debility from preceding diſease enumerated among the cauſes prediſpoſing the body to receive infection. Mr Brown, however, has the merit of inventing a very different doctrine. 'Indeed, there ſeems to be a general principle in the laws of the 'animal economy, that after it has been influenced by any power, 'it is, for ſome time, exempted not only from a repetition of its 'effects, but alſo from thoſe of any other cauſe; and the diſ'tance ſeems, in general, to bear a proportion to the ſeverity and 'extent of the power previouſly exerted.' In another paragraph, he has ſtill more luminouſly explained the principle upon which he ſuppoſes this exemption to depend. 'Theſe caſes, and the 'whole phenomena and circumſtances of vaccination, ſhow, that 'there are juſt grounds for concluding, that a ſpecific action may 'exiſt, *minus* or *negatively*, in the conſtitution; that therefore it 'would be improper, in the event of vaccination being found in'adequate to maintain its antivariolous character, to reinoculate 'thoſe caſes which have previouſly undergone vaccination, be'fore it was capable of producing a diſtinct conſtitutional effect.' We really cannot perſuade ourſelves to reply to ſuch arguments; but it is not a little ſingular, that his hypotheſis ſhould be directly contradicted by his own experience. Mr Brown has vaccinated, in all, about 1200; of whom, upon his principles, and upon the ſuppoſition that he vaccinated nearly the ſame number every year while he continued the practice, 400 or 500 have now recovered their original ſuſceptibility of ſmall-pox infection, and 300 are liable to be affected by it in a mitigated form. But, of his alleged caſes of failure in his own practice, *eight* only have

occurred in the former claſs, and *ten* in the latter; ſo that, were we to credit his ſtatements, the antivariolous influence of cow-pox would ſeem to increaſe, and to become almoſt doubled after five years. But it is not by Mr Brown's experience that we wiſh any fact or opinion on the ſubject to reſt; we muſt go to leſs ſuſpicious authority. Every practitioner is acquainted with the numerous obſervations recorded in Willan and other writers on the ſubject. In addition to theſe, we have real ſatisfaction in quoting the general reſult of the experience of the ſurgeons of the Vaccine Inſtitution at Edinburgh.

'With regard to the facts which have occurred in the practice of the ſurgeons of the Vaccine Inſtitution, which tend to confirm or refute the doctrine of the mere temporary protection afforded by vaccination againſt the ſmall-pox, the reporters beg leave to ſtate, that the reſult of their experience is in ſtrict conformity with that of Dr Jenner, and the other advocates of vaccination. They have lately inoculated with ſmall-pox, children who were vaccinated eight and nine years ago, and find that they completely reſiſt the diſeaſe; they have not been able to produce on any of them more than a local inflammation, which diſappeared in four or five days. They have, almoſt every year, viſited numbers of children who were vaccinated during the firſt years of this inſtitution; and this they have again done within theſe three months. In this inveſtigation, they have found a great many of thoſe who were vaccinated in the years 1801 and 1802, that is, ſeven and eight years ſince, who have been frequently and freely expoſed, and eſpecially within theſe laſt ſix months, to the contagion of the natural ſmall-pox, by playing, ſleeping, and otherwiſe mixing with children in all the different ſtages of that diſeaſe, without being infected.' p. 92, 93.

The medical attendants of the Foundling Hoſpital of Dublin have alſo lately publiſhed an account of ſome very deciſive and ſatisfactory experiments made in that Inſtitution, to diſprove the hypotheſis, that the preventive powers of vaccination diminiſh in proportion to the diſtance of time from inoculation. Nine children, who had been vaccinated prior to July 1801, were inoculated with ſmall-pox matter in July 1804, and expoſed to the contagion in every poſſible way; and all of them reſiſted the infection. Theſe nine children, together with ten others vaccinated between July 1801 and Auguſt 1802, were *again* ſubmitted to ſmall-pox inoculation on the 22d December 1809, (*i. e.* the firſt claſs upwards of *eight*, and the ſecond upwards of *ſeven* years after the vaccination.) 'In every inſtance,' ſays Mr Creighton the reporter, 'the punctures in the arm of each child, from the 'third day, inflamed, and continued until the ſeventh, when the 'inflammation gradually ſubſided, as certified by Mr Stewart, '(ſurgeon-general), and marked in a table, which, in another

'publication, will be more fully expreſſed;—which circumſtance 'has proved the activity of the ſmall-pox matter inſerted, and 'which muſt have affected the conſtitution, was it in the leaſt 'ſuſceptible of the diſeaſe. Fourteen days (Jan. 4. 1810) have 'now elapſed: the inflammation of the punctures is entirely gone, 'and never was attended with the ſlighteſt *fever, ſickness or erup-* 'tion.'

'In corroboration of the above facts,' continues Mr Creighton, 'conducted with every degree of accuracy, and which can-'not admit of the ſmalleſt doubt on the minds of those gentle-'men who have witneſſed them, and hereunto ſubſcribed their 'names, I can ſafely aſſert, that I have ſubmitted *upwards of* 'five hundred infants and children, vaccinated by me at this Inſti-'tution, and at the Diſpenſary for Infant Poor and Cow-Pox In-'oculation, as eſtabliſhed in the year 1800, to a like experiment, 'and *with the same result in every instance.*'

We ourſelves had lately an opportunity of witneſſing an equally ſatisfactory reſult in regard to the duration of the antivariolous effects of vaccination, from ſome trials made in a public hoſpital in this city, in which it was the practice to vaccinate, upon admiſſion, every child which had not previouſly been vaccinated, or had the ſmall-pox. A boy admitted in 1808, concerning whom no information was received, was erroneouſly ſuppoſed to have been vaccinated, and the operation was not repeated. In the beginning of October 1809, this boy, although not more expoſed to ſmall-pox infection than an hundred other children living under the ſame roof with him, was ſeized with natural ſmall-pox, and had a very full crop of the diſtinct kind, which ran their courſe with perfect regularity. With *virus* taken from this boy on the 5th day of the eruption, ſeventeen children of the hoſpital were inoculated, who had all been vaccinated at former periods, varying from five months to *upwards of eight years.* The reſult of this experiment proved, *firſt*, that although a conſiderable degree of ſwelling and hardneſs, or even a diſtinct puſtule on the arm, with ſurrounding inflammation, may ſometimes be produced by inoculation with variolous *virus*, yet the conſtitution is incapable of being affected with the ſmall-pox: *ſecondly*, that theſe different effects, from a ſlight hardneſs to a diſtinct puſtule with ſurrounding inflammation, are produced from circumſtances altogether independent of the period intervening between the time of vaccination and the inſertion of the variolous virus: and, *laſtly*, that the power of cow-pox, in protecting the conſtitution againſt the ſmall-pox, is as complete at the end of eight years, as at the end of five months; and that, during *this* period at leaſt, it is to be regarded as a perfect ſecurity.

There are even facts on record which prove that the antivariolous powers of cow-pox are permanent, or, at leaſt, that they ſuffer no diminution in the courſe of upwards of half a century.

Farmer Jeſty, according to the report of the Broad-Street Vaccine Inſtitution, viſited London in 1805, and 'afforded deciſive 'evidence of his having vaccinated his wife and two ſons in the 'year 1774, who were thereby rendered unſuſceptible of the 'ſmall-pox, as appears from the expoſure of all the three parties 'to that diſorder frequently, during the courſe of *thirty-one* years; 'and from the inoculation of the two ſons for the ſmall-pox fif-'teen years ago.'

Dr Jenner has recorded caſes of perſons who had been caſually affected with the cow-pox, and had reſiſted ſmall-pox upwards of fifty years; and, in a very excellent report of the Medical Faculty in Kiel, upon the cow-pox in the dutchies of Schleswig and Holſtein, there is the remarkable caſe of a woman, then alive, who had the cow-pox when a year and a half old, and had remained ſecure againſt ſmall-pox infection for *ſixty years*. In another caſe, the protection had then laſted 56, and in many 40, 30, 20 years.

There is no fact, therefore, we conceive, relating to the animal economy, which can be conſidered as more deciſively proved, than that the antivariolous powers of cow-pox do not decreaſe or wear out by length of time. At the ſame time, it muſt be admitted, that there are ſome apparently authenticated exceptions to the univerſality of its antivariolous influence. Within the circle of our own obſervation, none of theſe have occurred; and it is a very remarkable thing, that they are confined almoſt excluſively to the lower orders of ſociety, and to the practice of certain individuals. Mr Brown admits, and has attempted an explanation of this fact, in which we are deſired to believe, that gentlemen, at the head of the profeſſion, never hear of caſes of ſmallpox after cowpox, becauſe the poor only are expoſed to ſmallpox contagion; and that thoſe who have moſt practice even amongſt the poor, never hear of failures, becauſe the poor never complain when diſappointed and deceived, and never ſeek for aſſiſtance even in the moſt dangerous and loathſome maladies.

Before concluding this part of the ſubject, it is abſolutely neceſſary that we ſhould notice the laſt report from the Original Vaccine Inſtitution, Broad-Street, London, both on account of its ſingularity, and of the uſe Dr Brown has made of it in ſupport of his hypotheſis.

'The late authentic inſtances of failure after vaccination, de-'mand from this Inſtitution an explicit declaration of the reſults 'of their experience on this point, for ten ſolid years from its e-'ſtabliſhment.

'establishment. During the course of the first five years, the al-
'leged examples of failure not being substantiated by just evi-
'dence, the Institution saw no facts to render questionable the
'unqualified assertion of the promulgator, Dr Jenner, "that
"those who have undergone the cowpock are, *for life*, unsuscep-
"tible of smallpox." Each subsequent year, however, has fur-
'nished cases of failure, on conclusive evidence, progressively in-
'creasing in number. Notwithstanding these adverse occurren-
'ces, our experience justifies the opinion, that vaccination is emi-
'nently beneficial to the community and the individual;

'First, because a very large proportion of vaccinated persons
'have been found not susceptible of the smallpox, on trial of the
'most decisive tests.

'Secondly, because (a very small proportion of cases excepted)
'the smallpox subsequent to cowpock is a milder affection than
'the slightest cases of inoculated smallpox.

'Thirdly, because the chance of death is far less than even in
'the inoculated smallpox.

'Fourthly, because security, equal to that of smallpox inocula-
'tion, may be given by the harmless practice of a second vaccin-
'ation, as long ago recommended by this Institution.

'It is to be considered, however, that the effects of the vac-
'cine infection have hitherto been but partially investigated; and
'the results of further experience and observation, of which re-
'cords will continue to be preserved, will not fail to be report-
'ed.'

We agree with Mr Brown in regretting that this Institution has not condescended to be more particular as to the facts alluded to in this report. It is, in truth, so vague and ambiguous, that it may be interpreted either in favour of, or against vaccination. Accordingly, Mr Brown, while he ridicules the advice which it gives, and descants on the dangers to be apprehended from following it, gladly seizes upon the admission, that the effects of vaccination have been hitherto but partially investigated, and that authentic instances of failure have now been collected. On the other hand, it might be contended, that the report is decidedly in favour of vaccination, and that the perplexities which it states, are to be attributed entirely to our limited knowledge of *the laws* of this disease, as well as of those of smallpox. It strongly recommends the practice of vaccination. It positively states, that security, equal to that of smallpox inoculation, may be obtained from it. And, so far are we from considering it of any consequence, that the admissions to which we have alluded should come from one of the oldest establishments in the kingdom, that we are very much disposed to ascribe them to the known peculiarities which have al-

ways diſtinguiſhed their opinions;—ſince it is notorious to all who are acquainted with the hiſtory of vaccination, that, though friendly to the practice in general, this Inſtitution has, from the very beginning, acted uniformly in oppoſition to Dr Jenner, repreſenting him as the mere promulgator of a fact known to every farmer in Glouceſterſhire, and as having left the hiſtory and character of the diſeaſe to be inveſtigated and aſcertained by *their* experience and obſervations.

Upon the whole, we are ſatisfied that we concede more than is neceſſary, when we conclude our obſervations on the antivariolous powers of cowpox in the terms of the Collegiate Report. 'The 'ſecurity derived from vaccination, if not abſolutely perfect, is as 'nearly ſo as can perhaps be expected from any human diſcovery; 'for, amongſt ſeveral hundred thouſand caſes, with the reſults of 'which the College have been made acquainted, the number of 'alleged failures has been ſurpriſingly ſmall; ſo much ſo, as to 'form certainly no reaſonable objection to the general adoption of 'vaccination; for it appears, that there are not nearly ſo many '*failures* in a given number of vaccinated perſons, as there are '*deaths* in an equal number of perſons inoculated for the ſmall-'pox.'

The ſecond general objection to cowpox inoculation, is, that it produces new and unheard of diſeaſes. This, we may obſerve, was firſt advanced as a conjecture, prior to all experience, and upon grounds purely hypothetical; though facts have ſince been referred to by theſe ill-auguring theoriſts. Theſe theories, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to notice, as we are now in poſſeſſion of ſufficient experience to decide the queſtion. With regard, however, to the facts which have been referred to by the enemies of vaccination, nothing can be more vague and inconcluſive. We have heard all the common cutaneous diſeaſes, which uniformly attend on filth and poverty, attributed to the cowpox. If, in a ſcrophulous family, any ſymptom of that diſeaſe ſhould appear in a child who had been vaccinated, no matter how long before, ſtill the cowpox is alone to blame for having engendered foul humours. Nay, if meaſles, or hoopingcough, or pleuriſy, ſhould be unuſually fatal, even though the ſufferers were never vaccinated, ſtill the cowpox is the cauſe of the mortality. Clamorous aſſertions of this kind, enforced by diſguſting caricatures of mangy girls and exfaced boys, have done more to prevent the univerſal adoption of vaccination, than any doubts of its efficacy. Of theſe, the moſt ridiculous, perhaps, is the frontiſpiece to a publication 'by 'Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, Eſq. phyſician, barrackmaſter, and 'great grandſon to King Charles the Second,' in which Dr Jenner and his coadjutors, *cornuted* and *caudated*, are repreſented feeding

ing a monster with baskets full of infants; while, to poor Dr Thornton is assigned the final drudgery of shovelling them into a scavenger's cart, after being duly digested. The following is the poetical description by which this eloquent representation is illustrated.

'A mighty and horrible monster, with the horns of a bull, the hind hoofs of a horse, the jaws of the krakin, the teeth and claws of a tyger, the tail of a cow,—all the evils of Pandora's box in his belly, —plague, pestilence, leprosy, purple blotches, fœtid ulcers, and filthy running sores covering his body,—and an atmosphere of accumulated disease, pain and death around him, has made his appearance in the world, and devours mankind—especially poor helpless infants; not by scores only,—or hundreds, or thousands,—but by hundreds of thousands.'

Dr Moseley, again has described, in technical style, a whole tribe of new cowpox diseases; and Mr Stuart has discovered a brutal degeneration of the human species.

'The cowpox mange or farcy, cowpox ulcers, with pus, green —green *as grass*, clearly demonstrating their bovine origin; cowpox evil or abscess, cowpox mortification, are nothing in comparison of the brutalization of the noblest work of the creation.'—'Among the numerous shocking cases of cowpox which I have heard of, I know not if the most horrible of all has yet been published, viz. of a child at Peckham, who, after being inoculated with the cowpox, had its former natural disposition absolutely changed to the *brutal*; so that it ran upon all fours like a BEAST, bellowing like a cow, and butting with its head like a bull. For my part,' he adds, with philosophical *scepticism*, 'I can scarcely think it possible, having *had no time to ascertain the truth!*'

'O Moseley! thy books, nightly phantasies rousing,
Full oft make me quake for my heart's dearest treasures:
For fancy, in dreams, oft presents them all brousing
On commons, just like little Nebuchadnezzars.
There, nibbling at thistles, stand Jem, Joe and Mary;
On their foreheads, oh horrible! crumpled horns bud:
Here Tom with a tail, and poor William all hairy,
Reclin'd in a corner, are chewing the cud.'

The diary of Dr Barrackmaster Stuart's own child's illness and death, is truly humiliating, and excites a mixed emotion of ridicule and compassion. But as if the powers of language were not sufficient to excite our sympathy with his sufferings, and our indignation at the beastly disease which occasioned them, he has elucidated the history by a very amiable representation of Mrs Stuart with the baby on her knee, the cradle on one side, and a bason of gruel on the other;—notwithstanding all which, we should have had no doubt that the poor babe's death was owing to scrophula, had it been of less than royal extraction.

But to be serious.—The following appears to us to be a satisfactory answer to all this disgraceful clamour. Dr Bateman, from the records of the Public Dispensary of London, has proved, that the proportion of cutaneous eruptions to all other diseases, was the same before the publication of Dr Jenner's Inquiry, as in the sixth and seventh year of vaccination. And the Report of the London College states, 'The testimonies before 'the College of Physicians are very decided in declaring, that 'vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less fre-'quently gives rise to other diseases, than the small-pox either 'natural or inoculated. The College feel themselves called upon 'to state this strongly, because it has been objected to vaccina-'tion, that it produces new, unheard-of, and monstrous diseases. 'Of such assertions, *no proofs have been produced*; and after di-'ligent inquiry, the College believe them to have been the inven-'tions of designing, or the mistakes of ignorant men.'

The last important objection which we shall notice, is, that vaccination has put an end to small-pox inoculation, without being so extensively adopted in its stead. In this objection may be traced the motives of many of the keenest opposers of the new practice; and it must be confessed, that its advocates have afforded some pretext for it, by their injudicious and unfounded complaints of want of patronage and encouragement. The truth is, however, that when all the obstacles which vaccination has had to encounter, are considered, its progress must appear to have been inconceivably rapid. It has been adopted by millions who never would have submitted to variolation. For example, in this very city, gratuitous inoculation for smallpox had long been offered to the poor at the Public Dispensary, but altogether in vain; while, at the same useful charity, no less than 10,000 have been vaccinated since February 1801. This greater willingness on the part of the poor to inoculate for cowpox than for smallpox, may be ascribed partly to their conviction of its utility and superior safety, and partly to its not being opposed by the mistaken but very powerful prejudice which prevails among the religious sectaries in this kingdom, that the wilful inoculation of any *disease* is an impious interference with the ordinances of the Almighty; while they do not consider the slight affection produced by vaccination as a disease. But while it has thus become much more general than smallpox inoculation ever was at home, the rapidity of its progress in the most remote corners of the earth, is altogether without example. It has been gratefully received by people of the most opposite races and religions, encouraged by governments of every description, and been the subject of publi-

cations

cations in every written language. Manuals of vaccination, in the *Chinese* and *Polish* tongues, are now before us, illustrated with coloured figures. In our own colonies in the East Indies, its success has been astonishing; and the numbers who have been vaccinated are such, that, in the settlements of Bombay, smallpox is said to be altogether exterminated. The reports of its progress in Ceylon are particularly interesting, on account of its insular situation so nearly resembling our own. The following is the report made of it by a resident physician.

'The dreadful ravages which the smallpox usually committed in Ceylon, previous to the introduction of vaccination, must be in the recollection of every one; and it affords me infinite pleasure to observe, that, agreeably to the most certain information I have been enabled to procure, that destructive malady has not existed in any part of the British possessions on this island during the year 1808, except in the district of Galle, into which it was brought on the 31st of January by a Maldivian boat, last from Bengal. A large proportion of the crew of this boat died; and the disease was communicated by a fisherman, who visited it on its first arrival, to two or three inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Galle, but it spread no further; which must be attributed chiefly to the favourable influence of vaccination, which has been so extensively diffused in that and the other districts of the island.' *Report* 1809.

We have here a striking proof of the good effects of *general* vaccination. Contagion may be introduced; but it dies for want of susceptible subjects:—a firebrand may be applied; but there is no fuel to produce a conflagration. Even old Spain was roused from its apathy by the obvious advatages of vaccination; and sent forth an expedition, worthy of its better days, which circumnavigated the globe for the sole purpose of carrying to all its vast possessions, and to those of several other nations, the inestimable gift of vaccination: and, in point of fact, it succeeded in disseminating it, not only through the boundless colonies of Spain, but through the vast Archipelago of the Visayan islands, and in establishing it wherever it touched in its progress.

So far as our information extends, therefore, we conceive there is no foundation whatever for this objection. Cowpox, we verily believe, is far more generally resorted to than smallpox ever was; and the public, of course, must have great gain by the substitution.

So much for the objections: but we cannot allow the objectors to escape quite so easily. In a controversy as to matter of

fact, where the witnesses contradict each other, it is absolutely necessary to ascertain, as far as possible, their relative credibility; and to settle our belief by comparing the number and value of opposite experiences. We have already seen, that these are decidedly, and almost infinitely, in favour of the advocates of vaccination. Still, however, the statements of their opponents may have been candid, and their opposition sincere; and the frequent occurrence of adverse facts would have perplexed us, and left doubts upon our minds with regard to the universal safety and efficacy of the practice. Fortunately, however, the conduct of the antivaccinists themselves has set our minds at ease. Their zeal has so far overstepped their prudence, and they have given such evident proofs of want of observation and candour, and have had recourse to such mean tricks and devices to frighten the timid and mislead the ignorant, as to deprive them of all credit with the well informed and judicious. What opinion must be entertained of the fairness or judgment of a man who could affix, on the walls of the most populous streets of London, posting-bills, displaying, in gigantic letters, "*Fatal Effects of Cowpox!*" with an earnest recommendation to heads of families to peruse the treatise in which they are stated,—who employs the driver of errand-carts to distribute them indiscriminately to travellers upon the roads near London,—and could deliberately state, as one of his serious reasons for continuing the smallpox inoculation, that, 'in the populous part of the metropolis, where the abundance of 'children exceeds the means of providing food and raiment for 'them, this pestilential disease is considered as a merciful provi-'sion on the part of Providence to lessen the burthen of a poor 'man's family!' Another device of the same gentleman, was the publication of a newspaper, for the exclusive purpose of attacking vaccination and its patrons with the lowest and most contemptible abuse.

But the most unjustifiable part of this gentleman's conduct is his wilful falsification of the report of the College of Physicians,—a public record widely distributed under the sanction of Parliament. The few passages we have already quoted from it, will enable our readers to judge, whether it be in any respect warrantable to assert, 'that the Report of the College of Physicians allows 'the evidence, produced before the committee of the House of 'Commons, to be totally overthrown; that they allow there is no 'spurious cowpox; and that failure, disorder, and death, some-'times occur from some deviation in the genuine Jennerian cow-'pox, which, after a precise period, fails in its security, and, if it 'does any thing, produces a new kind of eruption, tumour, or 'ulceration.'

'ulceration.'—Mr Stuart, however, improves upon this hint; and, in his Addreſs to the Britiſh Parliament, thus expreſſes himſelf. '*Patres* conſcripti! celebrated and illuſtrious ſenators of Britain, 'lay aſide all prejudice, and receive, I entreat you, the following 'information with candour and attention, viz. That all the phy-'ſicians, ſurgeons and apothecaries, moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed 'for abilities and profeſſional ſkill, *all to a man*, now acknow-'ledge, that vaccination is not a certain preventive of the ſmall-'pox; and that it ſometimes produces new, dangerous, and fatal 'diſeaſes. Theſe *truths* are at this time univerſally granted, and 'candidly acknowledged, by ever intelligent medical gentleman; 'and this is all I contend for.' * Now, in theſe paſſages, there can be no miſconception or miſtake, to be accounted for by ignorance; and, therefore, we are afraid we muſt ſet them down as inſtances of wilful and unpardonable miſrepreſentation. Miſquotation, indeed, ſeems to be a favourite figure with the antivaccinists; and with none more remarkably, than with their newly-enliſted Scotiſh auxiliary, who, we may remark by the way, wiſhes to be conſidered as the firſt writer, on that ſide of the queſtion, entitled to any ſort of attention; and treats all his predeceſſors altogether as cavalierly as his opponents. In proof of this gentleman's extreme looſeneſs, and unfairneſs of quotation, we might refer to the greater part of his extracts from the public reports, and the writings of Dr Jenner and Mr Bryce; but we ſhall content ourſelves with one example, in the caſe of Dr Willan, whom he ingeniouſly contrives to quote as an authority for an opinion which he openly diſavows, and that by the ſimple method of ſtating a ſort of caution or exception to his general opinion, as the opinion itſelf.—'I ſhall, perhaps, be aſked,' ſays Dr W., 'whether I think that the variolous eruptions, in all the caſes ad-'duced

* The reader may take this further specimen of the eloquence and accurate reasoning of this scion of royalty.—'The *Omnipotent* God 'of *Nature*, the inconceivable *Creator* of *all existence*, has permitted '*Evil*, *Buonaparté*, and *Vaccination* to exist,—to prosper,—and even 'to triumph for a short space of time,—perhaps as the scourge and 'punishment of mankind for their sins, and for reasons no doubt the 'best, far beyond the powers of our very circumscribed and limited 'portion of penetration and knowledge to discover.——But, are we 'to worship—to applaud—or even to submit to *Evil*,—to *Buonaparté*, '—or to *Vaccination*.—because they have for some time been pro-'sperous?—No!—Never let us degrade our honour—our virtue—or 'our consciences—by such servility:—let us contend against them, 'with all our exertions and might;—not doubting but we shall ulti-'mately triumph, in a cause supported by *truth*, *humanity*, and *virtue*, 'and which therefore we well know *Heaven* itself must *approve*.'

'duced above, were the conſequences of imperfect vaccination?' This is the queſtion;—and here is the anſwer which is immediately ſubjoined; and of which Mr Brown, when profeſſing to quote both queſtion and anſwer, has *omitted* the whole which we have put in italics. '*Vaccine inoculators were, at firſt, generally ſatisfied with* '*any veſicular appearance, ſurrounded by inflammation; and even* '*now, I believe, many practitioners would conſider the ſpecious ir-*'*regular veſicle, described page* 39, *as a ſufficient guarantee againſt* '*the ſmallpox; not being aware how frequently it denotes a temporary* '*incapacity to be affected by either the variolous or vaccine virus. I* '*have had reaſon, on minute inquiry, to conclude, that, in a very great* '*majority of the caſes which occurred near London, the vaccination was* '*imperfect.* There is, *however*, great difficulty in obtaining clear 'and diſtinct information on the ſubject,' &c. Willan, p. 73.—Brown, p. 317.

In the ſame manner, in quoting the admiſſion of the London College, that caſes of ſmallpox have occurred, after apparently perfect vaccination, he takes ſpecial care to leave out the word *apparently*; and, at laſt, makes that learned Body admit, that ſuch failures had occurred where there was 'ſufficient proof of the 'moſt perfect vaccination.' Dr Willan's treatiſe will alſo be ſearched in vain for any thing like the deſcription of chickenpox, which Mr Brown has pretended to extract from it. When a perſon thus ventures to falſify public records to ſerve a particular purpoſe, it really is not eaſy to give implicit credit to ſtatements made on his own authority, in oppoſition to general experience.

The eſtabliſhed efficacy of vaccination as a preventive of ſmallpox, has given riſe to various legiſlative projects for the utter extermination from this kingdom of that deſtructive peſtilence; and it muſt be confeſſed, that our inſular ſituation ſeems to give ſome encouragement to ſuch a project. Even prior to the diſcovery of vaccination, this had been ſtrongly urged by Dr Haygarth in this country, Scuderi in Sicily, and a whole tribe of enthuſiaſts in Germany. Inſurmountable difficulties, however, appeared on every ſide; and nothing was ever attempted. The idea has been again revived, and certainly with greater plauſibility, ſince the antivariolous powers of cowpox have become known. Still, however, there are very ſtrong, and perhaps inſurmountable, objections to every thing hitherto deviſed, or which perhaps may be deviſed for carrying it into effect. But, before we enter upon the diſcuſſion of theſe, we muſt notice ſome opinions of Dr Adams, phyſician to the Smallpox Hoſpital, and a pretended friend to vaccination; for if his opinion be true, viz. that cowpox is identical with ſmallpox, or that they are but varieties of the ſame diſeaſe, it is plain that the diffuſion of the one can never lead to the extirpation

pation of the other; ſince, if there be any foundation for the opinion, that ſmallpox may be converted into cowpox, it is impoſſible not to conclude, that cowpox will, in many circumſtances, degenerate into ſmallpox. Dr Adams's arguments for their identity, are derived from the near reſemblance of the moſt favourable kinds of ſmallpox to cowpox, and 'preſumptive proofs deduced from the laws of all other morbid poiſons, that the variolous and vaccine *is* the ſame.' And he proceeds poſitively to ſtate, that by 'continuing, with great caution, to inoculate at the hoſpital from *pearl* ſmallpox, (the Doctor's hobbyhorſe), we at laſt ſucceeded in procuring a ſucceſſion of virus ſo nearly reſembling the vaccine, that an univerſal ſuſpicion prevailed among the parents, that they were deceived by the ſubſtitution of one for the other.' The facts ſtated by Dr Adams are certainly curious; but it appears that the practice ſaid to have been followed by him was not neceſſary for their converſion, as has been ſatisfactorily proved by Mr Bryce, (App. p. 70.); and, indeed, the facts and obſervations ſtated by that gentleman irreſiſtibly ſuggeſt to the mind the miſtake committed, at the commencement of the practice of vaccination, in the very ſame hoſpital, by Dr Adams's celebrated predeceſſor. Dr Woodville inoculated with variolous virus, when he believed he was uſing vaccine; and Dr Adams ſeems to have reverſed the matter.

His preſumptive proofs proceed upon a notoriouſly erroneous aſſumption, that if a perſon be inoculated at the ſame time with the virus of two ſeparate diſtempers, the one will remain unaltered till the other complete its progreſs, and will then take as many days to run its courſe as if it had not been inſerted until the progreſs of the firſt was complete. The fact is, as ſtated by Mr Bryce, 'that both punctures will advance regularly, as if only one had been made during the period neceſſary for the local ſtage of theſe infections, and until the conſtitutional affection from one of them is excited, at which time, and not before, the progreſs of the other morbid poiſon, provided its local courſe be finiſhed, will be arreſted, until the firſt conſtitutional affection has diſappeared.' In the ſame manner, Dr Adams miſtates the fact, when he aſſerts, that 'if ſmallpox and cowpox are inſerted at the ſame time, in different parts of the ſame perſon, we find *no interruption whatever* in the progreſs of either. Both begin and go through their ſeveral courſes with the ſame regularity, as if only one of them had been inſerted in two different places.' Now, Mr Bryce's experiments prove inconteſtably, that as ſoon as a conſtitutional affection is produced, by ſmallpox for example, the further progreſs of the vaccine affection, if its local courſe be finiſhed, is arreſted until the variolous action has exhauſted itſelf on the conſtitution; or it is altogether ſuperſeded according to circumſtances.

cumſtances. Dr Adams is alſo wrong in his third poſition, that if a perſon be vaccinated for example, and in two or three days be inoculated in one place with variolous, and in another with cowpox matter, the ſame conſequences will follow as if both inſertions had been of one matter. For the fact undoubtedly is, that, in ſuch a caſe, the ſecondary vaccination will have its progreſs accelerated, and will arrive at maturity at the ſame time with the primary vaccination; while the ſmallpox puſtule will *not* be accelerated, but proceed through its local ſtage in the uſual manner. Theſe facts prove, in the moſt deciſive manner, that Dr Adams's opinion is erroneous, even upon his own principles; and that ſmallpox and cowpox are eſſentially different diſeaſes, not convertible, in any circumſtances, into each other.

Of all the plans for exterminating ſmallpox by means of cowpox, which we have ſeen, Mr Bryce's is the moſt detailed, and will ſerve us as a text for the obſervations we have to offer. This plan embraces three ſeveral objects. 1ſt, To induce parents and others to have all children vaccinated before a certain age; 2d, To get correct liſts of all thoſe who have not been vaccinated; and, 3d, To put it in the power, and indeed in the way of all perſons, to get the operation performed with ſkill and ſafety, by diſtributing corps of vaccinators up and down the country.

We ſhall not go into the various details with which Mr Bryce has endeavoured to explain his project, and to obviate the objections he has anticipated. We ſhall only obſerve, with a view to the ſecond branch of his plan, that however deſirable ſuch liſts might be, we are afraid the procuring of them would be attended with greater difficulties than Mr Bryce has foreſeen. When we conſider how inaccurately the regiſters of births and marriages and the bills of mortality are kept, and how many inconveniences, both perſonal and political, have ariſen from this inaccuracy, we can only expreſs our wiſhes, that vaccination may furniſh a motive, ſufficiently powerful, to lead to their ſimplification and correction; but we muſt confeſs, that we have no hopes of ſeeing any reform in this reſpect carried into effect. His corps of vaccinators, too, would never be tolerated, either by the public or by the profeſſion; and would, at all events, ſoon degenerate into a ſcene of jobbing and intrigue.

It is the firſt part of Mr Bryce's plan, however, which requires moſt attention, and about which there is likely to be the greateſt difference of opinion. With regard to the aid which he ſeems to expect from the private patronage and exertions of men of influence and reputation, there cannot be a doubt, that it is the duty of every ſuch man to inſtruct and enlighten the public with regard to the advantages to be derived from vaccination; and to remove the prejudices

judices excited againſt it by thoſe intereſted in the continuance of variolation. Theſe however have hitherto had but a very inconſiderable effect; and it is well remarked by the College of Phyſicians,

'The lower orders of society can hardly be induced to adopt precautions against evils which may be at a distance; nor can it be expected from them, if these precautions are attended with expense. Unless, therefore, from the immediate dread of epidemic smallpox, neither vaccination nor inoculation appear at any time to have been general; and when the cause of terror has passed by, the public have relapsed again into a state of indifference and apathy, and the salutary practice has come to a stand. *It is not easy to suggest a remedy for an evil so deeply imprinted in human nature.*' Bryce, App. p. 37.

It is this apathy or indifference which is the moſt powerful obſtacle to the progreſs of vaccination; and we have conſidered its effects as the moſt ſerious objection to the practice. Should we, by means of it, ſucceed in baniſhing ſmallpox altogether from this iſland, or from large diſtricts of it, there is ſome danger that vaccination would ſoon be very generally neglected, and that, ſo large a proportion of the people would be left ſuſceptible of ſmallpox, that its effects, whenever it ſhould chance to be imported, would be truly calamitous. It is on this account that we have heard very judicious perſons dread the partial extinction of the ſmallpox. They would have it preſerved, for the ſame reaſon that the clergyman would not have the Devil killed, or that inſurance offices rejoice in occaſional fires. But the poſſible dangers of exterminating the ſmallpox are much too viſionary to cauſe us to relax a moment in our efforts for that purpoſe; and, if we were to ſucceed in extirpating it in any one country, the danger of importing it would probably be much diminiſhed, by the diminution of its ſource in other regions, and the encouragement which ſuch an event would hold out to proceed againſt it with ſtill greater vigour.

Are we, however, to uſe any other means than mere advice and example? Are we to reſort to any meaſures of compulſion or reſtraint? Are we to have recourſe to legiſlative meaſures? Theſe are great political queſtions, in regard to which the preſent and late rulers of the ſtate have expreſſed very different opinions; Mr Perceval conceiving that more evil than good would reſult from any meaſure of coercion; and Lord H. Petty taking a different, and, we are inclined to think, a more correct view of the ſubject.

'Though I would not interfere' (said his Lordship) 'with the freedom of an individual with regard to the mode of preserving his own health, yet I have no difficulty in saying that no individual has a right to conduct himself, even in the pursuit of preserving his own health according to the best of his judgment, so as to endanger the health of a great portion of the community by spreading an infection, which is the case when individuals go abroad while they are under

under the process of inoculation under the old mode. This practice I understand to be increasing, and may be attended with dangerous effects. I know that in a country like this, where the inhabitants have been so accustomed to liberty in almost every thing, and in this practice among the rest, it must be difficult, and, without some infringement of liberty, perhaps impossible, to put an end altogether to this inconvenience. This, I am afraid, can hardly be done without some sort of compulsion;—and that is odious to the people of this country. But although compulsion be odious, while it calls on mankind to be active against their will, yet while it goes no farther than to forbid their doing that which is hurtful to others, I think that a state has not only a right, but that it is its duty to enforce it. I would therefore say, that if persons will persist in following the old system of inoculation, they should be compelled to confine their practice within their own houses, and shall not be allowed to spread these ravages and this pest over the community at large.' Debates, p. 74, 75.

The professional arguments for the restriction of smallpox inoculation, are indeed very strong. Every person variolated becomes a centre of contagion, spreading disease and death around him. In addition to this obvious fact, and the instances quoted in various publications, we may state what took place in Weimar, both on account of its authenticity, and because, from its date, it cannot be suspected of exaggeration or colouring. The smallpox had not been seen in that city for about five years, when it became prevalent in the neighbouring villages. The Duke, anxious for the safety of his children, wished to protect them by inoculation, but did not think himself entitled to take a step, however interesting to himself, which might endanger the lives of his subjects, without strongly warning them by advertisement, and inviting them to follow his example. Notwithstanding these laudable and truly paternal precautions, an epidemic was the consequence, which was distinctly traced to the ducal residence, and proved fatal to above fifty individuals in that small city. Even prior to the discovery of vaccination, in many countries smallpox inoculation was not permitted except during the prevalence of an epidemic. But if such a restriction was at all tolerable then, it is surely much more so now, when it is in the power of every person to protect himself, and those under his care, without endangering the safety of others.

Mr Highmore and Dr Adams, *both of the Smallpox Hospital*, have argued in favour of smallpox inoculation on very absurd and untenable grounds. Mr Highmore, for instance, is afraid, that if variolation be prevented, we shall not be able to test our vaccinated patients; and that the progress of vaccination will be impeded, if it be encouraged, as 'the flower which is forced into

into a too early maturity has neither strength nor fragrance comparable with that which blooms by fair and regular cultivation.' Dr Adams's arguments are still more insidious, and equally futile. This gentleman apologizes to the public, for having so long delayed to offer, in print, his opinion on a subject so immediately connected with his engagements, and on which the public, he conceives, had a right to demand the result of his inquiries. But he was afraid of having his motives impeached; and there was a difficulty of finding any thing to oppose. At last, the letter to Mr Perceval, in which Sir Edmund Carrington, late chief justice of Ceylon, shows, from our statute books, the legality of restraining every infectious disease, even smallpox, appeared to the physician of the Smallpox Hospital worthy of refutation; and a most singular attempt at refutation he has produced. As, on a former occasion, under the mask of a popular inquiry into vaccination, he had endeavoured to palm his *pearlpock* upon the credulity of the people; so, now, he endeavours to obscure the question relative to restricting inoculation, under the pretence of a general inquiry into the laws of epidemics. 'To defend small-'pox inoculation,' says he, 'is only to repeat all that was said 'fifty years ago, and has been repeated ever since, till the last ten 'years. To admit that vaccination is a most important improve-'ment, is equally superfluous. To say that this second improve-'ment ought not by force to supersede the first, would only lead 'to those arguments by which smallpox inoculation was first de-'fended; and to answer clamour and invective, requires a mind 'organized like those who use them.' To this we can only answer, that the case is totally altered within these ten years. Till then, we had only a choice of evils, and we were not restricted in the only means offered to us of defending ourselves, lest in so doing we should injure our neighbours. But now that we possess a means of defence, equally useful to ourselves, and perfectly harmless to all around us, we are no longer entitled, either by reason or justice, to have recourse to the former. When Dr Adams talks of a law restricting variolation, operating against the conscientious, without restraining the unprincipled or unfeeling, we must confess that we do not understand him. That none but the unfeeling would now have recourse to variolation, we might perhaps be disposed to allow; but that any such restriction would operate *against* the conscientious, so long as they have vaccination in their power, is what we will not admit. The great difficulty is, to prevail upon the mass of the people to use *any* preventive. With those, who have sufficient judgment to have recourse to one, the transition to a better is easy and natural. This was strongly exemplified in a fishing village in this vicinity. The first person in Newhaven, who had the

courage and prudence to have his children inoculated with smallpox, was obliged to fly, as a monster, from the fury of his ignorant neighbours; and yet it was in that very village that vaccination first became general in Scotland,—and in that very man's family was it begun. Dr Adams's whole chapter upon the recent plans for exterminating smallpox, is one of the most extraordinary pieces of reasoning we ever met with. We cannot exterminate smallpox, it seems, because constant and indestructible sources of contagion may be bought from every old-clothesman in Monmouth-Street, and may be dug up in every grave! While these exist, the restriction of inoculation will not narrow its operations! We must not attempt to exterminate smallpox, because we do not know how to exterminate measles and scarlet fever; and because our ancestors never attempted any thing of the kind! And, lastly, restricting smallpox inoculation, and even forbidding the inoculation of outpatients at the hospitals, is compelling vaccination!

'The discovery of vaccination is certainly a most invaluable 'acquisition; and those who are satisfied with it, do right to re-'commend it to the world. Happy for themselves and others, 'if they had been contented to recommend it by their example, 'and by the facility which the practice itself offers. If they go 'further than this, there is only one step more they can conscien-'tiously take, that is, the forcing vaccination on *all*, under certain 'penalties. I know there are many men, whose intentions are 'perfect purity and benevolence, and who would start at such an 'imputation; but what else are we doing in prohibiting inocula-'tion of smallpox, or even in refusing it to those who are unable 'to make a pecuniary return, or temporary seclusion? If they 'do not submit to vaccination, are they not without the chance 'of escaping six years at most, many of them less than a month, 'in the metropolis? Of escaping what? A disease which is said 'to destroy one sixth of the sufferers,—besides maiming, blind-'ing, and disfiguring many more. Do we know of any penalty 'heavier than an almost double decimation, and these additional 'torments?'

How far it would be prudent to forbid smallpox inoculation altogether, may admit of some doubt; but that the managers of the Smallpox Hospital acted rightly, when they at last prohibited Dr Adams from converting it into a source of pestilence, we conceive to be undeniably established by the statement made, without contradiction, in the House of Commons, with regard to the effect of inoculating outpatients.

'There is,' said Mr S. Bourne, 'a very laudable institution in this country established for the inoculation of the smallpox. I understand it is the practice now to inoculate outpatients there, to the

amount of 2000 a year; and that it is usual for these outpatients to resort twice a week to be inspected at this hospital by the surgeon. Now, it must be quite obvious, that this is a practice of the most dangerous nature; and that if we were to prescribe a mode of spreading the contagion, it would be difficult for human ingenuity to devise any thing better adapted for the purpose. No one would be more unwilling than myself to compel individuals to adopt any particular mode for the preservation of their health, because it is not in itself a proper subject of compulsion; but still I must say, that however reluctant I may be to use any restraint upon such a subject, some means should be taken to prevent the dissemination of this contagious malady. I think that the Legislature would be as much justified in taking measures to prevent this evil, by restraint, as a man would be in snatching a firebrand out of the hands of a maniac, just as he was going to set fire to a city.' Debates, p. 79.

ART. VI. *Les Trois Regnes de la Nature.* Par Jacques Delille; avec des Notes par M. Cuvier de l'Institut, et autres Savants. 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1808.

UPWARDS of forty years have now elapsed, since Voltaire pronounced the Abbé de Lille to be, among all their contemporary poets (himself no doubt excepted), the only legitimate son of Apollo. At that period, we believe, his *Jardins*, and his translation of the Georgics, were alone known to the public; and those productions formed an era in the history of French literature. Racan, indeed, had been able to sing *Philis, les bergers, et les bois;* and some unhappy imitations of the Eclogues of Virgil had been attempted: But the charms of descriptive poetry and of rural scenery were little known to the French. Our Addison has somewhere said, that Virgil tumbles about the very dung with dignity and grace. The fine writers of the age of Louis the Fourteenth would have been strangely distressed by such an occupation. They knew how to strike the lyre to almost all its tones; while they remained unacquainted with the simpler music of the reed. He who refuses admiration to Corneille, Racine, Boileau and Moliere, must be allowed to indulge his own notions of what is splendid, pathetic, correct and witty in poetry; but still it ought to be observed, that these authors seem only to have written for town readers. They exhibit to us the interior of palaces and temples, of private families and domestic circles;—they show us a thousand pictures of life, from the court and the senate, to the *boudoir* and the dressingroom;—they describe

ſcribe the ſorrows and misfortunes of the great, or ridicule the follies of mankind through all ranks of ſociety;—they conduct us through the varied buſtle of the ſtreets,—but they never go beyond the *Fauxbourgs*. The French muſes, in ſhort, were court or city ladies, who knew nothing about the country.

There can be no doubt, that rural themes, however capable of being treated with beauty and elegance, are far from offering the nobleſt ſubjects for poetry. Human nature muſt always be the nature which is moſt intereſting; and the poet who knows how to expreſs and to paint the affections and paſſions of the ſoul, will be always read with greater delight than the moſt exact obſerver of inanimate nature. Although every man of taſte will acknowledge the beauty of Virgil's deſcriptions in the moſt perfect didactic poem that ever was written, yet the poet charms us chiefly by the beauty of his epiſodes—by the exquiſite ſkill with which he introduces them—and by the art with which he contrives to touch the fineſt feelings of the heart, in treating of huſbandry, of the cares of the farmer, and the occupations of the ruſtic. All good judges, and even the vulgar, are ſtruck with the clearneſs, accuracy and ſplendour of Claude Loraine's landſcapes,—while the former certainly will never compare him to thoſe painters who could expreſs human actions with the beauty, force and majeſty that are to be found in the pictures of Correggio, Michael Angelo and Raphael. Still, however, we like to ſeek for new pleaſures of the imagination, and for new ſources of mental delight in ſcenes of repoſe and tranquillity,—far from thoſe crowded theatres, where we are agitated by the paſſions, and where human life diſplays its contraſts and its varieties, its lights and its ſhadows, with a force and vivacity that is ſometimes dazzling, and ſometimes oppreſſive to the ſpectator. We think, then, that many lovers of poetry muſt have been pleaſed with the temper of the Abbé Delille, when he withdrew to the fields, the gardens and the groves; and muſt have rejoiced in his ſucceſs, when they ſaw him followed by the muſes of France, who firſt learned from him to celebrate the charms of rural ſcenery, and to catch and to paint the beauties of Nature, in a world where *they* had never beheld her before.

It was as the author of the tranſlation of the Georgics and of the *Jardins*, that we became acquainted with the Abbé Delille as a poet. The firſt of theſe works had acquired ſo much celebrity for its author, that Voltaire invited him to viſit Ferney; and uſed frequently to make him repeat the paſſages which were the moſt difficult to render. The author of the *Henriade* was unqueſtionably at that period the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the French poets; and

and may be ſuppoſed to have felt ſome curioſity to hear how their lofty heroic couplets would ſound, when employed, for the firſt time, on a ſubject ſo humble as agriculture. The reception which the poem entitled *les Jardins*, experienced from the public, was not leſs flattering to the author. In accuracy of deſcription, Delille has almoſt equalled Thomſon; while, in taſte and in uniform elegance, he has certainly ſurpaſſed him. The ſententious eloquence of the French author of the Seaſons, poſſeſſes neither the fire nor the harmony which we find in the *Jardins*; and while we forgot the former, which we had nevertheleſs admired, many verſes of the latter became indelibly imprinted on our minds.

Since the period of which we have been ſpeaking, our author has trodden many paths of poetry. In the *homme des champs*, we recognized with pleaſure our guide through the Gardens; though perhaps, we thought his company more agreeable while he glided through the gay *parterre*, or ſauntered on the ſhaven lawn—while he trimmed his vines, his quincunxes and his honeyſuckles—planted his olives and his citrons—or led us through groves of myrtles, where we might hear the ſinging of the birds and the murmuring of the fountains. Whatever may have been his profeſſions, it is to be ſuſpected that ruſtic Nature, when undreſſed by *Le Notre*, loſt many of her attractions in the eyes of our poet. That affected writer, Horace Walpole, has told us, that Kent (one of the family of the *Capabilities*) leaped the wall, and found that all nature was a garden. We believe, nevertheleſs, that *l'homme des champs* knew more of the gardens than of the fields; and more of the greenhouſe than of the granary. The Abbé Delille was, however, ſtill in his province while he remained in the country. When a poet, and eſpecially a French poet, chuſes to reſide there, we may naturally expect to find, that his farm will be a *ferme ornée*—that the muſes will build and furniſh his cottage—and that Ceres and Pomona will cover his fields with corn, and fill his orchards with fruit. The peaſants around him will reſemble the clowns of Auvergne or Languedoc, about as much as Tityrus, Amyntas or Corydon, reſembled the ſhepherds or goatherds of Arcadia, or Italy. From Theocritus down to Shenſtone, there is nothing ſo tireſome or inane as paſtural poetry;—and from Delille down to Pomfret, there is nothing leſs faithful than a well-bred poet's picture of ruſtic life.

The reputation which our author had now acquired, ſeems to have engaged him to attempt to climb to the higher regions of Parnaſſus. It is true that he has confined himſelf to tranſlation, while he has endeavoured to ſound the lyre of the epic muſe; but we are really inclined to think, that it could not be mere mo-

desty that prevented the translator of the Æneid and of Paradise Lost, from undertaking an original work of his own. It is difficult to conceive, where excellence must be admitted to both—a greater contrast than exists between the characters of Virgil and Milton as epic poets. The first is indubitably the most correct and the most elegant writer of any period or country. His language is matchless in majesty and beauty; his manner is unequalled in grace; his plan is constructed with an accuracy which proves, that correct judgment is scarcely less essential to a poet than a fine invention. If he have less originality than Homer—less of the *mens divinior*—he has fewer inequalities, and preserves more constantly the dignity which becomes his subject. Then, who can be compared with Virgil, when he speaks in the language of the passions, or unfolds the secret workings of an agonized or distracted spirit?

The taste, the genius, the character of Milton, have little in common with those which we have attributed to Virgil. That his conceptions are magnificent, that his ideas are sublime, that his descriptions are occasionally beautiful, who can deny? But that his subject is happy, or his taste correct, who will assert? But there is nothing, we conceive, which should have rendered translations of the Æneid and of Paradise Lost, more difficult for the same writer to execute, than the very different structure of the poetic language employed, and in a great measure created, by both these great writers, in Latin and in English. The peculiar majesty, felicity, and harmony of the Virgilian measures are known to all Europe; and through a long lapse of ages have invited imitation, and defied comparison. How then could he who flattered himself with having caught something of the elegance of Virgil, imagine that his versatile muse could acquire the lofty and powerful, but often abrupt and inharmonious tones of Milton? Yet Milton has periods that exhibit a melody to which there is nothing at all comparable in our language; and which strike the more, perhaps, in his great poem, from the contrast which it so frequently presents of harshness and repulsive austerity. In Milton we find all that is sublime, and terrific; much that is beautiful; and sometimes, though rarely, something that is soft and delicate: but, with this, there are inelegancies which cannot fail to offend, and deformities that go near to disgust. Who then that had presumed to emulate the correctness, or to copy the graces of Virgil, could hope, in daring greatly, to forget with Milton, what correctness requires, and in what grace consists? or who, that had imbibed the stern and lofty spirit of the English bard, could fancy that it was given to him also to speak with the suavity, the purity, and the mild

mild and unvarying majesty, which so peculiarly mark the language of the Mantuan Muse?

The Abbé de Lille seems to have fancied this; and two vast bundles of verse, each divided into twelve *fasciculi*, have been published in France, as poetical versions of the Æneid, and of Paradise Lost. We mean not to deny that there are brilliant lines in both these publications. We will even admit, that the versification, generally speaking, is above mediocrity; and we will readily confess that we would rather choose (should the dire alternative be imposed on us) to read either of these translations completely through, than any one of the Iliads that have been lately published in England by the numerous and flourishing representatives of the *Accii* in that country. There is really a great deal of pretty poetry in De Lille's translation of the Æneid; much neat description, and many smart antitheses. But how, after the *ci-devant* Abbé had stripped the Roman poet of his *toga*, and dressed him according to the last Parisian fashion, could he think of forcing just such another coat on the back of the reluctant Milton? There is, generally speaking, a stateliness, a gravity, and a grandeur, in the language of the Paradise Lost, with which we, on this side of the channel, are peculiarly struck; and, whether it be bad taste, or not, we avow ourselves to be better pleased with the grave eloquence of the original, than with all the pretty little corruscations of wit which flash through the translation.

Two poems, *yclept* original, which have been published by De Lille, have had many admirers in France. We mean *La Pitié*, and *L'Imagination*. With the former, even though it be the most celebrated *Jeremiade* of the day, we were less pleased than with the latter; while in this we did not fail to detect the unacknowledged and numerous plagiarisms from Darwin, Goldsmith, Akenside and other English authors. Upon this subject we should be more severe, if we did not suspect, that there is an innate propensity to pilfering in the whole race that dwells upon Mount Parnassus. We know of no poets older than Homer, and Hesiod; and therefore, we cannot tell whether they did, or did not steal: but, that this has been the practice of all their successors, impartiality forbids us to deny. Still, there is a measure and a manner in all things. Æschylus stole from Homer; Sophocles from both; and Virgil from every body. But then these robbers burnished up their ill gotten gold with so much art, and gave new forms to the old materials with so much skill, that even when we detect their thefts, we can scarcely refrain from admiring, more than before, their industry and ingenuity. When such poetical larcenies come before the critic, what can he do but smile, and wink at the

deceit? But the case is very different when manifest plagiarisms, or rather bald translations, are palmed upon us for original compositions. This is a poetical crime of great magnitude, and should be severely punished in every literary Court of Justice. Now we lament to say, that the Abbé De Lille is an old offender in this way; and we are afraid, that in the work which we are about to examine, we shall be obliged to condemn him as the boldest poetical thief, who ever offered stolen goods as his own to the public.

When we read the title-page of the book before us, we confess we did not augur very favourably of its contents. *The three Kingdoms of Nature!*—The animal, the vegetable, and the mineral!—This is an extensive subject. But when we opened the first volume, we found the four elements were in the first place to be disposed of. Now, that *fire*, *earth*, *air*, and *water*, should occupy important places in a *Dictionnaire Physique* appeared to us extremely natural; but we were a little alarmed at finding that each of these elements was to be the subject of a separate canto in a philosophical and didactic poem. Such indeed was our dread of reading a *Dictionnaire Physique* in heroic verse, that we were seized with a kind of *nausea*, quite unpardonable in critics by profession. A little reflection however brought us to ourselves; and our unconquerable sense of duty carried us safe through the whole performance. At the same time, we begin to doubt whether any of our readers will follow our heroic example. The Abbé Delille was once a poet. In his translation of the Georgics he had followed faithfully, though at a respectful distance, the footsteps of Virgil. In the poem before us, his object seems to have been to emulate Lucretius. Now, in order to accomplish this design, two things were necessary to the author;—first, that he should be a poet; and, secondly, that he should be versant in physics. To help his poetry, what could be more natural than to lay every other poet within his reach under contribution; and, to aid his philosophy, what could be more expedient than to have recourse to the *Dictionnaire Physique?* In his better days, and when his muse was young, the Abbé Delille, as we have already observed, was a pilferer; and what could now be expected from this hackneyed mechanist of verses? The *Trois Regnes* certainly exhibits the most curious medley of plagiarisms which we ever beheld in a poem professedly serious. First, we have an exordium, intended to be after the manner of Lucretius; then we have a description, copied from the author's own *Jardins*; next, we have a metaphor, purloined from Virgil; now, a long episode, translated from Thomson; and now a yet longer *tirade* from the *Dictionnaire Physique*, converted into verse.

The

The first canto, of which *Fire* is the subject, begins prettily enough; but we really cannot in conscience compare it with the exordium of Lucretius. M. Delille had taken a long walk; and, being fatigued, drops very naturally fast asleep; but his sleep is accompanied by a delightful dream.

'Je crus voir, dans l'eclat de sa riche parure,
Apparoitre à mes yeux le Dieu de la Nature.'

Now, without being excessively rigid ourselves, we must really object to a poet's telling us, that he has seen and conversed with the *God of Nature* in a vision. The God of Nature is no poetical personage. Hobbes has somewhere observed, that he who says he has seen God in a dream, only says he has dreamt that he saw God: but whether the logic of Hobbes be just or not, we are quite sure that no man, with a professed fiction in his mouth, should tell us that he has had a visit in a vision from the God of Nature. This seems to us to be bad religion; and we are quite sure it is bad taste.

The God of Nature, however, according to the account of the author, incites him to undertake his work; which he immediately commences. After having declared himself the enemy of system, he takes experience for his guide; and proceeds, in some pretty lines, to describe the effects of light. Finding, however, that his own stock of poetry and knowledge is soon exhausted, he invokes the aid of Apollo and Delambre; thereby, no doubt, giving a broad hint of the succours which he afterwards expected to obtain from Latin and English poetry, and from the dog-eared pages of the *Dictionnaire Physique*. But when he calls upon Apollo to tell him the various prodigies produced by light, we cannot think him quite so happy as the poet who began *Æneadum genetrix*. Our learned readers will remember the remainder of this beautiful invocation; and then let them judge of the address preferred to Apollo by the French rival of Lucretius.

'Viens Apollon, dis moi ses prodiges divers;
Et, comme des beaux jours, sois le Dieu des beaux vers.'

What would Boileau have said to the pretty quibble in the last line? It is a *concetto*, than which nothing duller could be found in a whole volume of Italian sonnets, and than which nothing could be much less appropriate to the gravity of a didactic poem. This being passed over, we find some brilliant passages; and, while he describes the effects of light, the author reminds us of the poet of the Gardens; but it is when he returns to the *coin de feu*, that we forget his ambitious and unsuccessful emulation of Lucretius, and that we again listen with pleasure to the verses of De Lille.

'Le printemps nous disperse et l'hyver nous rallie;
Auprès de nos foyers notre ame recueillie,

Goute ce doux commerce à tous les cœurs si cher :
Oui l'instinct social est enfant de l'hyver.
En cercle un même attrait rassemble autour de l'atre,
La vieillesse conteuse, et l'enfance folatre.
Là, courent à la ronde et les propos joyeux,
Et la vieille romance, et les aimables jeux ;
Là, se dédommageant de ses longues absences,
Chacun vient retrouver ses cheres connoissances.
Là, s'epanche le cœur : le plus penible aveu,
Longtems captif ailleurs, echappe au coin de feu.'

Si sic omnia! The subject of the next canto is *Air*;—and here, again, we were obliged to travel through many a page of the *Dictionnaire Physique*, very indifferently versified, 'On donne (says M. Cuvier, or the *Dictionnaire Physique* in prose) le nom de gaz oxigene (*oxygene* whispers a *Græculus* at our ear) à l'un des deux fluides qui composent l'air de l'atmosphère, celui de gaz azote à l'autre ; et le fluide atmospherique a conservé exclusivement le nom d'air,' &c. Now, we declare we think this prose is as good as the rhymed prose which follows.

' Sur nous, autour de nous, de deux airs différents,
L'Eternel repandit les fluides errants ;
L'un, en courant moins pur, dans l'immense atmosphère
Regne plus abondant ; l'autre plus salntaire,
A la plus foible part dans les champs de l' Ether ;
De leurs flots reunis la Nature a fait l'air.'

There is a great deal more in the same strain : but let us do justice, at least, to the mimic talents of De Lille. Who, that had been accustomed to the correctness of Boileau—to the elegance of Racine—or to the brilliancy and spirit of Voltaire,—would have imagined, that their disciple could have found the means, if he had fallen into the bad taste, of imitating Darwin? Yet, while De Lille talks of the air, we were recalled to the recollection of the affected style, which had sickened us in the Loves of the Plants.

' Par l'air nous respirons l'œillet, la marjolaine ;
D'une bouche adorée il nous porte l'haleine,' &c.

Messrs Ellis and Frere have produced nothing more *Darwinian*, in the Loves of the Triangles. Whether Darwin, or Little, may have tutored our author in the following verses, we shall leave to the decision of judges whose ears are more easily tickled than our own.

' Le poids de l'air enfin, par un plus doux bienfait,
Dans le sein maternel fait arriver le lait,
Et le guide à travers les veines qu'il arrose,
De deux globes d'albatre à deux lèvres de rose.'

Lucretius has given a theory of the winds ; and his French rival could

could not do leſs. If the ſplendid paſſage in Lucretius, which begins,

Principio venti vis verberat incita pontum,

ſhould be found to have infinitely more poetry than the article in the rhymed verſion of the *Dictionnaire Physique*, ſtill, it muſt be admitted, that the philoſophy of the French poet is more exact than that of the Roman. But there may be critics who will think differently from us concerning the relative poetical merits of the paſſages in queſtion. M. de Lille has told us, how Cambyſes and all his army were buried in the ſands which had been raiſed by a whirlwind;—an example of the deſtructive effects of air, which had been omitted by Lucretius. It is true, that our author has borrowed, or ſtole, the whole ſtory from Darwin. But what is that to the purpoſe? It ought to belong to him who can make the beſt uſe of it;—and M. de Lille juſtly obſerves, that it comes with a better grace from him, who was talking of the winds, than from Dr Darwin, who was ſinging of the Loves of the Plants. Our author, in ſpeaking of the burning winds in the tropical climates, has expreſſed ſome of the ideas of Thomſon with pretty effect, and with no acknowledgement. There is alſo a paſſage in the *Jerusalemme liberato*; from which, it was to be expected, a ſkilful hand would pilfer ſomething.

Two great maſters have deſcribed, in Greek, and in Italian, the plagues of Athens and Florence. Lucretius has alſo given an account of the cauſe and progreſs of this moſt terrible of human maladies in the ſixth book; and De Lille, likewiſe aſcribing it to a *mal-aria*, preſents us with a free tranſlation from the paſſage in Lucretius, but without any acknowledgement. We really are not ſorry when our author lays down the *Dictionnaire Physique* for the Roman poet; and therefore we ſhall not quarrel with him for ſtating, that the contagion is communicated by the air; and that, beſides men, wolves, lions, and tigers, die of the plague.

Since Noah's deluge, we never heard ſo much of *Water* as in the third canto. Often did we exclaim with Hamlet, "Too much of water!"—and, after following the Abbé's muſe over oceans, ſeas, and lakes; acroſs rivers navigable, and not navigable—rivulets, ſtreams, and brooks; through mire, fen, bog, and marſh;—we could not help fervently praying that ſhe might ſoon get upon *terra firma* again, to wring her locks, and dry her petticoats.

But, to amuſe us by the way, ſhe entertained us with two long epiſodes, tranſlated faithfully enough from Thomſon's Seaſons. From the hurry we were all in, either ſhe forgot to acknowledge the plagiariſm; or the avowal of the theft eſcaped our ears.

We

We ſhall paſs over, unnoticed, moſt of the arguments of the fourth book;—ſuch as—Les differentes eſpèces de terre decouvertes et analyſées par les ſavans—Experiences de Lavoiſier ſur l'eau—Les analyſes de la chymie, &c. &c. We rather wiſh, for the ſake of our readers, and of ourſelves, to tranſcribe the following paſſage, which is one of the few that we have found worthy of the Abbé De Lille.

'O terre! enfant du ciel———
Oh! que j'aime ta grace, et ta magnificence!
Et quel riche appareil entoura ta naiſſance!
Agréables ruiſſeaux, fleuves majeſtueux,
Solennelles forêts, bosquets voluptueux,
Le ciel pour pavillon, pour tapis la verdure,
Les bois pour diadême, et les mers pour ceinture,
Le doux flambeau des nuits, l'aſtre eclatant du jour;
Quelle pompe manquoit à ton riche ſejour?
Mais depuis ton berceau, jusqu'à tes derniers ages,
Par quels heureux travaux, par quels affreux ravages,
L'homme, le feu et l'onde ont du globe habité
Rajeuni la vieilleſſe, ou fletri la beauté!'

There is likewiſe much ſpirit in this deſcription of a volcanic eruption.

'Tel, et plus furieux, le volcan effréné
Lutte contre le mont qui le tient enchainé:
Plus il fut captivé, plus il ſera terrible.
L'inſtinct a preſſenti l'explosion horrible;
Les troupeaux conſternés quittent ce ſol brulant,
L'oiſeau part effrayé, le chien fuit en hurlant.
Enfin il rompt ſa voute; il briſe ſes murailles;
De ſes flancs dechirés il vomit ſes entrailles;
Melange de fumée, et de cendre, et d'eclairs;
En colonne rougeatre il monte dans les airs;
Du noir abime aux cieux il fait voler la pierre,
De ſes ſillons brulants laboure au loin la terre,
Et des rochers diſſous, et des metaux fondus,
Roule en flots enflammés les torrents confondus.
Adieu les fleurs, les fruits et la moiſſon naiſſante;
Tout tremble, tout fremit; la terre mugiſſante
Secoue avec fureur ſes abimes profonds,
Et les tours des cités, et les forêts des monts.' &c.

A man who, when he takes pains, can write ſuch poetry as this, is not to be excuſed for ſpinning verſes as faſt and as ill as Lord Fanny himſelf.

It is not until he has finiſhed his fourth canto, and his firſt volume, that our author enters upon his ſubject. We think there ſhould have been two ſeparate poems; and the one might have been

been called the Four Elements, with as much propriety as the other would have been termed the Three Kingdoms. At preſent, the latter title belongs only to the ſecond volume.

The fifth canto is dedicated to the conſideration of the mineral kingdom. As a poetical compoſition, we think it a very inferior production; and as a piece of philoſophy, we ſincerely hope (as lovers of ſcience), that it will never preclude the ſtudy of the *Dictionnaire Physique* in proſe. The ingenious teachers of the Porte Royale, indeed, turned the Greek grammar into French verſe; and our Latiniſts have tortured longs and ſhorts, to the great advantage of thoſe who, with ſhining morning faces, begin to liſp *propria quæ maribus*. But theſe were unambitious verſifiers, who never thought of invoking Apollo and the Muſes. We inſiſt upon it, that the *Dieu des beaux vers* will never permit a legitimate ſon to put the laws of chemical affinities into heroic verſe. His ears will be grated by a mineralogical nomenclature; and he will never recogniſe, as his own inſpiration, ſuch anapæſtics as the following.

'Le tung-stene griſatre; et l'arſenic rongeur,
Qui du cuivre blanchi deguiſe la rougeur.' &c.
'Ailleurs c'eſt le nickel; le douteux molybdene
Dont nul ne connoiſſoit la ſubſtance incertaine.' &c.

The canto concludes with a long and tedious epiſode, which by great good fortune has nothing to do with the ſubject.

The vegetable kingdom affords a fine ſubject for poetry; and the introduction of the ſixth canto, reminded us of the poetical feeling which we were accuſtomed to admire in the *Jardins*.

'Ils ſont paſſés ces tems des rêves poëtiques,
Ou l'homme interrogeoit des forêts prophetiques;
Ou la fable, créant des faits prodigieux,
Peuploit d'êtres vivants des bois religieux.
Dodone inconſultée a perdu ſes oracles;
Nos vergers ſont ſans Dieux, nos forêts ſans miracles;
Au ſang du beau chaſſeur adoré de Cypris,
La roſe ne doit plus ſon brillant coloris;
L'eau ne repete plus le beau front de Narciſſe,
Ce vert cyprès n'eſt plus le jeune Cyparisse.' &c.

As might be expected, M. de Lille has ſung the loves of the plants. The following paſſage poſſeſſes conſiderable beauty; but it muſt be allowed, that the deſcription is warmer than *the chaſte Sisters of Helicon* might have been expected to inſpire.

'——L'Aurore matinale
Vient frapper de ſes feux la couche nuptiale;
Le couple eſt éveillé, l'amant brule, et ſoudain
Les eſprits créateurs s'echappent de ſon ſein.

Dans

Dans l'organe secret dont l'ardeur les seconde
Son amante attendoit cette vapeur feconde;
Elle entre, et le pistil avec avidité
Ouvre sa trompe humide à la fecondité.
La graine en se gonflant boit le suc qui l'arrose;
C'est un œillet naissant, c'est un lis, une rose;
Et l'organe qui verse, ou reçoit ce trésor,
D'un doux tressaillement fremit long-tems encor.
Cependant autour d'eux s'embellit la nature;
Le papillon folatre, et le ruisseau murmure;
Les essaims bourdonnant voltige à l'entour,
Et les oiseaux en chœur chantent l'hymne d'amour.'

In the two laſt cantos, M. de Lille has undertaken to deſcribe the animal reign. We confeſs, that a Zoology in verſe is almoſt as little to our taſte as a Dictionnaire Phyſique; and we have as little curioſity to ſee Buffon put into rhyme, as Messieurs Cuvier and Libes. Buffon, with all his faults, is certainly one of the moſt eminent naturaliſts that the world ever produced. His knowledge muſt be always valued by the ſcientific; and his eloquence has rendered his knowledge intereſting to almoſt every claſs of readers. Many of his portraits of animals are painted with a maſterly hand. His deſcriptions of the dog, the horſe, the elephant, and the ſwan, are equally diſtinguiſhed by truth and beauty. If, then, the conteſt had only been for fine writing, we ſhould have cautioned M. de Lille not to have been too precipitate in attempting to verſify the works of Buffon; but if an abridgement of them were neceſſary, we confeſs, we ſhould be induced to recommend that it might be edited in plain proſe.

We have dwelt at great length upon the volumes before us; and to ſome of our good-natured readers, our ſtrictures will appear to be too ſevere, when it is conſidered that they have fallen on a blind and unfortunate man, who, if not now the only legitimate, is certainly the oldeſt living ſon of Apollo. But at a period when bad taſte in writing is becoming every day more general; when new, and barbarous, and monſtrous models are held up for admiration; and when the claſſics of our own, and of every other country, are in danger of being forced into the ſhade; every lover of real literature muſt feel indignant, when an author of acknowledged merit writes himſelf down to the common level of rhymers and poetaſters. This is the time for men of taſte and genius to make their laſt ſtand. If Virgil had lived to old age, and had written a thouſand verſes *ſtans pede in uno*, Tacitus, or whoever was the author of the treatiſe on the corruption of Roman eloquence, would have had no difficulty in pointing out one of its principal ſources. When the herd of bad poets and of bad critics can point at a poet of eminence, who, by writing too much,

much, and too haſtily, expoſes himſelf to juſt cenſure, they obtain more for their cauſe, than his former example had ever done againſt it. They who could not reach to his excellence, will eagerly avail themſelves of his defects; and, under the authority of his name, will claim indulgence for faults, which the public had imprudently pardoned to a favourite author. The Abbé de Lille was once beſt known as the ſucceſsful translator and imitator of Virgil; and he ſhould have remembered, that the poem, ſecond only to the Iliad, was ordered to be burnt by its author, becauſe it had not received the laſt poliſh from his hands. If M. de Lille had duly pondered upon this anecdote, we think he would not have given the category of quantity ſo great a preference over that of quality, in his acts of publication.

ART. VII. *Voyage aux Indes Orientales.* Par le P. Paulin de S. Barthélemy, Miſſionaire; traduit de l'Italien par M***; avec les Obſervations de MM. Anquetil Du Perron, J. R. Forſter, et Silveſtre de Saey; et une Diſſertation de M. Anquetil ſur la Propriété individuelle et Foncière dans l'Inde et en Egypte. 3 vol. 8vo. à Paris, 1808.

THERE are few objects of greater curioſity than the actual ſtate of Society among the Hindus. When full light is let in upon this point, the darkneſs in which the hiſtory of ſociety throughout Aſia has ſo long been involved, begins to diſpel. By living with the Hindus of the preſent day, we are living with the Hindus of the days of Alexander. Nor is this by any means the moſt important part of the advantage. It is now fully aſcertained, that the more improved nations of Aſia have at all times reſembled each other in manners, in arts, in government and in knowledge. Few and faint as the ſparks of light are which hiſtory has preſerved to us reſpecting the antient Perſians, the Chaldeans and the Babylonians, they ſuffice to prove an unqueſtionable coincidence in the great characteriſtic lines between their ſtate of ſociety, and the ſtate which is found to have been fixed for ſo many ages in the land of Bharata. By living, therefore, with the Hindus of the preſent day, we are living, as it were, with the Perſians of the time of Xerxes—with the Babylonians of the time of Cyrus—and the Egyptians of the times of both. It would ſeem as if, by a ſingular felicity, one nation had been arreſted for ſo many ages in its primitive condition, as to carry us back into

the receſſes of antiquity. We are gratified as if by a perſonal acquaintance with nations once ſo famous—the objects of ſo natural and eager a curioſity—but of whom all ſatisfactory indications ſeemed to be loſt in the depths of diſtant time. Of all antiquities, as they are uſually called, that is, of all the monuments of antiquity, Hindu ſociety is, beyond all compariſon, the moſt ſtupendous, the moſt wonderful, and, excluding the literature of Greece and Rome, the moſt intereſting and the moſt inſtructive.

The deſcriptions of intelligent travellers, who delineate to us with fidelity the preſent phenomena, intellectual, moral and political, preſented by this people, and the information furniſhed by thoſe who lay open to us the literary and antient monuments of Hinduſtan, are, in this view, of peculiar importance.

Our eagerneſs to lay hold of any freſh contribution of this ſort, and the dexterity of French bookſellers in metamorphoſing titles, led us, on the preſent occaſion, into a little diſappointment. *Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par le P. Paulin, traduit de l'Italien*, ſtruck us as indicating a production from which we were likely to derive ſome materials for reflection, and ſomething which we might aggregate to the previous ſtock of our information. Upon opening the book, we diſcovered, in a new dreſs, and under a new name, our old acquaintance, *The Travels of Bartolomeo*, ſome years ago converted into Engliſh from a German tranſlation. The diſappointment, however, was not complete. Of the three new volumes, the notes, almoſt wholly compoſed by Anquetil du Perron, formed one, the matter of which was new; and that from the pen of one of the moſt celebrated orientaliſts in the world. It was, too, the dying gift (Anquetil du Perron expired at a very advanced age, while the work was yet under his eye) of a man who had devoted, more excluſively and ardently than any individual perhaps who had ever lived, a whole life to oriental reſearches. It was a work from the hand of a Frenchman,—of a man whoſe opinions muſt have had great weight with his countrymen on a ſubject in which Britiſh intereſts are conſidered as ſo deeply involved;—on which the eyes of the French government, we know, have been ſo long and ſo eagerly fixed;—and with regard to which we have ſo many motives for deſiring to know the true nature and extent of the views and policy of our enemy. Theſe conſiderations induced us to think that the work (we ſpeak, of courſe, only of the new part) might not be unworthy of ſome reflections. We cannot, indeed, on ſuch an occaſion, enter into that comprehenſive and connected view of the ſubject which it would have gratified us to take, if the nature of the work had admitted of it; but ſhall rather follow the author in the

the deſultory diſcuſſions which a volume, compoſed of notes, neceſſarily ſupplies. Some of them, it appears to us, are of no mean importance.

Of the work to which the notes are appended, we have occaſion to ſay nothing. The book is already known nearly as much as it is worthy of being known. The author has certainly communicated information; but it is a ſhame to him, conſidering his opportunities, not to have communicated more. Though a monk, and a miſſionary, the man is not ill inſtructed. The literature of Europe is apparently familiar to him; and ſeems not to have been without its ſalutary effects upon his mind. On many trying and deciſive occaſions, he is guided by the enlarged ſentiments of philoſophy; and his bigotry ſhows itſelf, for the moſt part, in a form rather ludicrous than offenſive. His judgment, however,—his power of diſcrimination between what is of great and what is of little importance,—is not his happieſt faculty; and, in accuracy, which depends ſo much upon judgment, he is ſtill more defective.

One reflection, however, we may make, on Father Paulini and his brother miſſionaries. They are much more intimately, practically, and perſonally acquainted with Hindu manners and feelings, as they at preſent diſplay themſelves in actual life, than any other deſcription of European obſervers. The houſes of the Hindus are ſhut upon all but thoſe who are of their own ſect. The preſence of a European would be pollution. All that moſt Europeans know of the Hindus among whom they live, is what they ſee of them as they walk in the ſtreets or roads, or work in the fields. They very rarely converſe, and ſcarcely ever aſſociate with them. Thoſe who are the moſt deſirous of information, hire a Pundit or profeſſed inſtructor. Him they queſtion; and from him they receive ſuch anſwers as he pleaſes to afford,—anſwers having always as cloſe a relation as poſſible to the man's views and intereſts; and to truth, only ſuch relation as is not deemed inconſiſtent with thoſe more prevailing motives. As far as this information is perfected by learning the rules according to which ſervants govern themſelves, in diſcharging their divided and ſubdivided functions in his family, ſo far the practical knowledge of the ordinary European extends. But it is the very buſineſs of the miſſionary to aſſociate with the natives. He travels about among them, not with horſes, palankeens, and tribes of followers, but on foot, and alone. He approaches them and their houſes, whenever he can do ſo without offence. He even renders himſelf dependent upon their charity,—the moſt powerful of all introductions to their intimacy. He labours to gain their confidence. The conſequence is, that he contemplates them a great many degrees nearer than any other

body; and his information reſpecting the living people has (that is to ſay, when he is a man of ſenſe) a particularity, a minuteneſs, a ſatisfactorineſs, which that of no other contributor to our ſtock of knowledge on this ſubject diſplays.

Among the firſt of the points on which M. Anquetil thinks proper to offer his obſervations, is the privilege of a traveller,—on which the learned miſſionary gives himſelf ſome lofty airs. That any men who have not been in India, and who know not the languages of India, ſhould dare to ſpeak of India, appears to him in the light of an indecency. At all events, if any thing which he has to advance finds itſelf oppoſed by any thing which they have advanced, be they who they may, there is no contumely which is too great for them. 'Je m'etonne,' ſays he, (vol. I. p. 43.) 'que M. M. d'Anville, Delille, de la Tour, Cellarius, Robertſon, aient pu ecrire ſur la geographie, la topographie, la navigation et la commerce de l'Inde, ſans les ſecours indiſpenſables que je viens d'indiquer.' Anquetil, though a traveller himſelf, and a man who reſted the principal part of the conſideration to which he laid claim, on his knowledge of the languages of the Eaſt, thinks proper to chaſtiſe, and with ſome ſeverity, the petulance of this travelled vanity. He quotes the ſucceſsful and important labours of d'Anville and Rennell in Grecian geography, neither of whom either knew the language of Greece, or had in perſon explored the countries.

The pretenſions of the miſſionary, however, are not ſingular. They are almoſt uniformly adopted, and very willingly brought forward by our own travellers and linguiſts from the Eaſt. The ſpirit of excluſion and monopoly is a very predominant one in human nature. * The lawyer cannot eaſily find words for his indignation, when any one but a brother pretends to know any thing of his myſtery. How contemptuouſly does the deep-read divine eye the preſumptuous laic, when he ventures, in his preſence, to touch a thorny point in theology? The ſtateſman, during many ages, held it a crime, demanding puniſhment, if any one ventured or pretended to diſcloſe the myſteries of his art. It is well known that our own James I. claimed a monopoly of king-craft, into which it was indecent and wicked even for parliament itſelf to pry. Of theſe ſeveral monopolies, no one, we believe, is more completely broken up than thoſe of the king and the ſtateſman; and none, perhaps, continues ſo little impaired as that of the lawyer.

* Anquetil says very well on another occasion, 'Chacun prêche pour son saint, et raye, s'il le faut, les autres du calendrier. Le desir d'être, de paraître seul, de rabaisser, anéantir tout ce qui n'est pas soi, mène plus loin qu'on ne pense.'

lawyer. As the monopoly of the Oriental linguiſts and travellers, or at leaſt their pretty frequent and peremptory claims of monopoly, are but too apt to be urged againſt the untravelled inquirer, and to retard, as we apprehend, the progreſs of knowledge, the preſent ſeems an appoſite occaſion to endeavour to ſhow what theſe claims are really and intrinſically worth.

The man who has not been in India, and who has not ſpoken the languages, can know nothing about India, ſays the learned traveller. What, not even that which you have told him?—You muſt, then, have told it very ill. You have told, all of you who have publiſhed your obſervations, what you regarded as of moſt importance in all that preſented itſelf to your obſervation in India. The intelligent European, who has never been in India, may know the facts you have related. With theſe facts, inferences without number are connected; and, for the ſake of theſe inferences, it chiefly is, that the knowledge of the facts themſelves is valuable. Theſe inferences the untravelled European may draw as well as you; and, if he has accuſtomed his mind to the drawing of inferences much more than you, a great deal better.

Ah, but the being an eye and ear witneſs! that is an advantage for which nothing elſe can compenſate. That it is an advantage, in ſome reſpects, cannot indeed be denied: but that it is a diſadvantage in other reſpects, we conceive to be no leſs incontrovertible. The vivid impreſſions of the ſenſes are a cauſe of darkneſs, as well as of light. They are the cauſe of partial, and of confuſed apprehenſions. The range of the ſenſes, the poſſible extent of perſonal obſervation, is in every man extremely limited. In regard to a whole country, and a whole people, eſpecially ſuch a country as India, and ſuch a people as the Hindus, how ſhort a way can the actual ocular obſervation of any individual extend? But where we muſt pick up our knowledge of an infinitely extenſive, and infinitely various ſyſtem of facts, from a great variety of witneſſes, our having ſeen one part with our own eyes is very apt to make us undervalue what has been ſeen by others; and the man who can combine and compare, with the ſoundeſt judgment, all thoſe varying teſtimonies, is the man who will have the moſt complete and valuable knowledge of the ſubject to which the teſtimonies refer. To this high intellectual function, the actual obſerver, the man whoſe time is ſpent in looking on, is ſeldom the moſt competent. The two operations ſeem, if we may judge from experience, to require two different kinds of intellect. They form a natural and uſeful diviſion of intellectual labour;—both highly uſeful—and each eſſential to the utility of the other;—the one ſet the quarriers, who bring the ſtones from their native ſeat,

—the other the architects, who work them into the regular building.

When a judge, in the exercise of his great and important functions, takes cognizance of some extensive and complicated affair, and receives the accounts of it rendered by a number of witnesses, —when, by carefully interrogating, first one and then another, he has sifted it to the bottom,—is not his conception of the truth infinitely more to be relied on, than that of any one of the witnesses whose testimonies he has been comparing? In extensive and complicated affairs, a case can scarcely be conceived in which it would be otherwise. Yet the witnesses are in the situation of our supposed observers; and the judge is in that of the untravelled European, who, by the exercise of his intellect upon the testimony and records before him, endeavours, like the judge, to conceive accurately that which has been observed inaccurately.

Whatever be the situation in which men are placed, there are certain biases arising from it which attach upon them in that situation, and which always ought to be taken into account, in judging of their words and actions. The situation of a traveller has its biases as well as others. To have something very valuable or very wonderful to report, and to have as much as possible of one or the other description, is naturally one great object with every one who travels with a view to give an account of his travels; and it is a trite and familiar observation, that what a man wishes very much to see and believe, he seldom fails to see and believe,—provided only the subject is sufficiently indefinite to give any play to the imagination. It is on this ground that the reports of spies are always to be received with so much caution, even where their honesty is not at all suspected. Of the two classes of things which form the objects of the traveller's search—the useful and the wonderful, many more have a taste for the former than for the latter, as well among those for whom the report is designed, as among those who pursue the means of making it. Above all things, if the country which is the object of curiosity has, by any cause, adequate or inadequate, been for a long time regarded as containing wonderful things, and more particularly if, along with all this, the country be very distant, *ex longinquo reverentia*, the passion for the wonderful may then be expected to be seen at its height. It is this which accounts for the extreme credulity with which European, and especially British visitors, have been accustomed to make their inquiries in India. The extravagant pretensions of the Bramins, though among the most infallible signs of an ignorant and rude people, were long listened to with wondering acceptance; and all the stories in support of their pretensions, which men versed in

the

the arts of fraud, the very children and professors of imposture, chose to advance, were received as the most important disclosures. Of this style of inquiring and believing, Sir William Jones, on whose susceptible imagination the idea of Eastern wonders seems very early to have taken a strong hold, appears to have set the example; and it has hitherto been pretty well kept up by his successors.

Among the topics suggested by the work of the learned missionary, which have attracted more or less of the reflections of Anquetil du Perron, there are two favourite ones. On these he has expended the principal part of his force. He recurs to them again and again; and, on one of them, has favoured us with a separate dissertation. The one is, the practicability, and even the facility and policy, of the invasion of India by the French, or by the Russians, or by the French and Russians conjoined. The other is, the long agitated and important question, respecting the tenure of property, or, more strictly and properly speaking, of landed property in India, according to the laws and customs of the country. On these topics, it will be proper for us to offer a few reflections.

1. *On the invasion of India.*—There are two modes, according to M. Anquetil, by either of which this splendid enterprise, an enterprise pregnant with so many important consequences, may be achieved. The first is a plan of moderation. By this, it is only proposed to reduce the sovereign power of England over India, but by no means to extinguish her commercial establishments.

'Une seconde expédition,' says he, 'sans vues d'établissement en Egypte, réussira comme la première, et 12 à 15,000 hommes transportés à Suez, de-là dans l'Inde par la Mer Rouge, suffisent pour occasioner dans cette vaste contrée une revolution qui rende aux naturels, des pays qui leur appartiennent; aux Européens, la possession sûre et tranquille de leurs comptoirs et de leur commerce; et qui, en resserrant dans de vastes bornes l'Inde Britannique, sans commotion, sans cet appareil enorme d'attaque et de defense qui consume le vainqueur et le vaincu, garantisse aux Anglais un revenu, un gain que l'humanité, que la probité puissse avouer.' p. 55. *

* The author had already expressed his sentiments on this point, in a place so little congruous to them, as to prove that his anxiety not to omit them must have been unusually strong,—in his notes on the translation of the Oupnek'hat, one of the ancient religious books of the Hindus. See the passage, pp. 726 to 729, tom. I. of that work, which is written in Latin, and was published at Paris in 1804, in two large quarto volumes. Till we become more amply supplied with Hindu monuments, by the industry of our Indian scholars, it is a document of considerable importance.

But beſide this plan of invading India by the iſthmus of Suez and the Red Sea, with a ſmall number of men, for the purpoſe merely of exciting inſurrection in India, and, by the recoiling energy of the people, driving back the Engliſh within the limits of their commercial eſtabliſhments, the author has a more complete and forcible ſcheme, which appears at laſt to have ſupplanted the former in his affections.

'On compte,' says he, p. 70, '450 lieues environ de Balk, capital du Corasan, ou les Russes ont un poste, ou ils font passer des soldats, au Bengale. Qui empêchera vingt-cinq mille Français joints à vingt-cinq mille Russes, de descendre de Balk, par le haut du Penjab, dans l'Indoustan?.... L'empire Russe a des points de contact avec le nord de l'Europe et de l'Asie, de Petersbourg à la Chine, et la route ne serait ni si longue ni ci difficile pour les troupes, de Petersbourg à Calcutta, que de la premiere ville aux frontieres Chinoises, que ses armées ont visitées plus d'une fois;—d'une autre côté, les Anglais doivent tout craindre d'un peuple révolutionné de trente-deux millions d'ames, pour qui les routes les plus longues, les plus difficiles, les hazards de toute espece sont un jeu, qui va au feu comme au bal, que le repos n'a pas encore amolli quoiqu'il en ait besoin comme le reste de l'Europe; et dont la seule reponse eux diatribes politiques des deux chambres du parlement Britannique est *une marine*,—et nous l'aurons.'

As the importance of the French ſchemes upon India is commenſurate with the value of the Britiſh tenure in thoſe envied and coveted regions, it is of ſome moment not to loſe any of the real information on this ſubject which may be extracted from the zeal of our commentator. For this reaſon, there are two or three more among the various hints he diſcloſes, which we ſhould deem it improper not to tranſcribe. The march from France itſelf is thus ſketched out.

'Une armée de 30 à 40,000 hommes, par la Turquie, la Mer Noire, la Mer d'Asoph, la Mer Caspienne, et Balk, se rendrait dans l'Indoustan, à Kaboul, Lahor, Elahabad, le long du Gange à Calcutta, voyage d'un an à partir de France.' (p. 470.)—'Des Français bien conduits (par exemple, par un Dessaix) parcourraient ces vastes pays, aussi aisément qu'ils ont remonté le Nil, et penetré dans la haute Egypte, qu'ils se sont portés à Suez, traversant partout les déserts, qu'ils ont rabattu au sud-est dans la Syrie. L'air et les vivres sont meilleurs dans cette partie de l'Asie qu'en Afrique; point de déserts ni de journées de sables brûlans. Le caractere Français, franc, loyal, desinteressé autant que brave, sympatisera avec le Persan, celui des plaines comme celui des montagnes: un négociateur habile envoyé chez les Aghvans (Afgans) de Candahar, preparera les voies deja frayées par les courses annuelles des Patanes dans l'Indoustan.' p. 57.

While theſe grand operations are in progreſs toward their execution,

cution, it is part of the plan, that England ſhould be at the ſame moment haraſſed in all poſſible quarters, and in all poſſible ways, —for the purpoſe of waſting, and, if that be attainable, of exhauſting her reſources,—at any rate, of preventing the tranſmiſſion of thoſe vaſt ſupplies to India, which a well-concerted attack would render indiſpenſable for its preſervation.—'Savoir l'embarraſſer dans la Baltique par les puiſſances du Nord;—l'inquieter chez elle (elle le craint réellement) par un deſcente preparée dans nos ports;—l'obliger par *Porto Frayo* et par la marine Turque, et s'il ſe peut, par l'Eſpagne, à diſperſer une partie de ſes forces dans la Mediterranée;—la forcer même, par le Cap de Bonne Eſperance et l'Iſle de France, à les doubler dans l'Inde, la mine qui fournit à ſes depenſes en Europe.'—By theſe, and ſimilar means, England, it is calculated, may be compelled to undergo an expenſe much more than double of that which it will coſt France to employ them. For example, it is aſſerted that 80 ſhips of the line, ſkilfully managed by France, will create employment for 200 ſhips of the line by England; becauſe England has ſo many points to defend, and has (to uſe Anquetil's own expreſſion) 'pas d'autres fortereſſes.' p. 56.

On this great queſtion, reſpecting the practicability, on the part of the French and Ruſſians, of a deſcent upon Hinduſtan, and the dangers of ſuch an attempt with reſpect to their own country, the conceptions of Engliſhmen in general are exceedingly vague. They are not without their fears; and, now and then, ſuch fears appear to exert conſiderable force: but, as with regard to all dangers that preſent themſelves as not very near, their general habit is to deſpiſe the hoſtilities with which they are threatened in India. They are hoſtilities, however, which it is not impoſſible, either phyſically or politically ſpeaking, that they ſhould be called upon to meet: and, though ſuch a danger is not one againſt which we ſhould deem it expedient to take any *very* coſtly precautions, it is worthy of any thing rather than contempt.

In making up the grand bill of national aſſets,—in entering upon the firſt page of our political leger the inventory of Britiſh goods and valuables,—the dominion of India counts probably, with us, for a good deal leſs than with a great proportion of our countrymen. We are far from agreeing with M. Anquetil in two points. The *firſt* is, that India is 'la mine qui fournit aux depenſes de l'Angleterre en Europe;'—an opinion, which it is curious to find ſo univerſally occupying the *ſenſorium* of Frenchmen. The *ſecond* is, that it would be a bleſſing to the natives to be delivered from the yoke of England. If we wiſh for the prolongation of an Engliſh government in India, which we do moſt ſincerely, it is for the ſake of the natives, not of England. India has never been

any thing but a burden; and any thing but a burden, we are afraid, it never can be rendered. But the Engliſh government in India, with all its vices, is a bleſſing of unſpeakable magnitude to the population of Hinduſtan. Even the utmoſt abuſe of European power, is better, we are perſuaded, than the moſt temperate exerciſe of Oriental deſpotiſm. The grounds of this opinion, we hope to have ſome future opportunity of laying before the public. In the mean time, we ſhall only obſerve, that, judging of the future from the paſt hiſtory of this country, when left to its own exertions, we cannot entertain a doubt, that, if it were again parcelled out into a number of petty deſpotiſms, the reſult would be a mere repetition of the ſame bloody and ferocious invaſions, which we know to have formed the ſad circle of its paſt adventures. All the ſufferings inflicted by European war, in which the houſes and fields of the great body of the people are uſually ſpared, is a ſtate of proſperity and enjoyment, compared with that of their own deſtructive and mercileſs ravages; in which, from unſkilfulneſs in the means of defence, each country was penetrated at will by its enemy, with troops whoſe merit conſiſted in the magnitude of the miſchief they could perpetrate,—in the completeneſs and extent of the ruin and deſolation which they left behind them. The wider the circumference of the Britiſh dominion, the more extenſive the reign of peace. Did it embrace the whole of the Peninſula, and were it ſupported with any tolerable degree of wiſdom, a very conſiderable period of peace would probably be enſured, during which an incalculable progreſs might be made in happineſs and civilization.

This much we thought it neceſſary to ſtate, with regard to the real grounds on which we deprecate a war with Bonaparté for Hinduſtan. There is no occaſion to enter into an eſtimate of what the natives would loſe, or what they might gain, by exchanging a Britiſh for a French dominion. We humbly conceive, that there can be no queſtion upon this ſubject. There are cauſes, both phyſical and moral, which render the dominion of France over any conſiderable part of India, impoſſible. No European country but England is in circumſtances to maintain that dominion; and, if India loſes her Engliſh government, ſhe loſes the benefit of an European government entirely.

What, then, are the chances that India will ſuſtain the calamity of a viſit from the armies of Napoleon?

If, when the affairs of the Continent are ſettled, war with England ſhould ſtill continue, the great object of the enemy's deliberation will undoubtedly be, in what points we may be moſt eaſily and deeply wounded. Two very readily preſent themſelves—*Ireland*, and *India*;—and there are no other. The range of election, we here ſee, is not very wide; for, the paſſive and theoretical

kind

kind of warfare meditated againſt our commerce, is altogether of a different character. If Bonaparté means any where to purſue active hoſtilities againſt us, it is to Ireland or India—to one or other, or to both, that his armies muſt be tranſported. Of the former, however, this is not the place to ſay any thing;—as to the latter, there are ſeveral things to be conſidered.

In tranſporting an army from France to India there is a difficulty;—difficulty ſuch as M. Anquetil du Perron ſeems very unfit to appretiate;—difficulty, in fact, ſuch as has very ſeldom indeed been overcome. But there is no impoſſibility. Nay, the means are *ſo* obvious, that, in the choice of them, there is hardly room for miſtake. What is wanted, is, to ſecure the means of ſubſiſtence to an army of 50,000 men, while marching half round the globe, and through countries, in a great part of which the means of ſubſiſtence will not probably be found. This queſtion, however formidable at firſt appearance, is, after all, only a queſtion of expenſe. That theſe means may, with the utmoſt certainty, be provided, we are well aſſured. The expenſe will be enormous. But expenſe, with adequate ſkill in the employment of it, will infallibly accompliſh the purpoſe.

It will not probably be very difficult for Napoleon, commanding, as he does, the compliance of the Turkiſh government, and enjoying the cooperation of the Ruſſians, to tranſport an army to the Black Sea, and from the Black Sea to the ſouthern ſhores of the Caſpian. It is at this point where the ſtruggles and trials, we may ſuppoſe, will begin. Let us endeavour to ſee what may be their amount. At that point, whatever it may be, on the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea, from whence the beſt road commences to Balk, a depôt muſt be eſtabliſhed, and ready, before the arrival of the troops;—a depôt, of ſuch magnitude, as will ſuffice to carry the army to Balk. This depôt it will be the buſineſs of the Ruſſian government to form and to guard, at leaſt with the aſſiſtance of French agents, and France furniſhing the expenſe. At Balk, in the ſame manner, where the Ruſſians have at preſent an eſtabliſhment, it will be in their power to have another depôt ready prepared, which will ſuffice to carry the army through a great part of the territory which lies between Balk and the province of Delhi. That theſe diſtances are enormous—that the depôts muſt be immenſe—that the expenſe muſt be prodigious—a conſiderable part of the ſupplies, even at Balk, probably requiring to be brought from Europe—is all true. But all this, it is plain, is but the work of expenſe. That theſe depôts *may* be formed, and may, by the Ruſſians, very eaſily be guarded, no one can heſitate to admit. The country belongs entirely to the Uſbeck Tartars, who have abundant motives for keeping on good terms with the Ruſſian government,

From Balk, or rather from the borders of Candahar, which is at no great diſtance, and where the confines of the Afgan government commence, the troops of Bonaparte may poſſibly have to fight their way; for, though this predatory government, which borders with the Engliſh territories on its oppoſite frontier, views the Engliſh power with eyes ſufficiently hoſtile, it may not be eaſy or poſſible for an army to make its way through the dominions of ſuch a people, without occaſioning hoſtility. Such, however, are the caprices of a people like the Afgans, that it is poſſible too—though not, we think, ſo probable—that they would receive aſſiſtance from them in their tranſit. Of the degree of oppoſition, in caſe of oppoſition, which the Afgan power might preſent, no certain eſtimate can be formed. Among rude nations, the Afgan empire, now including all the eaſtern provinces of Perſia, and ſome of the nobleſt provinces in Upper India, is far from inconſiderable. But the efficacy of this power againſt the French would depend almoſt wholly upon the way of employing it; and the chances are many to one, that it would not be employed in the right way. In making war upon the line of operations, and the means of ſupply, it would be extremely formidable: but, meeting the French army in front, as it moſt probably would, it would only meet, and with little trouble to the enemy, its deſtruction. The fortified places on the line of march certainly would not give a French army a great deal of trouble. As the country too is fertile, and ſeveral of the principal towns, among the reſt the capital Cabul lying upon the route, proviſions to a certain amount, probably to a ſufficient amount, could ſcarcely eſcape the graſp of an active and intelligent enemy.

Such being the nature of the march to India, ſuch its practicability, but ſuch, in the ſhape of enormous expenſe, its difficulty; is Bonaparte—is France, in a condition to overcome that difficulty? A difficulty, in the ſhape of enormous expenſe, is certainly that which they are leaſt in a condition to overcome. It is perfectly evident that no point is more eſſential with Bonaparte, than to ſpare the purſes of Frenchmen. He ſeems to be more afraid of the diſcontent which the ſmart of taxation produces, than of the alienation excited by any other form of oppreſſion. Amid the many great expeditions in which he has been engaged, it has been his annual boaſt, that they ſhould coſt his ſubjects nothing.

If ſuch be the reluctance of Bonaparte to tax the French for wars carried on with their neighbours, and in which the national ſafety or the national glory is concerned, what muſt it be to tax them for an expedition, which muſt ſo naturally appear to them wild and extravagant, and with which one does not eaſily ſee how even that pliable tool, a nation's credulity, can be made to believe the nation's intereſt connected?

That

That Bonaparte is aware of theſe difficulties, we entertain no manner of doubt. But then, on the other ſide, are to be conſidered the difficulties with which he has to compare them. Between the invaſion of Ireland, and the invaſion of India, lyes the choice. But the dangers attached to the invaſion of Ireland can ſcarcely preſent themſelves to the mind of Bonaparte, as importing to him leſs ſerious ground of alarm, than thoſe attending the expedition to India. If the expenſe is leſs, the chance of miſcarriage is infinitely greater. What might be the effects of a grand diſaſter upon the throne of Bonaparte,—a throne which ſucceſs, and recent ſucceſs alone has ſet up, it is not very eaſy to tell; and it is one of the laſt experiments, we believe, which he would wiſh to try. How intenſe ſoever his deſire of invading Ireland, his fear of ſeeing his expedition encounter a Britiſh fleet in its paſſage, operates upon his mind with nearly equivalent force. But, beſide one or other of theſe invaſions, there ſeems to be no choice but that of abſolute inactivity;—an election perhaps more hazardous than either. The conqueror of the Continent cannot long be at war with England alone, and yet do nothing againſt England. He muſt invade either Ireland or India, if war continues with England, and peace on the Continent. On this the people of England ought to reckon with a certainty as great as can attach to any events of ſo contingent a nature. And though, of the two, we deem the invaſion of Ireland the more probable event, it is, with all our deprecation of a war in India, far from the moſt deſirable.

But if ſuch be the chances and the means of Bonaparte for reaching India, what are his chances and means with reſpect to the conflict he has after that to ſuſtain with the Britiſh power in India? This is an additional queſtion, the anſwer to which muſt be drawn from the view of another train of conſiderations. It is a queſtion to which the Britiſh people cannot too ſeriouſly direct their attention. But it is a queſtion with which, for various reaſons, we cannot engage on the preſent occaſion.

2. The ſecond ſubject of our author's reflections, which is of ſufficient importance to claim our attention, is the queſtion, who is the proprietor, or who are the proprietors, of land in India? This is a queſtion of conſiderable curioſity, both on account of the light it throws on the ſtate of ſociety, and of its connexion with certain celebrated regulations of our Indian government—the practical value of which, however, will not be much affected by their having proceeded on an erroneous theory.

As the ſubject may be new to ſome of our readers, a few words are requiſite in the way of explanation. The immediate tenants and cultivators of the ground in India are called *ryots*. Theſe

compoſe

compose the body of husbandmen or peasants. They are poor in general, and their possessions small. Throughout a considerable part of the country, especially in those parts where the texture of Hindu society has been least broken by the overbearing influence of strangers, the inhabitants of a village possess the lands belonging to the village in common. The crop is raised by those of the class of cultivators; and, after it is cut down, and the grain collected in heaps upon the field, it is divided according to certain fixed proportions; so much to the priest, so much to the carpenter, so much to the smith, the shoemaker, &c.—according to the nature and number of the occupations which have established themselves in the village. The smith, the carpenter, on the other hand, with the professors of all the other occupations, pay their services to the cultivators, and to one another, according to certain rules, and as they are required; and their recompense is the share allotted them in the general distribution of the produce of the land.

Beside this class of persons connected with the soil, there is another, and a higher order, denominated *Zemindars*. Among these, either as public functionaries or as owners of the soil, the country is divided in large but unequal shares, sometimes comprehending whole districts or provinces. These men exercise a superintendance and even jurisdiction over the ryots, &c. on their respective allotments; and receive from their hands a considerable proportion of the produce of the soil, in the shape either of rent or of taxes.

The question is, whether these zemindars, by the laws of the country, are the proprietors of the soil. M. Anquetil du Perron, and many others, have maintained that they are. On the other hand, it has been contended, that *the sovereign* alone is in Hindustan the proprietor of the soil, and that the zemindars are but the superintendants and collectors of his land revenue.

The question may seem, at first sight, to admit of an easy solution. Do these zemindars account to the sovereign for what they collect from the ryots, and pay it to his order; or do they retain it as their own, and account to nobody? The facts which determine the answer are notorious. The zemindars *do account* to the sovereign, and pay to him what they receive, under deduction of a certain allowed per centage, and the still more valuable fruits of peculation and extortion. These facts, however, are open to interpretation; and the interpretation offered by those who maintain that the land is the property of the zemindars, is, that what these zemindars receive from the ryots is their own rents; what they pay to the sovereign is the land-tax.

The British government, and the author before us, have both adopted this view of the question, which the latter has supported by

by arguments which do not appear to us by any means conclusive. In the heat of his argument, he confounds the most remarkable distinctions of property; and gravely brings documents to prove that there was such a thing recognised as property in India—from which he thinks himself entitled to assume, that there was property in land. Now, with regard to all other subjects, there never was any doubt. In these, the laws constituted property; and to that property, as far as laws in India were capable of protecting, they afforded protection.

M. Anquetil's *next* averment is, that the tenure of the zemindar is hereditary; and therefore, it is to be inferred that he has a property in the soil. But the tenure of the ryots, by whom that soil is more immediately occupied, is hereditary too; therefore, by the same argument, the ryots are the proprietors of the soil. Again, says M. Anquetil, the zemindar can alienate his tenure; therefore, he has the property of the soil. But the ryot can alienate his tenure also; therefore, again, *he* has the property of the same soil. This argument, if it proves any thing, proving with equal force things inconsistent with one another, is self-destructive. But, independent of this logical inference, might not an office, if what is held by a zemindar were nothing but an office, be hereditary; and might not the interest, whatever it might be, of any individual, in that office, be sold, provided no objection was offered on the part of those who had power to forbid its being sold?

Questions like this are too often decided, without that enlarged and accurate acquaintance with the history of society, on which all enlightened views of them so intimately depend. It seems to have been entirely unknown, or overlooked, by the combatants in this controversy, that the phenomenon of a sovereign the sole proprietor of land in his dominions, is by no means a miracle;—a supposition, from its extravagance, incredible. There is, on the contrary, a state of society to which it seems naturally to belong, and in which it will be found to have almost universally existed. It is well known to those who have studied the condition of such nations, that property in moveables is firmly established among them, before property in land has any existence. It is known, too, that when men first begin to cultivate the soil, he who has dug and sowed a field is regarded as having a title to the possession of the field, till he has reaped the crop for which he has laboured, and no longer: to dig or sow it for a succeeding crop, is equally the right of any other individual. *

A

* Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium..... *Privati et separati agri* apud eos nihil est; *neque longius*

A short experience of the obstructions which this transitory possession opposes to the multiplication of the fruits of the earth, must excite the desire—a desire gathering strength by time—of a more convenient arrangement. In a rude state of society, there is but one way of settling disputed pretensions. He who has authority speaks, and all the rest are silent. The territory of the nation, belonging in common to the nation, belongs, in this general sense, to the king, as the head and representative of the nation. It belongs to him, in this his capacity of proprietor, peaceably to determine the conflicting pretensions of individuals, and assign to each his permanent possession. As far, accordingly, as we have sufficient documents respecting rude nations, we find their kings, without perhaps a single exception, recognised as the sole proprietors of the soil.

Travellers represent this as a general fact among the agricultural nations of Africa. * Mr Park, who probably never heard that there had been a controversy on the subject, says, 'Concerning property in the soil;—it appeared to me, that the lands and native woods were considered as belonging to the king, or (where the government was not monarchical) to the state. When any individual, of free condition, had the means of cultivating more land than he actually possessed, he applied to the chief man of the district, who allowed him an extension of territory, on condition of forfeiture if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period.' † By the laws of the Welsh, in the ninth century, all the land of the kingdom was declared to belong to the king; and we may safely, says Mr Turner, believe, that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the whole island. ‡ If this fact is ascertained with respect to the antient Britons, it is equally ascertained with respect to the people from whom they were derived, the antient Gauls, and all those tribes of people of the same stock and character which overspread the southern regions of Europe. We have ample testimony that the same arrangement existed among the antient Peruvians. One third

---

longius anno remanere uno in loco, incolendi causa licet.—*Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. l.* iv. *c.* 1. Among some tribes of negroes on the coast of Africa, each individual must obtain the consent of the chief, before he has liberty to cultivate a field; and is only protected in its possession till he has reaped the crop for which he has toiled.—*Hist. Gen. des Voyages, t. v. ch. 7. § 5.*

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, t. iv. ch. 13. Mod. Univ. History, v. 17. p. 322.

† Park's Travels in Africa, p. 260.

‡ Leges Walliæ, c. 337. Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, v. ii. ch. 8.

third part of the land was, by the Inca, ſet apart for the gods; one third part he reſerved to himſelf, for the maintenance of his court and armies; the remaining third, by portions to each family, he diſtributed among the people. 'But no particular man,' ſays Acoſta, * 'poſſeſſed any thing proper to himſelf of this 'third portion; neither did the Indians ever poſſeſs any, if it 'were not by ſpecial grace from the Inca.'

Theſe inſtances are adduced, as affording inſtructive matter of compariſon and inference on the ſubject of Hindu ſociety, of which a fact, ſo full of meaning, forms one of the remarkable features. That it does ſo, is now, by an authority from which there is no appeal, placed altogether beyond the reach of controverſy. The queſtion was, indeed, very completely, though indirectly, determined by the publication of the laws of Menu, in which not one article, except by forced inference, could be made to appear to have any relation to private property in land. In the Digeſt, however, of Hindu laws, publiſhed by Mr Colebrooke, which was drawn up, at the inſtance of the Britiſh government, from their own moſt approved and ſacred books of law by the moſt eminent Brahmens, is an article directly to the purpoſe. 'Thrice ſeven 'times exterminating the military tribe, PARASA RÁMA gave the 'earth to CASYAPA, as a gratuity for the ſacrifice of a horſe.' Such is the inſpired and holy text. The Brahmenical commentary is as follows. 'By conqueſt, the earth became the conqueſt 'of the holy PARASA RÁMA; by gift, the property of the ſage 'CASYAPA; and, committed by him to Cſhatriyas for the ſake of 'protection, became their protective property, ſucceſſively *held by 'powerful conquerors, and not by ſubjects cultivating the ſoil.* But '*annual property* is acquired by ſubjects on payment of annual re-'venue: and the king cannot lawfully give, ſell or diſpoſe of the 'land to another for that year: But if the agreement be in this 'form, "You ſhall enjoy it for years,"—for ſo many years as 'the property is granted, during ſo many years the king ſhould 'never give, ſell or diſpoſe of it to another. Yet, if the ſubject 'pay not the revenue, the grant, being conditional, is annulled 'by the breach of the condition. But if no ſpecial agreement be 'made, and another perſon, deſirous of obtaining the land, ſtipu-

'late

* Acosta, Nat. and Mor. Hist. of the Indies, B. vi. ch. 15. See, too, Garcilasso de la Vega, P. i. B. v. ch. 1.; and Carli, Lettres sur l'Amerique, Let. 15. For great services to the public, portions of land were sometimes given in perpetuity by the Inca, as matter of distinguished reward to individuals, (*Acosta, B. vi. ch.* 18.); and this is another remarkable coincidence with what existed in Hindustan.

'late a greater revenue, it may be granted to him on his applica-'tion.' *

Such being, and thus inconteſtably, the fact, it will no doubt ſurpriſe ſome of our readers to find Sir William Jones ranged on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion. In the preface to his tranſlation of Al Sirajiyyah he ſays—'Unleſs I am greatly deceived, the 'work, now preſented to the public, decides the queſtion which 'has been ſtarted, whether, by the Mogul conſtitution, the ſo-'vereign be not the ſole proprietor of all the land in his empire, 'which he or his predeceſſors have not granted to a ſubject and his 'heirs; for nothing can be more certain, than that land rents 'and goods are, in the language of all Mohammedan lawyers, 'property alike alienable and inheritable; and ſo far is the ſove-'reign from having any right of *property* in the goods or lands of 'his people, that even eſcheats are never appropriated to his uſe, 'but fall into a fund for the relief of the poor.' †

When theſe expreſſions, however, are referred to their authorities in the code itſelf, it appears that the learned author has been deceived by the exiſtence of a ſort of hereditary right, and a power of alienation in the *tenure* or office, which he ſeems to have miſtaken for an abſolute title of property in the land itſelf. Under the Hindu ſovereigns, to the whole of whoſe rights the Mogul emperors ſucceeded, though by the laws, as we have juſt ſeen, there could be no private tenure of property in the ſoil for more than a year, except by expreſs ſtipulation with the ſovereign; yet when a ryot had once got poſſeſſion of a farm, ſo long as he continued to pay the eſtabliſhed revenue or tax, it was not uſual to diſpoſſeſs him. On the contrary, in an early ſtage of ſociety, a ſovereign whoſe income riſes and falls with the produce of the ſoil, has a very viſible and immediate intereſt in encouraging his tenants to remain, rather than remove. When one removes, at leaſt if into the dominions of the neighbouring petty prince, another may not be ready to occupy his place. The land remains uncultivated; and the amount of that part of the produce which was paid to the prince as his ſhare, is diminiſhed. It being, in this manner, the intereſt of both parties, of both the prince and the tenant, that the tenant ſhould continue year after year to cultivate his farm and to pay his rent, and that he ſhould be ſucceeded in theſe functions by his ſon, when he himſelf is cut off from them by death, it is in this channel, by neceſſary conſequence, that affairs actually run. In the ſame manner, when a ryot, wiſhing

* Digest. of Hindu Law, translated from the original Sanscrit by H. J. Colebrooke esq. vol. I. pp. 460, 461.

† Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. III, p. 511.

ing to leave the ſpot which he has hitherto cultivated, finds another ryot who is willing to pay ſomething to be received in his place; the prince, in all this, ſees only one cultivator of his ground, who, before he goes away, performs the meritorious ſervice of providing another cultivator to occupy his place. Had he quitted the tenure without ſelling it, that is, had he left the farm without an occupant, the prince would have conſidered himſelf as having juſt ground to complain, if not to puniſh, the deſerter. * In return, the poſſeſſion of the ryot came, of courſe, to be conſidered as a pretty ſecure one; and to remove him without a reaſonable and ſatisfactory cauſe, as (what, in ſuch circumſtances, it could hardly ever fail to be) an act of oppreſſion, or of miſchievous caprice.

There is great reaſon, too, to ſuſpect, that the moral feelings of the learned Judge to whom we have alluded, have been directed, in this inſtance, to a wrong object. The zemindars are proverbially the oppreſſors and ſcourges of their fellow-citizens. By no ſingle circumſtance was a good prince more uſually characterized, in the diſcourſes of the Hindus, than by the vigilance with which he controuled the zemindars, and the ſeverity with which he puniſhed their tranſgreſſions. Whoever wiſhes for ample information on this ſubject, has but to read the Seir Mutakhareen, the author of which enumerates, as one of the worſt defects in the Engliſh ſyſtem of government, that it has relaxed the ſeverity of the controul to which the conduct of the zemindars was ſubject. In the tranſlations, reſpecting the hiſtory of Bengal, which are annexed by Mr Jonathan Scott to his tranſlation of Feriſhta's Hiſtory of Deccan, are the two following paſſages, which we tranſcribe becauſe they are ſhort, and becauſe, though ſhort, they contain evidence that is deciſive. 'He prepared' (it is Meer Cauſim Khan that is ſpoken of) 'to reduce the power of the refractory zemindars. In fact, 'this deſcription of men are in general faithleſs, and ready, upon the ſmalleſt commotion, to forget the indulgence of their governors; on which account, former emperors never relied upon them, but always managed the pergunnahs by their own officers. On this account, in their days, the provinces were flouriſhing, and men of all ranks ſatisfied and ſecure; but ſince the zemindars have been left uncontrouled in the government of their diſtricts, confuſion has prevailed, and the country is decaying.' †

The

* 'If land is injured by the fault of the farmer himself—as, if he fails to ſow it in due time—he ſhall be fined ten times as much as the king's ſhare of the crop that might otherwiſe have been raiſed.'—Laws of Menu, ch. viii. ar. 243.

† Ferishta's History of Dekkan, &c. by Jonathan Scott, vol. II. p. 405.

The ſecond paſſage relates to the ſame Meer Cauſim; and, in a profeſſed enumeration of his good deeds, ſays of him, 'He alſo 'protected the owners of ſmall villages and farms from the rapa-'city of the zemindars, who, in the time of Ramnarain in Bahar, 'had uſurped the rights of the poorer landholders.' *

Sir William Jones ſelects the Mahomedan government and law, as eſtabliſhing private property in the ſoil, but only ſhows that they eſtabliſhed property in certain tenures connected with the ſoil. As the Mahomedan government is that on the baſis of which the Engliſh government has eſtabliſhed itſelf, it may be proper to produce a few Mahomedan authorities to prove, that Sir William was, on this point, equally miſtaken, in regard to Mahomedan and Hindu principles of ſociety.

Ebn Hankal, an Arabian, who wrote a geographical treatiſe in the 10th century, tranſlated for us by Sir William Ouſeley, ſays, p. 137, 'In all Pars, there is not any mint, except at Shiraz. 'The land belongs to the ſovereign: he lets it out to farm, at certain 'rents.'

In Ferifhta's celebrated Hiſtory, as tranſlated by Dow, it is expreſsly aſſerted, 'that there *were no heritable eſtates in Hindoſtan,* 'among Mahomedans; for that all lands belonged to the king, which 'he diſpoſed of at pleaſure.' In his Hiſtory of Aurungzebe's ſucceſſors, compiled from Perſian authorities, Mr Jonathan Scott, the tranſlator of Ferifhta's Deccan, ſays, † 'that the property of 'the ſoil *is all in the emperor;* and the landholders are removable 'at pleaſure; but they were ſuffered to be hereditary, unleſs in 'caſes of treaſon, rebellion, or defalcation of revenue.' If the point could receive any additional confirmation from European authorities, all thoſe men who have been the moſt thoroughly acquainted with India, might be quoted for expreſs and poſitive teſtimony. Mr Orme, ('On the Government and People of Indoſtan;' Fragments, p. 403. & 404.); Mr Holwell, (Intereſting Hiſt. Events, v. ii. p. 220.); Bernier, (Suite des Mem. ſur l'Emp. du Grand Mogul, t. ii. pp. 10. 150. 174. 178. 189.); the author before us, le P. Paulin de St Bartelemy, (vol. i. p. 304.) ‡

As a fact of no common ſignificance in the hiſtory of ſociety,—as an article of no mean importance in the knowledge of the exiſting

* Ferishta's History of Dekkan, &c. by Jonathan Scott, vol. ii. p. 411.

† Ferishta's Hist. of Dekkan, vol. ii. p. 118.

‡ Montesquieu appears to have had a knowledge, but an imperfect one, of this important fact in the history of India. 'Les loix des Indes, qui donnent les terres aux princes, et ôtent aux particuliers l'esprit de propriété, augmentent les mauvais effets du climat, c'est à dire, la paresse naturelle.' Esprit de Loix, l. xiv. ch. 6.

iſting inhabitants of the globe,—the extent to which this particular arrangement reſpecting property in the ſoil now prevails, and has always prevailed among the oriental nations, deſerves, and that in no ordinary ſenſe, to be held up to attention. Among the documents already produced, and which prove, as we conceive, ſo amply, the antient and continued exiſtence of this arrangement in Hindustan, was one, the paſſage from Ebn Hankal, which aſcertains that the caſe in Perſia and in India was the ſame. It is ſtated by Chardin, that, in his time, the practice had become, to obtain land from the prince on leaſes of ninety-nine years; and that there was no other tenure. * Teſtimony, various and ſatisfactory, proves the exiſtence of the ſame fact with reſpect to the Turkiſh dominions. It may ſuffice, on the preſent occaſion, to refer to one of the moſt diſcerning ſtrangers by which they have been viſited; we mean Volney, whoſe ſtatements to this effect are clear and explicit. † Bernier, who lived longer among Mahomedans than almoſt any other man that has left a work to be quoted, and who is one of the moſt intelligent and inſtructive of all travellers, ſays, 'Ces trois etats, Turkie, Perſe, et l'Hinduſtan, comme ils ont tous oſté ce *Mien* et ce *Tien* à l'egard des fonds de terre, et de la proprieté des poſſeſſions, qui eſt le fondement de tout ce qu'il y a de beau et de bon dans le monde, ne peuvent qu'ils ne ſe reſſemblent de bien près.' ‡ Mr Barrow, whoſe teſtimony is ſupported by the authority of the Abbe Groſier, tells us, with regard to China, that 'the emperor is conſidered as *the ſole proprietary of* 'the ſoil; but the tenant is never turned out of poſſeſſion as long 'as he continues to pay his rent, which is calculated at about 'one-tenth of what his farm is ſuppoſed capable of yielding: and 'though the holder of lands can only be conſidered as a tenant at 'will, yet it is his own fault if he ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed. ‖ With regard to antient Egypt, although our information concerning it is, in every reſpect, extremely vague and imperfect, yet the notices we poſſeſs, eſpecially as the reſemblance between the ſtate of Hinduſtan and of antient Egypt in ſo many points is ſo extremely cloſe, are ſuch as can leave no reaſonable doubt, that the ſame laws, reſpecting property in the ſoil, prevailed in the one remarkable country as in the other. §

* Chardin, Voyages en Perſe, tom. iii. p. 340.

† Volney, Travels in Syria and Egypt, vol. ii. p. 402. *et paſſim.*

‡ Bernier, Suite des Mem. ſur l'Emp. du Grand Mogol, t. ii. p. 189.

‖ Barrow, Travels in China, p. 397.

§ The account which Herodotus gives of the diſtribution of the land under Seſoſtris, the imaginary founder of the Egyptian ſyſtem, is

In ſhort, though, with regard to ſeveral parts of Aſia, we have too little information to know any thing on this curious point from poſitive teſtimony, there is every reaſon, from what we do know, to ſuppoſe, that, throughout that whole continent, wherever the culture of the ſoil is eſtabliſhed, property in land ſubſiſts upon the ſame baſis on which we have ſeen it placed, as far as our knowledge extends. Whoever has duly conſidered the effects of the diſtribution of property, and its great and conſtant operation on the ſtate of human kind, cannot fail to be ſtruck with the importance of this fact, in the deſcription of the moral and political ſtate of ſo vaſt a portion of the inhabitants of the globe.

ART. VIII. *A Second Journey in Spain, in the Spring of* 1809, *from Lisbon through the Western Skirts of the Sierra Morena, to Sevilla, Cordoba, Granada, Malaga and Gibraltar, and thence to Tetuan and Tangiers. With Plates, containing* 24 *Figures, illustrative of the Costume and Manners of the Inhabitants of several of the Spanish Provinces.* By Robert Semple, Author of Obſervations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples, and thence to Smyrna and Conſtantinople, in 1805, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 312. London. Baldwins. 1809.

THIS title-page recals to our minds the favourable impreſſion under which we parted with Mr Semple two years ago. His former tour ſtood very high among the productions of modern travellers; and we are not without hopes, that our commendations may have had ſome ſhare in encouraging him to this new effort. Of theſe our praiſes, it is true, the author, with becoming dignity, takes no ſort of notice; and might indeed be thought wholly ignorant of their exiſtence, were it not for the quotation of them in his newſpaper advertiſements. We allude to the topic, in order to take this opportunity of reprobating the uſe which certain authors, or their bookſellers, very frequently make of the name of the Edinburgh Review. Upon one occaſion, we recollect, a ſolitary ſentence of approbation, which ſtood among twelve pages of pretty ſevere cenſure, was advertiſed in all the newſpapers as our judgment of the work then under review; and the inſtances

---

is, though vague, a deſcription perfectly applicable of its diſtribution among the Hindus. He aſſigned it out in portions among the people, who paid to him a part of the produce, in the ſhape of rent or revenue. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. Herodot. l. ii. c. 109. Both Strabo and Diodorus furniſh evidence to the ſame purpoſe.

instances are numberless, where, both by partial quotations, and even by altering the very words used, our authority has been perverted for similar purposes. This proceeding is so unfair towards the public—so unworthy of honest tradesmen—so much more resembling the dealings of certain political characters of the present day, than those of respectable English merchants, that we shall feel ourselves called upon to expose the names of such as may continue to offend after this warning. We return to the work of Mr Semple.

It is by no means equal in value to his former volumes. It is much less interesting; affords less both of amusement and instruction; and we beg that he may cause this first sentence of our criticism upon it to be advertised along with whatever extracts he may make from our commendations. The inferiority of this work, is partly owing to the more limited nature of the subject. Mr Semple's tour was confined chiefly to the part of the peninsula which he had before visited, and could scarcely touch upon, without the risk of repetitions. He travelled with great rapidity on both occasions, and could glean little on the second journey which had escaped him on the first. The change which had happened in Spain during the interval of his two excursions, no doubt rendered it possible to convey some additional information; and accordingly, it is from this circumstance that whatever interest the present work possesses is derived. Had our author been less rapid in his movements, and less enthusiastic in his feelings about the patriots, we should have received more details than he has been able to communicate, and been more disposed to trust those which he has given.

This journey was undertaken with the intention of observing the effects produced upon Spain by the revolution. No mention is made of any projects in trade, or any plan of making a book. This, we presume, was quite an after thought. Mr Semple proceeded from Falmouth to Lisbon, in the packet, in January 1809, and arrived in that capital after a boisterous voyage. He found it dull and cheerless; the society, of course, broken up, and alarm every where prevalent, to at least as great a degree as patriotism. The description which he gives of the Portuguese levies, is sufficiently ludicrous to be quite credible; and some parts of the passage are calculated to excite more serious emotions.

'The streets, the squares, the quays, were lined with ranks of volunteers, whose arms, equipment and movements were most various and whimsical. The greater proportion carried pikes; some were armed with fowling-pieces, some with bayonets screwed on poles, some with small-swords, with daggers, with pistols, or with a single pistol. Here and there in the ranks were seen halberds and pikes of curious and antient workmanship, which had probably been

wielded in the wars of the fifteenth century, and, after long lying in dust and darkness, were now dragged forth to light. The assortment of the men was as various as their arms. The tall and the short, the lean and the corpulent, the old man and the stripling, stood side by side. At the word of command, some turned to the right and others to the left, some parts of the line advanced, whilst others remained stationary. In short, every thing was ridiculous, except their cause, and that was most sacred.

'It is only necessary once to see these, or similar levies, to be impressed with the folly of attempting to defend a country with them against a regular force. In a town or a pass they may be of great service; but in the present state of military science, a state which trusts to them in any great degree for her safety, when the hour of danger approaches, will inevitably be lost. The sure and hard test of good troops is the bayonet: How, then, can it be expected that new levies of citizens should stand this test, at the very first time of their seeing an enemy? and stand it they must, seeing that they have no other arms but those of hand to hand, a pike, or a halberd, or a sword.

'But the mob of Lisbon was armed, and determined to show that it was so. Every night at least one Frenchman, or one suspected to be so, was discovered, and dragged to prison, where generally his dead body alone arrived. I myself was witness to an Englishman being murdered in this manner, and strove in vain to save his life. An Englishman! you exclaim. Yes, reader, an Englishman. It was on a Sunday evening, and I was proceeding up the principal street, when, having advanced a little beyond the head-quarters of the English general, I heard the shoutings of a great mob. They drew nearer, and I presently found myself enveloped in a furious crowd, dragging along a poor wretch in the English dress; his countenance disfigured with blood, and hardly able to stagger along, from the blows which he had received. I demanded his crime. They told me he was a Frenchman: but an English officer who was in the crowd exclaimed, that it was his servant, and endeavoured to reason with some who appeared as leaders of the mob. At this intelligence I made my utmost efforts to get near the unfortunate man, and just arrived in time to seize with both my hands a pike, which some *brave* Portuguese from behind was endeavouring to thrust into his back. I called out to the officer to assist me. He replied, it was the positive order of the general, that in all such cases no Englishman should interfere; and advised me to take care of my own life. I was in the midst of pikes, swords and daggers, which seemed to be thrust about in all directions, as if through madness or intoxication. In spite of all my struggles, I was thrown down, and nearly trampled upon by the mob; and at length with difficulty escaped from amongst them. Next morning, I was informed that the poor wretch had been murdered in the course of the night. And this passed within one hundred yards of the English head-quarters!

'Because

'Because they were armed, and the enemy was not at their gates, the Portugueze already began to utter rhodomontades. Every man finding a weapon in his hands, perhaps for the first time, performed with it a thousand deeds of heroism. But not merely what they were going to do,—what they had already done against the common enemies of Europe, was the topic of their discourses. They had gained (in conjunction with their English allies) the battle of Vimeira. It was a Portugueze soldier who made General Bernier prisoner; and they had beaten the French at Oporto. Lest there should be any doubt of these facts, an engraving of the battle of Vimeira, to be found in every shop, represented the dreadful Portuguese dragoons charging the enemy, and bearing away at least one half of the palm of victory. I know not which was the greater hardship upon the brave army which gained that battle, to be stopped in the career of victory, or to be caricatured by such associates!' p. 6–10.

All this, if it proves nothing more, shows, at least, that there was some kind of enthusiasm among the people; and we deeply lament to think, that the impolicy of their own councils, and those of their ally, was calculated to damp it by every means, long before an opportunity was afforded of turning it to account. The spirit above described arose in Portugal, as in Spain, not so much from any claims to respect on the part of the dynasties overthrown by the French invasion,—not so much from any affection towards their old rulers, or any general wish for the restoration of the government, founded on a belief of its superior excellence;—but from a deep-rooted national antipathy—a violent hatred of the French, long established in the minds of the people in the peninsula, especially of the lower orders, and inflamed by the recent conduct of that nation. This feeling, confined chiefly to the populace, was sure to wear away; and, after producing some transient bursts of indignation, to yield before the politic measures of those who were its objects. Nothing, therefore, was more imperiously called for than such conduct, on the part of the patriotic government, as might fix the antipathy towards France, and the love of their own rulers, upon more firm and lasting foundations. It was the most obvious duty, and the clearest policy of England and her allies, to improve the condition of the people, so as to give them real cause of hating the French, and of cheerfully aiding their own government to repulse them. Such *ought* to have been our conduct. What *has* it been? In Spain, we have quietly suffered the most feeble and inefficient of all governments—a cabinet, if possible, more wretched than our own—to proceed in the old course of abuses and oppressions, nor ever made one attempt in favour of the people. In Portugal, we have had the government in our own hands. We reconquered the country;—we affected to make an appeal to the people;—we talked, for a season, about French op-

preſſions,—mouthed ſomewhat touching liberation, tyranny, exactions, freedom, abuſes, and ſo forth;—and ſtraightway reeſtabliſhed the antient government, with all its corruptions, in its whole abſurdity—in even more than its priſtine imbecility; and appeared before the people only as abettors of its oppreſſions, and partakers in its debility!

Hear what an eyewitneſs, far from being prejudiced againſt the government, ſays on this melancholy ſubject. 'The Engliſh,' ſays Mr Semple, 'have ſupported a regency odious to the people; and have loſt more by that, and the convention of Cintra, than they gained at Vimeira. The French are attacking, in all directions, old and corrupted eſtabliſhments, ready to fall by their own weight. We fly to prop them up with the whole of England's ſtrength. The natural conſequence is, that the people of moſt countries execrate the French, but find it hard to condemn many of their meaſures; while, on the contrary, the Engliſh are very generally beloved, and their meaſures execrated. The former government of Portugal, of which the preſent regency is the repreſentative, was a very bad one. Its oppreſſions and its ignorance were alike notorious. Yet we have linked ourſelves to this government, and not to the people. We make no appeals, as it were, directly from nation to nation. All that we ſay comes to the people through the medium of magiſtrates, not beloved, nor reſpected, further than they hold an arbitrary power in their hands.' Our author adds an anecdote to the ſame purpoſe. With all their exactions, it ſeems, the French, while at Liſbon, introduced a ſtrict police. They had cleared the ſtreets of the whole flocks of dogs which infeſted them, and uſed to conſtitute one of the greateſt nuiſances of that moſt uncomfortable town. They had alſo obliged the inhabitants to remove the mountains of filth which accumulated from age to age in every ſtreet, and poiſoned the air, while they rendered many places of the city impaſſable. Mr Semple however found, that thoſe wholeſome regulations had departed with the French army. With the Engliſh aſcendancy returned the antient abuſes and diſorders. The dogs were upon the increaſe; the filth was every where collecting again; and the abominable ſhowers, which, from duſk till a late hour, uſed to render a walk in Liſbon a ſervice of ſtill greater danger than one in Edinburgh, were once more beginning to deſcend, in their wonted fragrance, to the congenial earth.

Another fact mentioned by our author is of a piece with the former, and indicates alike the inactivity of the Portugueſe government, and the miſmanagement of their allies. The fate of General Moore was not known at Liſbon for weeks after the battle in which he fell. No intelligence could be conveyed acroſs the country. There was no chain of poſts eſtabliſhed; not even the common means of procuring

curing information had been adopted; and, after much uncertainty and ſuſpenſe, a ſloop of war was ſent *to* Corunna to learn what had happened. It was the beginning of February before the news arrived; and Mr Semple himſelf carried the news into Spaniſh Eſtremadura. So it was managed all over the peninſula. We have, on former occaſions, alluded to the ſcarcely credible fact, that the capture of Madrid was only known at Liſbon one kalendar month after it happened. Alas! 'they manage theſe things better in France.'

From Liſbon our author proceeded to Seville, or, as he calls it, '*Sevilla*,' which might have ſome conſiſtency, if he called Lisbon *Lisboa*, or Spain *Espagna*. He took the uſual road by Elvas and Badajos; and, having travelled this way before, he proceeded very rapidly to 'atone for time loſt at Liſbon,' that is to ſay, *one week*. On his arrival in Spain, he meets frequent bodies of armed men going to join the armies; and, being known for an Engliſhman, he is generally well treated, and ſaluted with cries of '*Viva l'Ingleterra!*' to which he of courſe replies, '*Viva l'Eſpana!*' We have already ſhown, by our extract, that he left Liſbon without any kind of enthuſiaſm, or any great belief in the enthuſiaſm of the natives; but, ſo catching is that principle—ſo readily are the avenues to men's hearts opened by a little perſonal civility, and a gratification of their ſelf-importance, and ſo ſhort and direct is the communication between the heart and the head—the feelings and the faith of ordinary men, that our author ſpeedily falls a prey to the ſame diſeaſe which infected the military emiſſaries of our miniſters, the whole mob of this country, and thoſe ſtatesmen who moſt faithfully repreſent that mob in our cabinet. The following paſſage is replete with inſtruction on this ſubject;—it illuſtrates admirably the origin of all the miſtakes into which this well-meaning nation have been led by their rulers,—and clearly affords a parallel to the reports of our Carrols, our Dyers, and the reſt of the ſwarm ſent into the peninſula for the purpoſes of—*obſervation.* *

* See Mr Ward's admirable remarks on this topic, in his very eloquent ſpeech the firſt day of the ſeſſion. It is with great ſatisfaction, that we find the appointment and the proceedings of theſe miſſionaries thus openly canvaſſed in ſo reſpectable a quarter. Every thing relating to foreign miſſions has been too conſtantly veiled in a ſort of myſtery, as if this was ground enjoying ſome peculiar privilege. It is gratifying, therefore, to obſerve, that while the higher claſſes of our envoys were freely cenſured, thoſe mock miniſters—thoſe would-be-ambaſſadors, with whom our ſage rulers peopled the peninſula—did not eſcape a degree of criticiſm due, not certainly to their

'About mid-day I reached Los Santos de Maimona, by a road which, before entering, winds nearly round it. The population of this place may be computed at about twelve hundred souls; and the general appearance of the inhabitants is superior to that in any of the villages on the high road between it and Badajoz. The post-house was remarkably good, and a degree of cleanliness prevailed in its interior that might have been noticed even in England. Being announced as an Englishman, the door was soon surrounded by wondering peasants, while some of the better sort of the inhabitants, under various pretences, entered the house, and, having greeted me very courteously, began to ask a variety of questions. As the French had never yet penetrated into these mountains, the anxiety of the women was very great, to know whether there was any probability of there coming to Maimona. They were not ignorant of the excesses committed in Cordoba and Andujar by the army of Dupont; and fancy painted these excesses even in worse colours, if possible, than they had existed. When I assured them that England would never forsake their cause so long as they remained true to themselves, and gave them at the same time encouraging hopes for the future, their joy was hardly to be expressed. A general exclamation of '*Viva los Ingleses!*' burst from the assembly, while their eagerness to befriend me was redoubled. I was pressed to take a portion of the family pucheiro; one took my hat, another my cloak, a third handed me a chair, while a fourth stretched my wet gloves on his hands, and held them over the fire. After an hour's rest, I set off, accompanied by many good wishes.'—'The curiosity of the inhabitants of Fuente seemed even stronger if possible than what I had witnessed at Maimona; and the lively and handsome appearance of the women was particularly striking. Here I found little to detain me.'—'We make a descent to arrive at Monasterio. I arrived there about an hour after sun-set, and, for the first time since leaving Badajoz, was challenged by the guard of the place, and asked for my passport. In this, however, they were easily satisfied; and I was speedily conducted to the post-house, where I again met in every individual the same eagerness to oblige an Englishman, which I had uniformly observed from the first moment of my crossing the Guadiana. It was not a mercenary attention, which flies to execute your orders with a prospect to to-morrow's gain; but a grateful eagerness, which convinced me more and more how deeply the services which England had rendered to Spain were here imprinted upon every bosom. Such are the advantages which nations derive from acting on great and generous principles. The feelings not only of these peasants, but of the great mass of Spanish peasantry, will survive many a political storm, and remain true to England,

their individual importance, nor even to the station which their employers meant they should fill, but to the functions they were pleased to assume, and the mischief their follies produced.

land, at a period too distant for us yet to form hypotheses upon. The peasantry of all countries form the true basis of their strength. Their prejudices are strong, generous, and obstinate; and amid the fall of thrones, and the puerile vacillations of Emperors and Kings, it is at least grateful to reflect, that the peasantry of the Peninsula are, in these respects, decidedly English. It may, perhaps, be said with truth, that England alone can destroy these favourable prejudices.'—

'The family at Monasterio, as usual, supped after me; and I observed with pleasure the children repeating their prayers, and kissing their hands to their parents before retiring to bed. This was not the first time that I was struck with the many points of resemblance between the generality of the Scottish peasants and those in many parts of Spain. The dark caps of the peasants of Sierra Morena, the uniformity of their dress, many of their dishes, the interior arrangement of their houses, the domestic manners of their women, their looks, their air, their gravity mixed with a dry humour, and an unfeigned spirit of piety, all tend to remind us of many of the most prominent features in the character of the Scottish peasantry. I once made the same remark to a well-informed Spaniard at Madrid, on some of the peasants whom I observed to arrive there from various provinces. "Undoubtedly," he replied, in all the spirit of a true Spaniard, "do you not know that we have formerly sent colonies to Scotland?"—'A French emigrant of the Revolution, married in Spain, and an officer of some rank in the Spanish army, visited me, and was now for the first time informed of these important events. The miserable system of keeping the people in a state of ignorance, as much as possible, is still as strongly persisted in by the Government of Spain, as in former periods. This officer informed me, that he had commanded the cavalry of the rear-guard of the Duke de Infantado's army, when it had been obliged to retreat, and had lost all its artillery. "My men fought desperately," said he, "and twice drove back the enemy; but there was a great fault somewhere; for the whole of the guard under my command, appointed to cover the retreat of the artillery, did not exceed five hundred men."—"You are a Frenchman," said I, "and have some means of judging; tell me candidly what is your opinion of the probable issue of the present contest?"—"I am certainly of opinion," replied he, "that if the Spaniards are supported by England, they can never be conquered." Knowing how difficult it is ever to eradicate from the mind of a Frenchman the idea of the glory of his country, I felt inclined to attach some weight to this opinion.' p. 28—35.

Here we are forcibly reminded of his excellency Captain Carrol, *Col. Span. Ser.* This gentleman, and the rest of the same description—our Dyers, Roches, Doyles, &c. &c.—having a very inferior rank in the British army, no sooner arrived among the well-meaning patriots, than they received the most ridiculous honours.

nours. We do not quite believe the stories sedulously propagated in the English newspapers, under the influence of the ministry, for the base and stupid purpose of deceiving the people during a few short months, that those men 'were welcomed by the Spaniards with *divine honours.*' * But we find, from Sir John Moore's correspondence, and from their own letters, that they had attentions paid them which speedily turned their heads. They were created Colonels, Generals, Marshals, and what not. The Juntas waited on them as envoys, and viewed them as representing their country. They began to consider themselves in the same light, and to ape the great man—to play at ministers on all occasions. Forgetting that they were sent merely to see, and hear, and report; to answer certain queries; to act the part of scouts—in their instance a very creditable and most useful mission certainly, though an humble one, and one which called for a quiet and retiring deportment;—forgetting, too, that they were persons of a very low rank, and short standing in the service—they all of a sudden began to feel themselves great commanders, because the pompous Spanish functionaries, their equals, perhaps their inferiors, conferred an unmeaning rank on them; and to fancy themselves transmogrified into diplomatic characters, because they found a few upstart parish corporations disposed to gratify their common vanity, by treating them as ambassadors from England. What was the consequence? Gratitude for these pleasing attentions—a little enthusiasm communicated by infection—above all, the conviction that their own newfangled importance must stand or fall with the Spanish cause; that while England acknowledged the Juntas, and maintained a correspondence with them, they themselves were generals and ministers—but, as soon as the concern looked bad, they would be ordered, in their pristine quality of captains and lieutenants, to join certain marching regiments, and occupy their noble souls with the humble cares of the parade, and the more homely ceremonial of a mess-room:—these were motives more than sufficient, both to blind them and to colour their descriptions—to make them the worst of possible observers, and, perhaps, not the most impartial narrators of the scenes which they were deputed rigorously to examine. The consequence was, such productions as have been laid before Parliament, and printed in gazettes, as despatches from Captain Carrol and Major Roche,—documents to which, because more agreeable than the truth, our sagacious rulers paid the attention which they refused to the manly, clear-sighted

* This is the expression used by those miserable vehicles of official falsehoods.

sighted, unimpeachable communications of Sir David Baird and Sir John Moore.

These considerations alone are perhaps sufficient to teach us the true value of Mr Semple's testimony as to the patriotic enthusiasm which is still to be found among the Spaniards. But it is proper to remember also, that he saw them only in places of safety, and in those hours of peaceful hospitality, when the mention of national contest is so apt to lead to a certain degree of boasting. It is also most worthy to be remarked, that Mr Semple has himself stated, that 'every Spaniard will credit the most extravagant fictions, when they redound to the honour of his country, but will scarcely listen to the most serious truths that tell of its disgrace.' How inevitably such dispositions lead to improvidence, consternation and disaster, it is needless to point out to any one who has either studied human nature, or attended to the history of the last twenty years; and we will confess, that we augur almost as ill from the Andalusian boast recorded by Mr Semple, 'that their province would set the enemy at defiance, although he should possess himself of all the rest of the kingdom,' as we did from another comfortable remark, which we have understood to be current among the patriots, viz. that the tardiness of their proceedings against the enemy afforded no ground for despondence,—since their ancestors took three hundred years to overcome the Moors, and yet got rid of them effectually at last!

But, it is really idle to think of ascertaining, by argument, a question which is already but too clearly settled, we fear, by experience. We admit, with Mr Semple, that the Spanish peasantry are, for the most part, brave and hardy—that they hate the French—and that their country is strong and difficult. But still, the fact is, that out of a population of twelve millions, they have never yet had much more than one hundred thousand men embodied;—that with all the inducements that ever incited a nation to great exertion, and with more opportunities than were ever afforded along with such inducements, they have done nothing to take advantage of their union, their numbers, and their supposed zeal in the cause;—that, after three years war, they are still without discipline, without officers, and without the means of regular supplies;—and, finally, that the pressure of invasion, and the excitement of an actual revolution, has not yet created, or called forward, one man of commanding talents, either in arms or in politics—nor moulded the people at large into such an organization as to dispense with the constant animation of such a presiding genius. In these circumstances, when the north of Europe is conquered, and the whole force of France is set free for the conquest of Spain, is it allowed us to hope that Spain may yet be delivered,

delivered, or that any cooperation of ours can do more than aggravate her subjugation?

Mr Semple is, no doubt, a great deal more sanguine, and entertains many hopes, and many opinions, in which we cannot agree with him. He thinks the convocation of the Cortes will do no good—that the Spaniards are zealously monarchical—and that the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, degraded and enthralled as he is, is sufficient to secure their attachment to all who act under his authority—and to cover all the errors and vices of his representatives. He thinks, however, that England, instead of acting as an auxiliary merely, should resolutely take upon herself the character of principal in the war; and puts it to his readers to say, whether 80,000 British soldiers, with a host of irregular Spaniards subordinate to them, would not do more good than the same irregular Spaniards, supported by 25,000 British?—We need not enter now upon the discussion of this project; but we are happy to quote, from one who sympathizes so little with our general views and impressions, the decided testimony which Mr Semple bears, as to the atrocious misconduct, and unpardonable errors of those who have hitherto had the planning of our military operations.

'To assist Spain, to uphold Europe, we sent twenty-six thousand men to Gallicia. Nearly twenty thousand troops were put in motion to subdue Martinique. Sicily and Malta are occupied by twenty-five thousand more. The conclusion is obvious:—to take Martinique, to hold Sicily and Malta,—and to deliver Europe,—are objects of equal importance! I say nothing of the manner in which these twenty six thousand men were conducted;—peace be to the ashes of those who bravely fell. I say nothing of the Expedition to Walcheren: it is merely a continuation of the same miserable system. Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed to support Spain with twenty thousand men, while fifty thousand are sent to subdue Walcheren, and look into the mouth of the Scheldt!—This requires no comment.' p. 274, 275.

Such is the language in which a professed advocate for the policy of expeditions, and continental diversions, feels himself constrained to speak: a little further on, he takes a tone still more decided.

'The Spaniards have committed many errors; but the English, who blame them so harshly, have committed more. The Spaniards, deprived of their former government, invaded by a powerful enemy, divided into provinces, differing in customs, and even in language, and bowed down by the accumulated errors of ages, and a fatal superstition, have at least some excuses to offer for their misconduct. But Britain, Queen of the Seas, secure from invasion, with an immense disposable force, and enabled deliberately and maturely to consider in what part of the globe the attack may be made to most advantage,

advantage, and to fix, as it were, her own field of battle, puts in motion nearly a hundred thousand men, and sends them over to Walcheren! I say nothing of the other diversions of her force. This is the absurdisy which combines, and exemplifies, and swallows up all the rest. The Spaniards are miserable,—they are ignorant,—they are blinded. Be it so:—but what have they yet done so miserable, so ignorant, so blind, as to be compared with this? Their defects are excuses for their errors: But Britain, great, enlightened, and free,—where shall we seek for her apology? So well, however, are the parts of our political machine adjusted,—so admirably are its secret springs and movements understood,—that the most disgraceful of all failures will produce no baneful effect upon the Government. We shall have some speeches, some invectives, some investigations: but the power of the planners of this miserable expedition will not even be shaken by its failure. Let us then talk of the Spaniards with a little more respect, or of ourselves with somewhat less. Let us correct our own glaring errors, before we indulge in such violent invectives against those of our Allies.' p. 285—287.

There is not an individual, we believe, in the nation, who does not feel the justice of this rebuke; and few, we hope, who do not feel also the shame and indignation which ought to inspire all those who, in the day of their greatest need, have entrusted their affairs to counsellors, in comparison with whom the feeble and divided Juntas of Spain appear vigorous and respectable.—One more memento from Mr Semple, and we take our leave of him.

'Let it never be forgotten, that we began the last war with Spain by an act of unexampled and perfidious aggression. In the middle of peace, four English frigates, fully prepared for battle, were sent to attack an equal number of Spanish vessels of the same force, but laden with silver, and encumbered with women and childreu. One of these vessels blew up, and several hundreds of innocent victims were scattered into fragments in the air, or strewed along the waves. If a superior force had been sent, the Spaniards would have submitted without a blow; but, when a force exactly equal was opposed to them, Spanish honour demanded some resistance to be made. It appeared as if we were anxious that our booty should, of necessity, be stained with blood. Oh day of disgrace to the British name! Act of cruelty and horror! Meanwhile we slumber and doze over it, and think it already forgotten. But we deceive ourselves. Such a commencement of a war may well bear a comparison with the first treacheries of the French, against whom, however, our language cannot supply us with expressions sufficiently harsh. Thank Heaven, an opportunity has been afforded us, as far as possible, of wiping off the foul stain. As the cruel injury was perpetrated in blood, so at Corunna and Talavera has it been atoned for by the blood of England's sons. Let us be stern, and hardly weep for our brothers or our friends who fell there: they were the necessary victims to the honour

honour of our country—and let us hope that they may suffice! Our future battles in Spain may be for glory and conquest;—the past have been only for reparation.' p. 287, 288.

Such are the sentiments of a man little connected with politics, and not at all attached to those politics which we have generally felt ourselves called on to support; and such, we have no doubt, must be the sentiments of every individual in the kingdom, who, even without Mr Semple's means of observation, would apply fairly to the conduct of public affairs, those maxims by which he judges of the character and actions of his neighbours.

Mr Semple's book is not made up of politics; but, at the present moment, it is difficult to think or to speak of Spain under any other aspect: and, at all events, we have not left ourselves room to consider it in any other light. There are some lively descriptions, and some bad eloquence:—no very new or precise information, but a general tone of reasonableness, and good-natured candour. The book, in short, is extremely creditable to one who is not a professed author: and it is presented to us in a form in which few professed authors now condescend to make their appearance. It is very modestly printed in one small duodecimo, and is illustrated with a number of very clear and well-executed engravings, thrown off upon common paper, and on a very reduced scale. Nothwithstanding their unassuming appearance, they are very faithful and characteristic representations of the Spanish costume, and are finished with a spirit and elegance that do great credit to the taste of their author.

ART. IX. *The System* of the World.* By P. S. Laplace, Member of the National Institute of France. Translated from the French by J. Pond, F. R. S. 2 vol. 8vo. London, Phillips. 1809.

THE time is not yet arrived, which can enable us to appreciate the effects of the French revolution, either in accelerating or retarding the progress of knowledge. It is, perhaps, in one quarter only that this can be done at present with tolerable certainty. In the departments of mathematical science, we can easily perceive that a larger proportion of talent and genius has been turned to the object of instruction, and to the composition of elementary or popular works, than probably was ever, at any one time,

* The title in the original is, *Exposition du Systeme du Monde.* The word 'Exposition' is omitted altogether in the translation, and, as we conceive, without any good reason.

time, employed for those purposes. Academicians who, before the Revolution, had devoted themselves almost exclusively to the discovery or invention of what was new, have since condescended to elucidate doctrines, or explain principles already known. From being continually engaged in extending the boundaries of science, they have passed to cultivate and improve the territories already acquired. The Elements of Geometry of Le Gendre; the treatise of La Grange on Analytical Functions; his *Leçons* on the same subject, drawn up for the Polytechnique School, and Laplace's Exposition of the System of the World, are all works of this kind, possessing the highest merit, and showing that genius and originality may be exerted even in the more beaten tracks of science. It would seem that, during the short period when public opinion had some influence on the affairs of France, those who cultivated the sciences saw clearly, that, in order to conciliate that opinion, it was necessary, as much as possible, to connect their favourite studies with objects of manifest utility. The establishment of a new system of public instruction pointed out the species of utility that was most likely to interest the public, and has produced the valuable treatises that have been just enumerated.

But though France, and indeed all Europe, have great obligations to the principle thus called into action, it is certain that an endeavour to keep up a constant and immediate connexion between the researches of science and the uses of life, is by no means likely to have at all times the same salutary effects that have now been ascribed to it. The sciences must often be cultivated from the mere feeling of their own excellence, and must be followed into recesses where their immediate connexion with objects of utility cannot be perceived. Had mathematicians never indulged themselves in any speculations but such as were certainly conducive to purposes of acknowledged utility, the instruments and methods by which the Lunar theory has been brought to perfection, would probably have still remained unknown; and, of course, the great practical question, concerning the longitude, would have yet received no solution. The applications of a particular discovery, and the useful conclusions to which it leads, in many instances remain unknown, till the future progress of science bring them to light. A series of new discoveries may be necessary to give value to those that have long since been made. Napier, when he invented Logarithms, proposed no other object to himself than that of facilitating arithmetical calculations; and this end he doubtless saw that he had fully accomplished. But, with all his sagacity and depth of thought, he little knew the richness of the vein he was working; he could not foresee

that, for the next two hundred years, when the mathematical sciences were to proceed with a rapidity yet unexampled in the history of knowledge, they were hardly to advance a step, without developing some further consequences of his discovery, and some new applications of it, in branches of science which, in his time, had no existence. To foretel, beforehand, the uses to which a discovery, whether mathematical or physical, may be applied, is not given to man; and we, who have seen the aspect of all chemical, and a great part of physical, science changed, in consequence of the convulsions excited in the limbs of a dead frog, will not easily be induced to reject any experiment, or any observation as frivolous and unnecessary.

There is a great danger to science, therefore, from keeping utility too closely in view, and thus hampering a progress that should be free and unconfined. This, however, is an error, if we mistake not, to which free governments are more subject than those where the opinion of the people is of less consequence; at least this may be expected to be the case while the public is but little enlightened, and not aware of such facts in the history of science as have been just referred to.

In proof of this it may be observed, that the literary institution which has most completely produced its effect of any in modern times, and that has been most successful in promoting the interests of science, is that of the Royal Academy of Paris, where small pensions and great honours, bestowed on a few men for devoting themselves exclusively to works of invention and discovery, have been the means of advancing the mathematical sciences in France to a state of unexampled prosperity.

In England, where such an institution as that just mentioned was wanting, and where the public is perpetually prepared with the question of *cui bono*, to repress what seems the luxury of science, the same progress has not been made; and our mercantile prejudices have so far defeated their own purpose, that, if the matter had been left to us, the theory of the moon's motion would still have been extremely imperfect; and the great nautical problem of finding the longitude, could have received nothing like an accurate solution. We do not mean to plead the cause of those governments where the opinion of the people has no share in determining the conduct of their rulers. Such governments are essentially bad; and the fact we have stated only tends to prove, that there is no evil so pure as not to contain some alloy of what is good. Were the opinion of the public sufficiently enlightened, it would prove a nurse of science superior to every other.

Of the works referred to above, one of the most conspicuous,

no doubt, is that which we have now before us. It contains, first, a brief but clear and accurate account of the phenomena of the heavens; and, next, a philosophical exposition of the principles by which those phenomena have been explained. It is to Laplace himself, and to his great work of the Méchanique Céleste, that we are indebted for that perfect system of physical astronomy which has left no inequality in the planetary motions that is not fully accounted for, and which has derived from the principle of gravitation the measure of many smaller inequalities which observation had indicated, but which it never could have analyzed. To have an abridgement of this great work, made by the author himself, and impressed throughout with the strongest characters of genius and originality, is an advantage which philosophers and men of science can never sufficiently value. The detail into which the author enters, is sufficient to explain the great and general truths which flow from the doctrine of gravitation, and the mode of applying those truths to the explanation of particular phenomena. The book is accordingly of infinite value, even to the most profound mathematician. In the vast apparatus of geometric demonstration and algebraic calculus which is necessary to a complete theory of the heavens, the most expert and sagacious are sometimes apt to lose sight of the connexion among parts necessarily placed at a vast distance from one another; and the microscopical examination that they must bestow on the particulars, prevents the comprehensive view that should be taken of the whole. In such cases, it is of great consequence to have the whole argument clearly and succinctly stated, with no more of the detail than is essential to the conclusiveness of the reasoning. The work here translated effects this purpose completely, and is drawn up with so masterly a hand, that the *tyro* will not complain that it is obscure, nor the adept that it is superficial.

It is impossible to describe the object of it, better than the author has done, in a paragraph prefixed to the first book.

'Of all the natural sciences, Astronomy is that which presents the longest series of discoveries. There is an immense distance from the first view of the heavens, to that general view by which, at the present day, we comprehend the past and future state of the system of the world. To arrive at this, it was necessary to observe the heavenly bodies during a long succession of ages,—to recognize from their appearances the real motion of the Earth,—to develop the laws of the planetary motions, and from these laws to derive the principles of universal gravitation,—and to redescend from this principle to the complete investigation of all the celestial phenomena, even in their minutest details. This is what the human understanding has accomplished in astronomy. The exposition of these discoveries, and of

the most simple manner in which they may arise one from the other, would have the double advantage of presenting a great assemblage of important truths, and the true method which should be followed in investigating the laws of nature. This is the object I propose in the following work.' p. 1, 2.

In pursuing the object here pointed out, the author has neither made use of geometrical diagrams, nor of algebraic calculations, but has explained, in words, the principles on which such calculations are founded; and has stated accurately the conclusions deduced from them. The work is divided into five books. The first treats of the apparent motions of the celestial bodies;—the second of their real motions;—the third of the laws of motion common to all bodies;—the fourth of the principle of universal gravitation;—and the fifth contains an abridgement of the history of Astronomy.

The two first may be considered as introductory to the third and fourth, which no doubt contain what is of greatest importance. In the first book, where the apparent motions are treated, that is to say, the motions just as they appear, without considering the motion of the Earth as having any share in producing them, the arrangement is singularly judicious. Every one who has attended to the modes of describing the phenomena of the heavens, employed by different authors, must have remarked how difficult it is, so to arrange the parts, that you may not be obliged to go twice over the same ground; and that, at every step you take, you may have sufficient data to enable you to proceed, without any undue anticipation of what is to follow. The machine of the heavens, though in itself so beautiful and so simple, as it first appears to us, is so various and complex, that, to make the descriptions follow in their natural order, both relatively to themselves, and relatively to the mind of the student, is a work of no small difficulty. Laplace has executed this part very successfully. A treatise by Biot, his friend and disciple, has been written as a commentary on these two chapters, having for its title—Introduction to Physical Astronomy. The work has great merit; but, we think, if the order, observed in describing the phenomena, had been the same which Laplace himself has followed, he would have rendered his treatise still more valuable.

The second book gives the evidence for the Copernican system, or for the Earth's motion; describes the figures of the planets; their orbits; together with the orbits of comets, and of the secondary planets. As in all this, however, though there be great merit, there is no room afforded for the species of excellence that is characteristic of this work, we hasten to what relates to Physical

sical Astronomy. The view given of the laws of motion, which are reduced to two, and considered as derived only from observation, is different from that which is usually given. We shall therefore lay before our readers what is stated on this subject in the second chapter of the Third book.

'The direction of motion in a straight line follows necessarily from this, that there is no reason why the point should deviate to the right, rather than to the left of its primitive direction; but the uniformity of its motion is not equally evident. The nature of the moving force being unknown, it is impossible to know *à priori* if this force should preserve itself or not. It is true, that since a body is incapable of giving itself any motion, it seems equally impossible that it should be able to effect any change in that which it has received; so that the law of inertia is at least the most natural and most simple that can be imagined. It is likewise confirmed by experience; for, in fact, we observe on the Earth, that motions are perpetuated for a longer time, in proportion as the obstacles which oppose them are diminished; and this would lead us to suppose, that, without these obstacles, they would continue for ever. But the inertia of matter is principally remarkable in the motions of the heavenly bodies, which, for a great number of ages, have not experienced any sensible alteration. For these reasons, we shall consider inertia as a law of nature; and, when we observe any alteration in the motion of a body, we shall conclude that it arises from the action of some foreign cause.'—

'Force being only known to us by the space which it causes to be described in a given time, it is natural to take this space for its measure; but this supposes, that several forces acting in the same direction, will cause to be described, in a unity of time, a space equal to the sum of the spaces which each would have caused to be described separately; or, in other words, that the space is proportional to the velocity. This is what we cannot be assured of *à priori*, considering our ignorance of the nature of the moving force. Upon this subject we must have recourse to experience; for, whatever is not a necessary consequence of the few data we have given on the nature of things, is only to us the result of observation.

'Force may be expressed by an infinity of functions of the velocity, without implying a contradiction. There is none in supposing it proportional to the square of the velocity. In this hypothesis, it is easy to determine the motion of a point solicited by any number of forces, whose velocities are known; for, if we take, upon the directions of these forces, straight lines representing their velocities, beginning at their point of concourse, and if, upon these directions, and from the same point, other lines be taken, which are to each other as the squares of the first, these lines will represent the forces themselves. By combining them according to the rules already

given, we shall obtain their resulting force, and also the straight line which represents it, and which will be to the square of the corresponding velocity, as the straight line representing one of the composing forces is to the square of its velocity. By this it appears how the motion of a point may be determined, whatever be the function of the velocity which expresses the force. Among all the functions mathematically possible, let us examine which is that of nature.

'It is observed upon the Earth, that a body, solicited by any force, moves in the same manner, whatever be the angle which the direction of this force makes, with the direction of the motion which is common to the body, and to the part of the terrestrial surface to which it corresponds. The same thing takes place in a vessel, whose motion is uniform. A moveable body, submitted to the action of a spring, or of gravity, or any other force, moves relatively to the parts of the ship, in the same manner, whatever be the velocity and direction of the vessel. It may then be established, as a general law of terrestrial motions, that if, in a system of bodies carried on by a common motion, any force be impressed on one of them, its apparent or relative motion will be the same, whatever be the general motion of the system, and the angle which its direction makes with the impelling force.

'The proportionality of force to velocity, results from this law supposed rigorously exact; for, if we suppose two bodies moving upon one straight line with equal velocities, and that by impressing on one of them a force which increases the primitive force, its relative velocity to the other body remains the same as if both of them had been primitively in a state of repose. It is evident, that the space described by the body, in consequence of its primitive force, and of that which is added to it, becomes equal to the sum of the spaces which each of them would have caused it to describe in the same time, which supposes the force proportional to the velocity.' I. p. 295—301.

Thus, it is evident, that Laplace founds our knowledge of the laws of nature simply on experience, and not on reasoning *à priori*. The reasoning by which he here shows that force is proportional to velocity, deserves to be carefully considered; and it is remarkable, that among the various views which have been taken of this subject, the argument here brought forward, so far as we know, has not been attended to.

The Fourth book proceeds, by help of the laws of motion, to explain the phenomena of the heavens. The principle of universal gravitation is investigated, and its consequences traced in the motions of the planets. We have remarked, in a former Number of our Journal, the perfection that Laplace has given to the theory of the heavens, and have shown that he has left no consequence of the principle of gravitation, (that can possibly be applicable to

our

our system), which is not completely ascertained. We have here the first instance that human knowledge has yet presented of a science complete *in all its parts*, and of which the boundary on all sides is perfectly ascertained. It has been eloquently and truly said of those who first cultivated the mathematics, 'that they opened to genius that immense horizon in which, to the end of time, it may exercise its strength, and at every step behold the boundary receding to a greater distance.' This is, doubtless, true of the pure mathematics; but the boundaries of physical astronomy are fixed, and the vast circumference seems capable of no further extension. It forms a body of knowledge destined no longer to excite surprise and wonder; no longer to act on the mind by its novelty, but merely by the grandeur, the symmetry, and the intimate connexion of its objects. It possesses only the charms essential to truth; those of greatness, order and proportion, such as we must conceive to happen in all cases with minds of a superior order; so that, in no part of his intellectual enjoyment, does man appear more as an emanation from the Divinity.

Laplace, after proving the existence of gravitation, according to which, the planets tend to the sun, with forces inversely as the squares of the distances; and after proving, that the moon is retained in her orbit by the same force that produces the fall of bodies at the surface of the earth, (supposing that force also to diminish as the squares of the distances increase), proceeds to consider the masses of the planets, and also their disturbing forces on one another.

Mr Smith, in his beautiful fragment on the History of Astronomy, has well observed, that, of all the attempts of the Newtonian philosophy, that which would appear to be most above the reach of human reason and experience, is the attempt to compute the weights and densities of the Sun and the several planets. This, however, was what Newton discovered the means of doing; and Laplace, following the same principle, and possessing more accurate *data*, has resolved the problem with more precision. He concludes, that Jupiter is not quite the thousandth part of the Sun; Saturn about one-third the mass of Jupiter; and Uranus about one-half. The Earth is less than the three hundred thousandth part of the Sun; Venus is not much less; Mars about twice as great as the Earth; and Mercury about a seventh part. The masses of the planets which have satellites, are determined with considerable exactness; the periodic time of a satellite, compared with its distance, affording a measure of the intensity with which it gravitates toward its primary. The masses of those planets which have no satellites, cannot be known with the same certainty, and are computed from an hypothesis which, though it agree with the Earth, Jupiter, and Saturn,

turn, is nevertheless precarious, viz. that the densities of the planets are inversely as their distances from the Sun. When the mutual disturbances of the planets shall be more accurately ascertained by long observation, the masses of all of them will probably be determined.

On the subject of the Perturbation of the Elliptic Motion, Laplace makes the following remarks.

'If the planets only obeyed the action of the Sun, they would revolve round it in elliptic orbits; but they act mutually upon each other, and upon the Sun; and from these various attractions there result perturbations in their elliptic motions, which are, to a certain degree, perceived by observation, and which it is necessary to determine, to have exact tables of the planetary motions. The rigorous solution of this problem, surpasses at present the powers of analysis, and we are obliged to have recourse to approximations. Fortunately, the smallness of the masses compared to the Sun, and the smallness of their eccentricity, and of the inclination of their orbits, affords considerable facility to this object.'—

'The perturbations of the elliptic motion of the planets, may be divided into two distinct classes. Those of the first class affect the elliptic motion of the planets; they increase with extreme slowness, and are called *secular inequalities.* The other class depends on the configurations of the planets, both with respect to each other, and to their nodes and perihelia; and, being reestablished every time these configurations become the same, they have been called *periodical inequalities,* to distinguish them from secular inequalities, which are equally periodic, but whose periods are much longer, and independent of the mutual configurations of the planets.'—

'Let us first consider those secular inequalities which, by developing themselves in the course of ages, should change at length both the form and position of the planetary orbits. The most important of these inequalities, is that which may affect the mean motion of the planets. By comparing together the observations which have been made since the reestablishment of astronomy, the motion of Jupiter appears to be quicker, and that of Saturn slower, than by a comparison of the same observations with those of the antient astronomers: from which it has been inferred, that the first of these motions has accelerated, while the second has retarded from one century to another.'—'According to Halley, the secular equation of Jupiter is 34″3, for the first century, reckoned from 1700; the corresponding equation of Saturn is 50″8. It was natural to look for the cause of these equations in the mutual actions of these two planets, the most considerable of our system. Euler, who first directed his attention to this problem, found a secular equation, equal for both the planets, and additive to their mean motions, which is inconsistent with observation. Lagrange obtained a result which accorded more nearly with observation. Other geometricians obtained

obtained other equations. Struck with this difference, I examined again this subject, applying the greatest possible care to the investigation; and I arrived at the true analytical expression for the secular inequality of the mean motions of the planets. In substituting the numerical values, relative to Jupiter and Saturn, in this expression, I was surprised to find that it became equal to nothing. I suspected that this was not peculiar to these planets; and that, if this expression was put in the most simple form of which it was susceptible (by reducing to the least possible number the different quantities which it contains, by means of the relations which subsist between them), all its terms would destroy each other. Calculation confirmed this suspicion, and taught me that, in general, the mean motions of the planets, and their distances from the Sun, are invariable; at least, when we neglect the fourth powers of the eccentricities and inclinations of the orbits, and the squares of the perturbating masses, which is more than sufficient for the actual purposes of astronomy. Lagrange has since confirmed this result, and shown, by a beautiful method, that it is even true, when the powers and products of any order whatever of the eccentricities and inclinations are taken into the calculation. Thus the variations of the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn do not depend on their secular inequalities.' II. 37—42.

'If we knew exactly the masses of the planets, future observations might be anticipated, and the true values assigned to the secular inequalities of the planets; but we only know the masses of those planets which are accompanied by satellites; the masses of the others can only be determined when the progress of time shall have fully developed the quantity of these inequalities from whence these masses are to be computed. We may then, in imagination, look back to the successive changes which the planetary system has undergone, and foretel those which future ages will offer to astronomers; and the geometrician will at once comprehend in his formulæ both the past and future state of the world.'—

'Many interesting questions here present themselves to our notice. Have the planetary ellipses always been, and will they always be nearly circular? Among the number of the planets, have any of them ever been comets, whose orbits have gradually approached to the circular form by the mutual attractions of the other planets? Will the obliquity of the ecliptic continually diminish, till at length it coincides with the equator, and the days and nights become equal on the earth throughout the year? Analysis answers these questions in a most satisfactory manner. I have succeeded in demonstrating, that whatever be the masses of the planets, in as much as they all move in the same direction, in orbits of small eccentricity, and little inclined to each other; their secular inequalities will be periodic, and contained within narrow limits, so that the planetary system will only oscillate about a mean state, from which it will deviate but by a very small quantity. The planetary ellipses, therefore, always have been,

and always will be, nearly circular; from whence it follows, that no planet has ever been a comet, at least if we only calculate upon the mutual actions of the planetary system. The ecliptic will never coincide with the equator, and the whole extent of its variations will not exceed 2° 42′.

'The planet Uranus, though lately discovered, offers already incontestable indications of the perturbations which it experiences from the action of Jupiter and Saturn. The laws of elliptic motion do not exactly satisfy its observed positions; and, to represent them, its perturbations must be considered. Their theory, by a very remarkable coincidence, places it in the years 1769, 1756, and 1690, in the same points of the heavens, where Monnier, Mayer, and Flamstead, had determined the position of three stars, which cannot be found at present: this leaves no doubt of the identity of these stars with the new planet.' p. 43—45, 58.

The inequalities produced on the Motion of Comets, by the Planets in the vicinity of which they pass, is next considered; and our author enters here into a very interesting detail about the return of the comet of 1682.

'Halley having remarked that the elements of the orbits of the comets observed in 1531, 1607, and 1682, were nearly the same, concluded that they belonged to the same comet, which, in the space of 151 years, had made two revolutions. It is true that the period of the first revolution is thirteen months longer than the second. But this great astronomer thought, and with reason, that the attraction of the planets, particularly of Jupiter and Saturn, might have occasioned this difference; and, after a vague estimation of this action for the course of the following period, he judged that it should retard the return of the comet; and he fixed it for the end of 1758, or the commencement of 1759. This prediction was too important in itself, and too intimately connected with the theory of universal gravitation, not to excite the curiosity of all those who were interested in the progress of the sciences; for, about this time, geometricians were very much engaged in extending the application of this theory. During the whole year of 1757, astronomers looked for this comet; and Clairaut, who had been one of the first to solve the problem of the three bodies, applied his solution to the determination of the inequalities which the comet had sustained by the action of Jupiter and Saturn. The 14th Nov. 1758, he announced, in the academy of sciences, that the interval of the return of the comet to its perihelion, would be 618 days longer in the present actual period than in the former one, and that, consequently, the comet would pass its perihelion about the middle of April, 1759. He observed, at the same time, that the small quantities neglected in this approximate calculation, might advance or retard this term a month. That moreover, a body which passes into regions so remote, and which escapes our sight during such long intervals, may be subject to the action of forces entirely unknown, as the attraction of other comets, or even of some planet, whose distance

is

is too great to be ever visible to us. This philosopher had the satisfaction of seeing his prediction accomplished: the comet passed its perihelion the 12th March, 1759, within the limits of the errors of which he thought his results susceptible. After a new revision of his calculations, Clairaut fixed this passage at the 4th of April; and he would have brought it to the 25th March, if he had employed the mass of Saturn, such as is given in Chap. II.; that is, within thirteen days of the actual observation. This difference will appear very small, if we consider the great number of quantities neglected, and the influence which the planet Uranus might produce, whose existence was at that time unknown.

'Let us remark, for the honour of the human understanding, that this comet, which in this century only excited the curiosity of astronomers and mathematicians, had been regarded in a very different manner, four revolutions before, when it appeared in 1456. Its long tail spread consternation over all Europe, already terrified by the rapid success of the Turkish arms, which had just destroyed the great empire. Pope Callixtus, on this occasion, ordered a prayer, in which both the comet and the Turks were included in one anathema.' II. 59—62.

Of the collision of a comet with the Earth, which, though improbable in a high degree for a given portion of time, may be regarded as having considerable probability, if we take in an unlimited succession of ages, he points out some of the more obvious consequences.

'It is easy to represent the effect of such a shock upon the earth: The axis and motion of rotation changed; the waters abandoning their antient position, to precipitate themselves towards the new equator; the greater part of men and animals drowned in a universal deluge, or destroyed by the violence of the shock given to the terrestrial globe; whole species destroyed; all the monuments of human industry reversed; such are the disasters which a shock of a comet would produce.

'We see, then, why the ocean has abandoned the highest mountains, on which it has left incontestable marks of its former abode. We see why the animals and plants of the south may have existed in the climates of the north, where their relics and impressions are still to be found. Lastly, it explains the short period of the existence of the moral world, whose earliest monuments do not go much farther back than three thousand years. The human race, reduced to a small number of individuals, in the most deplorable state, occupied only with the immediate care for their subsistence, must necessarily have lost the remembrance of all sciences and of every art; and when the progress of civilization has again created new wants, every thing was to be done again, as if mankind had been just placed upon the earth. But whatever may be the cause assigned by philosophers to these phenomena, we may be perfectly at ease with respect to such a catastrophe during the short period of human life.' II. p. 64, 65.

We

We see here a suggestion thrown out with a view of explaining some of the singular facts in geology, that have been discovered by an attentive examination of the Earth's surface. Were the axis of the Earth's rotation to be changed, that is to say, if the Earth were to revolve on a different diameter from that on which it revolves at present, this would no doubt have the effect of displacing the ocean, and of producing many other great changes in the economy of the globe, similar to those of which we discover so many traces in the interior of the earth. Yet we must be permitted to say, that a change in the position of the Earth's axis, is wholly insufficient to account for a great proportion of the phenomena of geology. As an example, we may instance the vertical or highly inclined position of beds of rock, that have all the appearance of being deposited by water, and nevertheless now make angles of 70, and even 90 degrees with the horizon. No displacing of the Earth's axis affords any explanation of this fact, which is so general in primitive countries, and so often to be met with even in those that are considered as of secondary origin. Many other phenomena might be stated that are inconsistent with the preceding hypothesis, or which at least admit of no explanation from it, and evidently point to the action of a cause residing in the Earth itself, though of a nature not easy to be determined. Perhaps with this, whatever it may be, the action of some external causes, such as are here pointed at, must be combined, in order to explain the present condition of the Earth's surface.

The theory of the secondary planets comes next; and begins with that of the Moon.

'The Sun acts unequally, and in different directions, on the Earth and Moon; and, from this diversity of action, inequalities must necessarily arise in the lunar motion, depending on the respective positions of the Moon and Sun. To determine these, we must at the same time consider the mutual actions and motions of these three bodies, the Sun, the Earth, and the Moon. This constitutes the famous problem of the three bodies, the exact solution of which surpasses the powers of analysis: but from the proximity of the Moon, compared with its distance from the Sun, and from the comparative smallness of its mass, an approximation may be obtained extremely near the truth. Nevertheless, the most delicate analysis is necessary to investigate all the terms, whose influence becomes sensible. Of this, the first steps that were made in this analysis afford sufficient proof.

'Euler, Clairaut, and Dalembert, who resolved this problem nearly about the same time, agreed in finding, by the theory of gravitation, the motion of the lunar perigee only half as great as it appears to be from observation; from which Clairaut concluded, that the law of attraction was not quite so simple as had been imagined; and

and he supposed it to consist of two parts, one varying inversely as the squares of the distances, and sensible only at the great distance of the planets from the Sun; and that the other, increasing in a greater ratio as the distance diminished, became sensible at the distance of the Moon from the Earth. This conclusion was vehemently opposed by Buffon: he maintained, that since the primordial laws of nature should be the most simple possible, they could only depend on one *modulus*, and their expression, therefore, must consist of one single term. This consideration should no doubt lead us not to complicate the law of attraction, except in case of extreme necessity: at the same time, our ignorance respecting the nature of this force does not permit us to pronounce with certainty as to the simplicity of its expression.' II. 67—69.

We pass over the periodical inequalities of the Moon, which the the theory of gravity has enabled our author to determine with great exactness; and we go on to conider the secular equation of the Moon, as the part of the theory of that planet in which his investigations have been most particularly successful.

'Halley first remarked this equation, which Dunthorn and Mayer have confirmed by a profound discussion of the observations. These two learned astronomers have proved, that the mean motion of the Moon cannot he reconciled with modern observations, and with the eclipses observed by the Chaldeans and Arabians. They have attempted to represent them, by adding to the mean longitudes of this satellite a quantity proportional to the square of the number of centuries elapsed before or after the year 1700. According to Dunthorn, this quantity is 10″ for the first century.'—'The Arabian observations which have been chiefly made use of, are two eclipses of the Sun and one of the Moon, observed by Ibn Junis, near Cairo, towards the end of the tenth century, and extracted some time ago from a manuscript of this astronomer, existing in the library at Leyden. Doubts have risen concerning the reality of these eclipses: but the translation which M. Caussin has lately made of the part of this valuable manuscript which contains the observations, has dissipated these doubts: it has, moreover, made us acquainted with twenty-five other eclipses observed by the Arabians, and which confirm the acceleration of the mean motion of the Moon.'—'The lunar motion is therefore accelerated since the time of the Chaldeans; and the Arabian observations being made in the interval that separates them, and confirming this supposition, it is impossible any longer to question the truth of it.

'Now, what is the cause of this phenomenon? Does the theory of universal gravitation, which has so well explained the numerous inequalities of the Moon, account likewise for its secular variations?'—'This object has greatly occupied the attention of geometricians: but their researches, for a long time fruitless, having discovered nothing either in the action of the Sun or planets on the Moon, nor in the

the figures not exactly spherical of this satellite and the Earth, that could change the mean motion of the Moon, some rejected the secular equation altogether; others, to explain it, had recourse to different hypotheses, such as the actions of comets, the resistance of an ether, and the successive transmission of gravity. Yet the correspondence of the other celestial phenomena with the theory of gravitation, is so perfect, that we could not observe, without great regret, that the secular variation of the Moon appeared to refuse to submit to it, and continued the only exception to a general and simple law, whose discovery, by the grandeur and variety of the objects which it embraces, does so much honour to the human understanding. This reflection having determined me to reconsider this question, after several attempts I was at last so fortunate as to discover its cause. *The secular equation of the Moon arises from the action of the Sun upon this satellite, combined with the variation of the eccentricity of the terrestrial orbit.* To form a just idea of this cause, we must recollect that the elements of the orbit of the Earth are subject to alteration from the action of the planets; its greater axis remains always the same; but its eccentrity, its inclination to a fixed plane, and the position of its nodes and of its perihelion, are incessantly changing. It must also be considered, that the action of the Sun upon the Moon diminishes by $\frac{1}{179}$, its angular velocity, and that this numerical coefficient varies reciprocally as the cube of the distance of the Earth from the Sun. Now, in expanding the inverse third power of the distance into a series arranged according to the sines and cosines of the mean motions of the Moon, and of their multiples, taking for unity the semi-major axis of the terrestrial orbit; it is found that this series contains a term equal to three times the half of the square of the eccentricity of this orbit. The expression of the diminution of the angular velocity of the Moon, contains therefore a term equal to the 179th part of this velocity multiplied by three times half the square of this eccentricity; or, what is equivalent, equal to the product of this square, by the angular velocity of the Moon, divided by 119.33. If the eccentricity of the terrestrial orbit were constant, this term would be confounded with the mean angular velocity of the Moon; but its variation, though very small, has nevertheless, in progress of time, a sensible influence on the motion of the Moon. It is evident that this motion will be accelerated when the eccentricity diminishes, which has been the case ever since the most ancient observations to the present time: this acceleration will be changed into a retardation, when the eccentricity, arrived at its *minimum*, will cease to decrease, and begin to augment.' II. 76—82.

Thus, what was supposed an acceleration of the mean motion of the Moon that augmented continually, and of which no account whatever could be given, was discovered to be a secular equation of a very long period, which does, in the course of a great many ages, compensate itself, alternately increasing from nothing

nothing to its *maximum*, and diminishing from thence to nothing again. It may be considered as the effect of the disturbing force of the planets diminishing the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit, and thus transmitted through the Earth to the Moon. The investigation of it is perhaps the most delicate research in physical astronomy, and a conclusion at which, without the assistance of the most profound calculus, it was quite impossible to arrive.

The explanation, therefore, of the Moon's acceleration, and the proof that it is not a constantly increasing, but merely a periodical inequality, is a great step in the philosophy of the heavens. The continual increase of the Moon's angular velocity, which this phenomenon seemed to indicate, argued a constant diminution of her distance from the Earth, and gave some countenance to the notion, that the planetary orbits were continually diminishing, and that there was, among the bodies of our system, a tendency to descend to the centre of gravity of the whole, where their union must finally terminate the present order of nature. To this catastrophe, an elegant and philosophic poet has beautifully alluded.

'Roll on, ye stars, exult in youthful prime,
Mark with bright curves the printless steps of time;
Near and more near your beamy cars approach,
And lessening orbs on lessening orbs encroach.
Flowers of the sky! ye too to age must yield,
Frail as your silken sisters of the field!
Star after star from heaven's high arch shall rush,
Suns sink on suns, and systems systems crush;
Headlong, extinct, to one dark centre fall,
And Death, and Night, and Chaos mingle all!
Till o'er the wreck, emerging from the storm,
Immortal Nature lifts her changeful form;
Mounts from her funeral pyre on wings of flame,
And soars and shines another and the same!'

Botanic Garden, cant. iv. p. 1.

The destiny of Nature is, however, more noble than that which this magnificent description holds up to the fancy; and the algebraist has extracted from his calculus a more sublime conclusion than the invention of the poet has been able to attain. The constancy of Nature, amid all the changes she undergoes, is upheld by the constitution of those changes, which prescribes to each its limits, and forces it to recur in a series, which in time reduces to nothing the sum of all the deviations from the mean. Thus, the amount of the whole is permanent, though the terms themselves are perpetually changing; and hence Nature is rendered immortal, not by emerging from the storm, but by being ever superior to its power; its order is not renovated, but preserved; and the wisdom

dom of its Author has provided an antidote to evil, that renders all remedies unnecessary.

We regret that we cannot follow our author through his discussions concerning the satellites of Jupiter. When these small planetary bodies were first discovered, and for long afterwards, it was thought sufficient if their periodic times and their mean motions could be determined; and the most sanguine theorist never dreamt that the calculus would go so far as to determine the inequalities in their motion produced by their mutual action on one another. This, however, is what Laplace has effected in a very satisfactory manner; and the agreement of theory with observation, is as complete here, as in any other part of our planetary system. If it be considered that, in addition to all the theoretical difficulties which the complicated system of these secondary planets presents, there is one arising from our powers of observation which it requires great time and patience to overcome, the success of this investigation will be considered as no less creditable to the astronomer than the mathematician. The times of the eclipses of the satellites, the moments of their immersions into the shadow of Jupiter, or of their emergence from it, are the only instants at which the places of the satellites in their orbits can be accurately determined. We have not, therefore, the power of observing a satellite in all points of its orbit during the same revolution, as we have with regard to the other planets. We must wait, in order to have a complete series of its positions, till the succession of eclipses afford observations at all points in its orbit; and hence the great difficulty of finding a set of observations that admit of comparison with the conclusions of the calculus.

The ring of Saturn is one of the greatest anomalies in our system; and our author's remarks on it are highly curious and interesting.

'The ring of Saturn, as has been shown in the first book, is formed of two concentric rings of very small thickness. By what mechanism do these rings sustain themselves round the planet? It is not probable that this should take place from the simple adhesion of their particles; since, were this the case, the parts nearest to Saturn, solicited by the constantly renewed action of gravity, would be at length detached from the rings, which would, by an insensible diminution, finally disappear, like all those works of nature which have not had sufficient force to resist the action of external causes. These rings support themselves then without effort, and only by the lines of equilibrium. But for this it is requisite to suppose them possessed of a rotatory motion round an axis perpendicular to their plane, and passing through the centre of Saturn, so that their gravitation towards the planet may be balanced by the centrifugal force due to this motion.

'Let

'Les us imagine a homogeneous fluid spread round Saturn in the form of a ring, and let us see what ought to be its figure, for it to remain in equilibrium, in consequence of the mutual attraction of its particles, of their gravitation towards Saturn, and their centrifugal force. If, through the centre of the planet, a plane is imagined to pass, perpendicular to that of the ring, the section of the ring by this plane, is what I shall call the *generating curve.* Analysis proves that if the magnitude of the ring is small in proportion to its distance from the centre of Saturn, the equilibrium of the fluid is possible when the generating curve is an ellipse of which the greater axis is directed towards the centre of the planet. The duration of the rotation of the ring, is nearly the same as that of the revolution of a satellite, moved circularly at the distance of the centre of the generating ellipse. And this duration is about (10^h 32'.) four hours and a third, for the interior ring. Herschel has confirmed by observation this result, to which I had been conducted by the theory of gravitation.' II. 139–141.

Without following our author in his very curious explanation of the tides, the figure of the Earth and Planets, we shall only add from this book what is said in the last chapter on the subject of Universal Gravitation.

'The motion of the Earth, which had obtained the assent of astronomers, from the simplicity with which it explained the celestial phenomena, has received, from the principle of gravitation, a new confirmation, which has carried it to the highest degree of evidence of which physical science is susceptible. We may increase the probability of a theory, either by diminishing the number of hypotheses on which it rests, or by augmenting the number of phenomena which it explains. The principle of gravity has procured these two advantages to the theory of the motion of the Earth. As it is a necessary consequence of it, it adds no new supposition to this theory; but, to explain the apparent motion of the stars, Copernicus admitted three distinct motions, one round the sun, another round itself, and a third motion of its poles round those of the ecliptic. The principle of gravitation makes them all depend on one motion impressed on the Earth, in a direction not passing through the centre of gravity. In consequence of this motion, it revolves round the Sun, and on its own axis. It at the same time takes a flattened form, compressed at the poles; and the action of the Sun and Moon upon this figure, produces a slow motion on its poles round the poles of the ecliptic. The discovery of this principle has, then, reduced to the least possible number the suppositions on which Copernicus founded his theory. It has, besides, the advantage of connecting this theory with all the celestial phenomena. Without it, the ellipticity of the planetary orbits,—the laws which the planets and comets follow in their revolution round the Sun,—their secular and periodic inequalities,—the numberless inequalities of the Moon, and of the satellites of Jupiter,—the precession of the equinoxes,—the nutation of the ter-

restrial axis,—the motions of the lunar axis,—and, lastly, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, would only be insulated and unconnected phenomena. It is really a circumstance deserving our admiration, the manner in which all these phenomena, at first sight so unconnected, flow from one law which connects them with the motion of the Earth; so that, this motion once admitted, we are conducted by a series of geometrical reasoning to these phenomena. Each of them furnishes, therefore, a proof of its existence; and if we consider that there does not exist a single phenomena which cannot be referred to the law of gravity, and that this law determines, with the greatest exactness, the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies through the whole of their course, there will be no reason to fear that its truth will be questioned, in consequence of any phenomena hitherto unobserved; and, finally, when we see that Uranus, with its satellites, lately discovered, obey and confirm the same law, it is impossible to refuse assent to these proofs, and not to allow, that nothing in natural philosophy is more completely demonstrated than the motion of the Earth, and the principle of universal gravitation, in proportion to the masses, and inversely as the squares of the distances.

'Is this principle a primordial law of nature? Or is it a general effect of an unknown cause? Here we are stopped, by our ignorance of the nature of the intimate properties of matter, and deprived of every hope of answering this question in a satisfactory manner. Instead of forming hypotheses on this subject, let us content ourselves with examining more particularly the manner in which this principle has been employed by philosophers.

'They have admitted the following five suppositions.

'1. That gravitation takes place between the most minute particles of bodies.

'2. That it is proportional to their masses.

'3. That it is inversely as the squares of the distances.

'4. That it is transmitted instantaneously from one body to another.

'5. And that it equally acts on bodies in a state of repose, and upon those which, moving in its direction, seem in part to withdraw themselves from its activity.' II. 226–230.

The Fifth book treats of the history of Astronomy. It is hardly necessary to say, that, in the short sketch of that history here presented us, we every where perceive the same masterly hand, and the same comprehensive mind, that we have had so much reason to admire in the more difficult part of the work. We shall give one extract, which we think ourselves the more bound to lay before our readers, that it is considerably adverse to some opinions on the same subject, which we stated in a former Number of this Journal. It is not our wish so much to support any particular system on this subject, as to collect the evidence on opposite sides of the question.

'The

'The Indian tables indicate a very refined astronomy; but every thing shows that it is not of an extremely remote antiquity. And here, with regret, I differ in opinion from a learned and illustrious astronomer, who, after having honoured his career by labours useful both to science and humanity, perished a victim to the most sanguinary tyranny, opposing the calmness and dignity of virtue, to the revilings of an infatuated people, who wantonly prolonged the last agonies of his existence.

'The Indian Tables have two principal epochs, which go back, one to the year 3102, the other to the year 1491 before the Christian era. These epochs are connected with the mean motions of the Sun, Moon, and Planets, in such a manner, that one is evidently fictitious. The celebrated astronomer, above alluded to, endeavours, in his Indian astronomy, to prove, that the first of these epochs is founded on observation. Notwithstanding all the arguments are brought forward with that interest he so well knew how to bestow on subjects the most difficult, I am still of opinion, that this period was invented for the purpose of giving a common origin to all the motions of the heavenly bodies in the zodiac. In fact, computing, according to the Indian tables, from the year 1491 to 3102, we find a general conjunction of the Sun and all the Planets, as these tables suppose; but their conjunction differs too much from the result of our best tables to have ever taken place; which shows, that the epoch to which they refer was not established on observation. But it must be owned, that some elements of the Indian astronomy seem to indicate that they have been determined even before this first epoch. Thus, the equation of the centre of the Sun, which they fix at 2°.4173, could not have been of that magnitude but at the year 4300 before the Christian era. But, independently of the errors to which the Indian observations are liable, it may be observed, that they only considered the inequalities of the Sun and Moon, relative to eclipses, in which the annual equation of the Moon is added to the equation of the centre of the Sun, and augments it about 22', (11' 52"), which is very nearly the difference between our determinations, and those of the Indians. Many elements, such as the equations of the centre of Jupiter and Mars, are so different in the Indian tables, from what they must have been at their first epoch, that we can conclude nothing in favour of their antiquity from the other elements.

'The whole of these tables, particularly the impossibility of the conjunction at the epoch they suppose, prove, on the contrary, that they have been constructed, or at least rectified, in modern times. Nevertheless, the antient reputation of the Indians does not permit us to doubt, but that they have always cultivated astronomy; and the remarkable exactness of the mean motions, which they have assigned to the Sun and Moon, necessarily required very antient observations.' II. p. 250—253.

On this passage we have to observe, that though there be great weight in the argument which it contains, yet our opinion must not be determined but by comparing the evidence on both sides, and examining the various fragments of mathematical science, so unaccountably scattered over the peninsula of India. If, for example, we could admit the astronomy of that country to be derived from Greece or Arabia; yet, how can we account for the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of a circle being more accurately known to the Brahmens than to the geometers of the western world? By the former, it was stated to be that of 3.1416 to 1, at a time when an expression, equally exact, was not known in Europe. Many other things might be mentioned that are very inconsistent with the opinion, that the science of India was derived from the West.

But to conclude these remarks—We see great reason to congratulate the English reader on having this excellent work translated into his native language. The translator is not one of those men who, ignorant of the subject of a book, and knowing only the language of it, are frequently employed in works of this kind. Mr Pond is a mathematician and an astronomer, and fully capable of understanding and valuing the discoveries of his author. We think, sometimes he has adhered too literally to the French, and has, in one or two instances, injured, by that means, the perspicuity of the reasoning. This, however, does but rarely occur. The translation, on the whole, is well executed; and it adds considerably to the comfort of the English reader, that the numbers in which angles and arches are expressed in the original, according to the new decimal form, are given at the bottom of the page in the old sexagesimal notation.

Fame never fails to excite envy, even when it is of so transcendant a kind as to set the possessor of it clearly above all his contemporaries. Laplace has few rivals; and Lagrange, so far as we know, is the only man now living, who may be fairly placed by his side. Yet there are strong symptoms of envy against this illustrious man, that have of late broke out among ourselves, and are clearly manifested by the excessive and indecent exultation, occasioned by the detection of a small, and, it may be, only an imaginary error, in a work where the objects of praise are so great and numerous. This reflection is suggested by a small pamphlet, which we have just seen, professing to be an examination of Laplace's theory of capillary action, as laid down in the 10th book of his *Méchanique Céleste*. We have not had leisure to make ourselves well acquainted with the argument of this examination; and, whether it be sound or unsound, is not what we are now to consider. What cannot for a moment

ment be concealed, and what must instantly strike every reader, is the bad taste, the petulance, and insolent tone with which it is drawn up. A coarse and unsuccessful attempt at the ludicrous, and a vulgar display of what the author mistakes for wit, must disgust every lover of calm and philosophical discussion, and will make us, we must confess, feel some regret, if we shall ultimately find sound argument and accurate reasoning holding familiar intercourse with such unworthy associates.

We have seen some other publications, in which the same illiberality prevails; and, we doubt not, that these authors consider every reproach directed at Laplace, as so much praise that must infallibly be applied to themselves. With respect, however, to the subject of capillary action, and Laplace's theory of it, we must observe, that the errors pointed out by the author of the examination, are rather in the language employed in describing the theory, than in the theory itself. The theory consists of two parts. 1. That the combination of the gravity of the water with the attraction of the glass, produces in the water, within the capillary tube, a surface that is not level, but that is concave upwards. This remark is due to Clairaut. 2. That the ring of water thus formed round the edges of the capillary tube, and sustained by the combined forces just mentioned, by its attraction on the water under it, lightens the column of that water, and inclines it to rise in the tube. This is the true statement of Laplace's theory; and there is certainly none of that contradiction between the two propositions, of which it consists, that the author of the examination would have us to believe. We acknowledge, indeed, that we are not of opinion that this theory is complete; and we are persuaded, that though the action supposed in it may be true, it is not the only action by which the suspension of the water is produced. Our reason for this opinion is derived from some facts that seem to have escaped Laplace himself, as well as his critic, but which we cannot enter on in this place. Another opportunity will probably occur, of considering this subject at more length. We promise our readers, that with whatever success our discussion may be accompanied, it shall at least be brought forward in the spirit and temper that we conceive to be essential to philosophical inquiry;—on the one hand, with the respect that is due to genius,—and on the other, with the freedom of thought which is due from every man to himself.

ART. X. *Memoires de Physique et de Chimie, de la Societé d'Arcueil.* Tome 2. 8vo. pp. 500. Paris, 1809.

WE resume, with much satisfaction, our account of the labours of this new and active association. The present volume appears to rise considerably in importance above the former. To the list of members is now joined the name of Malus, whose communications must be deemed peculiarly valuable. The society appears duly to appreciate this recent acquisition; and we are charmed with the dawning prospect of having the more recondite properties of light at last detected and satisfactorily explained.

In estimating the progress of scientific discovery, it is expedient, not only to mark the successive steps by which it is carried on, but to notice the doubts and imperfections which often affect even the most improved departments of knowledge. Our selections from this volume shall be confined to such papers as excite material interest, or will afford room for some discussion.

Researches on the Respiration of Fishes. By MM. Provençal and Humboldt.

In our last Number, we noticed some interesting observations which M. Biot was led incidentally to make, respecting the nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder of fishes. The general results have been since confirmed by M. Laroche, an able naturalist, who was lately joined to the commission for extending the measurement of a degree of the meridian to the Balearic Isles. It now seems fully ascertained, that those fishes which inhabit at great depths in the ocean, have a much larger share of oxygen lodged in their air-bladder. Yet the small portion of air obtained from the water drawn from such depths, is found to be scarcely so pure as the common standard of the atmosphere.

The steep shores of Yviza and Formentera presented these philosophers with an opportunity of determining, whether extreme mechanical compression be capable of effecting combinations among the elementary gases, similar to those which the energy of electrical influence can produce. Oxygen and azote, in the proportions which compose the nitric acid—oxygen and hydrogen, in the proportion that forms water—and the mixture of hydrogen and azote that generates ammonia,—were all severally introduced into strong tubes, and confined by mercury; but, though let down in the sea to the depth of 150 fathoms, and therefore subjected to a pressure of thirty atmospheres, they showed no alteration whatever.

The experiments of Provençal and Humboldt, to which our attention is now directed, were undertaken for the express purpose of investigating the mode of the respiration of fishes, and were prosecuted

prosecuted with scrupulous attention and elaborate care during the space of seven months. The first point was to determine the nature and proportion of the gas contained in river water. From repeated trials, it appeared, that, at the temperature of 10 degrees centigrade, or 50° of Fahrenheit, the water of the Seine yields, by ebullition, over mercury or through distilled water, about the thirty-sixth part of its bulk of a gas, which has nearly the same purity as atmospheric air, but alloyed with from 6 to 10 *per cent.* of carbonic acid. These facts served as the basis of the subsequent observations. Small river-fish, chiefly tench, were introduced into huge bell-glasses, filled with the water of the Seine, and placed over a surface of mercury. In the space of a few hours, the fishes thus confined became visibly languid, but were always withdrawn before they appeared quite exhausted and about to expire. A certain measure of this water, in which the respiration had taken place, being subjected to a process of boiling, the gas then extricated was examined and compared with the usual products.—Of the numerous experiments performed, we will cite only a single example. Seven tench were put into a balloon holding above 60 English pints of river water, and they remained alive eight hours and a half. Of this water, 2582 *centimetres*, or $816\frac{2}{7}$ English cubic inches, gave, on boiling, a volume of gas equal to 453 *centimetres*, at 10 degrees of the centigrade scale; and these 453 parts were found to contain 290 of azote, 153 of carbonic acid, and only 10 of oxygen. But the same quantity of water drawn fresh from the Seine would have held 347 parts of azote, 21 of carbonic acid, and 156 of oxygen. Those small fishes must therefore have consumed 145 parts of oxygen, and 57 of azote, and produced 132 parts of carbonic acid.

It hence appears that, though extremely limited in its extent, the breathing of fishes is, with regard to its effects, on the whole, very similar to that of the warm-blooded animals. They can support life, even after the oxygen is so much attenuated, as not to exceed in bulk the five thousandth part of the containing fluid. A tench consumes, at an average, fifty thousand times less oxygen than a man.

Yet respiration is indispensable to the existence of fishes. Confined in a small body of water, which is excluded from the contact of the external air, they soon become faint and oppressed; and their sufferings evidently increase in proportion as the oxygen is abstracted and consumed. The gold-fish, *cyprinus auratus*, which is extremely vivacious, introduced under water that had been carefully purged of its air by distillation and recent boiling, was almost instantly affected; in ten minutes it was seized with violent convulsions, followed by utter prostration of strength; but

its functions were again speedily restored, on admitting into the receiver a portion of river water.

In the mammiferous animals, the whole oxygen inhaled by them is again expired in a state of combination with carbon. But the carbonic acid that fishes reject, never amounts to four-fifths of the quantity of oxygen which they had previously abstracted from the mass of water. What becomes, then, of this surplus oxygen? Is it absorbed into their system? And is it the cause of that superior irritability which they display?

It is another distinguishing circumstance, that fishes absorb a very large portion of azote, nearly equal sometimes to the oxygen itself. This phenomenon was proved, by subsequent experiments, to be in no respect accidental, but to depend on the regular principles of their organic assimilation. Some fishes were introduced under water which had been impregnated with azote, oxygen, and hydrogen, by exposing it newly boiled to a mixture of these gases, the hydrogen assisting, by the play of double affinities, the union of the oxygen: in the space of three hours, they were taken out almost dead; and the water being then distilled, yielded back only its share of hydrogen, the oxygen and azote having both disappeared.

Water, charged with carbonic acid, powerfully affects the nervous system, and acts on small fishes as a mortal poison. Tench, confined in it only for a few minutes, expire in convulsions. The oxygenated muriatic acid is scarcely more prompt in its effects.

It was of importance to determine, whether fishes extract air from water by the action of their gills only, or have, besides, a power of absorption diffused over the surface of their body. The most lively tench were selected for this trial. Their heads were cased in collars of cork lined with wax-cloth, which spread out into a covering fastened by means of sealing wax to the top of a cylindrical vessel containing river water. This cylinder was next inverted into a bucket filled likewise with river water; and the more effectually to prevent any communication between it and the water in which the body of the fish was immersed, a small layer of quicksilver covered the ring about the neck. A tench would live in that constrained position for the space of five hours, without experiencing much inconvenience. The water contained in the cylindrical vessel now furnished, on being distilled, nearly the same aërial products, as if respiration had actually been performed in it. The venous blood must therefore attract oxygen, and transmit carbon through the fine expansion of the skin, with an energy similar to what is exerted by the proper organs of the bronchials themselves. The skin, however, shows no action at all on the ambient air. But the bronchials are capable of performing a dou-

ble

ble function; they not only separate oxygen from water, but can inhale it from the atmosphere. A fish, placed in a vessel containing a very small quantity of water, is soon obliged to rise to the surface, and project its head, for the sake of breathing. The water, which had been robbed of its oxygen, indeed, attracts this again from the atmosphere, and gradually communicates it to the lower strata; but the process of restoration is so extremely slow, that, if the fish be prevented from getting to the surface, languor and exhaustion will quickly supervene.

Various kinds of fishes were introduced into the several permanent gases. In common air and oxygen gas, they opened their gills very wide, but did not absorb that vital nutriment in a larger proportion, than if water had been the medium of communication. Under azote, they became languid, and apparently dead, in the space of four or five hours. The effects of hydrogen were still more deleterious. But carbonic acid acted with such envenomed force, that though the fishes hastened to shut their gills against its influence, they were yet absolutely killed by it in a few minutes.

Since the respiration of fishes is so very limited, we should scarcely expect any notable evolution of heat from that process. Accordingly, it was found, that the most delicate thermometers, inserted in their mouths, indicated no visible difference from the temperature of the ambient fluid.

With regard to the nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder, it was observed to vary exceedingly, even in the same species of river-fish. Though tench were kept in water charged with hydrogen, not a particle of the gas had penetrated into that vesicle. On extracting the air-bladder, by means of a lateral incision, the fish would live three days, though generally in a state of languor. But the separation of that organ seemed to affect the action of the bronchials; for they were observed to absorb more oxygen and azote than before, and to produce no carbonic acid.

The experiments now recited certainly throw considerable light on the physiology of fishes. We are only disposed to doubt a little, whether their accuracy can be entirely relied on. The analysis of the gaseous products was evidently imperfect; for water, which has been thoroughly boiled, will still continue to discharge a notable residuum of air, if placed under an exhausted receiver. But the indications of the eudiometer are, from a variety of causes, peculiarly liable to inaccuracy, and depend much on the skill and manipulation of the experimenter. The observations of Provençal and Humboldt, however, are decidedly more complete than any of a like nature; and, after making every deduction, we cannot hesitate to regard the general results as at

least near approximations to the truth. They are not incompatible, however, with those conclusions which Biot's experiments appeared to countenance. A fish that inhabits the depths of the sea, under such enormous compression, living in circumstances extremely different from one which plays near the surface, may be expected to exert a far superior energy. If a small river fish can, by the action of its gills, overcome the adhesion of air to the encompassing liquid, may we not suppose an inhabitant of the ocean to be capable of developing an organic force sufficient to dissolve that union of oxygen with hydrogen which constitutes water itself? On any other hypothesis, indeed, the minute portion of oxygen dispersed near the bottom of the sea, must have, in time, become exhausted; nor could it again be sensibly restored by the very slow absorption at the surface, and the still slower communication through such a lengthened series of incumbent strata.

On the Motion of Light in Diaphanous Media.

By M. Laplace.

The curious phenomena of double refraction is produced by various mineral substances. It was first observed in Iceland spar, or the rhomboidal crystals of the carbonate of lime, in which it appears very conspicuous; but several other crystals manifest a similar property, though differently modified. If a dot made on a sheet of paper be viewed through a piece of Iceland spar laid over it, *two* dots are constantly seen in the direction of a diagonal joining the obtuse angles of the rhomboid, and separated from each other by an interval generally proportioned to the thickness of the crystal. It is evident, therefore, that, in penetrating into rhomboidal spar, a ray of light must, besides the usual refraction, suffer an *extraordinary* one, bending it towards the obtuse solid angle of the crystal. When light traverses the substance, the opposite sides of the rhomboid being parallel, it must always escape at the same inclination with which it entered; but the part that suffered the extraordinary refraction, emerging at a different point, will, according to the length of its internal passage, occasion a small shifting or parallax, thus forming the secondary image, which likewise, for that reason, appears at a less depth.

The cause of this double refraction has long tortured the ingenuity of philosophers. Huygens, who, with the finest taste for geometry, and the most exquisite skill in conducting mechanical analysis, unfortunately blended some prejudices derived from the Cartesian school, advanced an hypothesis, repugnant indeed to the sober principles of induction, but which seemed to furnish

an

an easy explanation of the leading facts. He supposed Light to consist in the undulations of an etherial fluid, highly elastic, of extreme tenuity, and diffused through universal space. Those undulations, in ordinary cases, would, from their equable expansion, form spherical shells; but, in entering Icelandic spar, each incipient undulation would, he conceived, assume the shape of an oblate spheroid, whose centre is the point of incidence, and its axis parallel to the short diagonal of an equilateral piece of the crystal, and having, to the perpendicular diameter, the ratio of 9 to 10. As ordinary refraction depends on the sine of inclination or the ordinate of the circle, so extraordinary refraction was made to depend on the ordinate of the generating ellipse.—An hypothesis so fanciful and arbitrary, sunk, on the triumph of the Newtonian philosophy, into hopeless neglect, from which a concurrence of circumstances has again drawn it into notice.—This memorable instance may teach us, that, while in physical matters, we ought to proceed with the utmost caution, yet we should not hastily reject even the wildest hypothesis. To proscribe the workings of the fancy, would, in many cases, be to arrest the progress of science. If an hypothesis be not allowed to warp the understanding, it may serve at least usefully to connect certain insulated facts, until their true explication be discovered. The earliest attempts of Kepler were employed in tracing the relation between the periods and the distances of the planets. Struck with the mystical properties of numbers, he tried the multiplied combinations; and the result which he thus obtained, was the offspring of a teeming and restless imagination. But the speculations of that sublime though irregular genius, afterwards guided the steps of Newton, and finally merged in the great law of gravitation.—Our learned countryman Dr Woollaston, who has, on many occasions, shown such uncommon felicity in adapting to practice the known principles of science, lately invented a very simple apparatus, which enabled him to determine, with equal ease and accuracy, the refractive power of the smallest fragment of crystal, or of the minutest film, whether solid or liquid. He was hence led to examine narrowly the constitution of rhomboidal spar. He remarked, that the deviation of the extraordinary from the ordinary refraction, is not a constant angle, as Newton had inferred; and, pursuing his observations, he discovered, that the force which produces this extraordinary refraction, is itself variable, and depending on the position of the refracted ray. Thus, he found the refractive power to be greatest in a line bisecting the obtuse solid angle of the rhomboid, and least in the transverse direction, the index of the former being 1,571, and that of the latter only 1,488. In the intermediate positions, those measures

followed

followed a certain law; which Dr Woollaston could not unravel, till he was referred to the Huygenian hypothesis, with which they seemed perfectly accordant. This unexpected and singular coincidence has been since confirmed by some delicate experiments of M. Malus. However then we may value the hypothesis of luminous undulations, as an attempt at philosophical exposition, we cannot, with justice, refuse it the merit of connecting the chief phenomena, and of accurately marking the various results.

Impressed with that sentiment, M. Laplace has sought to arrive at the same legitimate conclusion, by combining the principles of dynamics with the higher calculus. His investigation is founded on the celebrated law of *least action*, first proposed by Fermat, next improved and extended by Maupertuis and Euler, and afterwards deduced by Lagrange from the primary conditions of motion. According to this law, a particle of light, in its passage between two given points, one without, and another within the crystal, must describe such a route, that the distance traced before it enters the crystal multiplied by its velocity, and the distance traced after its entrance multiplied by the corresponding velocity, shall, together, form a sum which is a *minimum*. M. Laplace hence derives two differential equations, in which the internal velocity is an indeterminate function of the angle which the refracted ray makes with the shorter axis of the rhomboid. He then examines two simple cases, in which these equations are modified. The first is, where the square of the velocity of light within the crystal is increased by a constant quantity, and which, it is well known, obtains generally in diaphanous *media*. The second case is, where the expression of the action of the crystal is of the *same form* as that of the square of the internal velocity, or where this square is further augmented by a term proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle made by the refracted ray with the shorter axis. The measure of deflection being the same on either side of the axis, it was obvious that the even powers only of the sines or cosines, and which are always positive, could be admitted into the expression for the effect.—Having thus restricted the equations of partial differences, M. Laplace subjects them to a variety of operations, and brings out, after the usual reductions and substitutions, certain integral *formulæ* which comprise the phenomena of refraction, and are entirely consonant with the Huygenian hypothesis. He therefore concludes, that we may regard this result with confidence as an established law of nature.

We are disposed to give full credit to the penetration, the expanded views, and the rich and varied talents of Laplace. In the management of the calculus, he cannot indeed rival the clear-

ness

ness and elegance of Euler; but he surpasses that great master of analysis in the extent of his acquirements, and the general soundness of his physical ideas. The present memoir may be considered as a fine specimen of analytic art; but here we are inclined to think that its praise should stop. It is grounded on assumptions just as gratuitous and arbitrary as those involved in the hypothesis with which it is contrasted. If Huygens supposed his spherical undulation to flatten regularly into a spheroid, Laplace thinks himself entitled, by the theory of functions, to round the expression of the square of the internal velocity, by an additional term of the same form, which might coalesce into a shapely compound. But this is only a mode of conception, and surely not the genuine interpretation of Nature. Fancy will, according to the taste or prevailing habits of the individual, amuse itself alike in contemplating the properties of figure, or the relations of quantity. Huygens, as a geometer, looked to the transformation of curves; Laplace, as an analyst, has preferred the symmetry of functions. Much as we admire the lofty flight and commanding skill of the Continental mathematicians, we are not blind to their defects and errors. They have long overrated the real value of the art of analysis; and have in many cases applied it to objects which it is not capable of attaining. Forgetting that the most refined calculus can only facilitate the combinations of thought, and can educe no principle but what was previously infused into it, these inquirers appear sometimes to imagine themselves occupied with contemplating the connexion of actual existences. In marshalling their symbols, and performing the grand evolutions, they are apt to overlook those smaller occasional movements on which the final position really depends. Several of the most eminent mathematicians of the Continent seem almost to have persuaded themselves, that, without recurring to external observation, they could demonstrate the laws of motion, and the primary relations of space, and consequently establish the principles of physics and geometry, by a dexterous application of the methods of analysis! That all this is mere illusion, requires no proof; but we may remark how imperceptibly the more obvious truths steal upon us, and become blended with the structure of a laborious and intricate process of calculation.

We cannot help thinking, that the continental philosophers, in their physical researches, are by far too much disposed to generalize. The conditions of the problem, under its widest aspect, they instantly embody in symbols, and proceed, by various changes and contractions, to reduce the principal expression to a manageable form; and not until then does the serious attack commence. Such a procedure might remind us of the toil of Penelope. It would surely be wiser to moderate the pretensions of analysis, and

avoid

avoid the glaring abuse of symbols. If, as at a former period, the necessary restrictions and abbreviations affecting the nature of a problem were previously introduced, the differential expression that results would always be much simpler, and less apt to bewilder.

We would not particularly object to the choice which M. Laplace has made of the law of *least action*. Yet, though it is now derived from a legitimate source, it is but too apt, we think, to betray the vagueness of its metaphysical origin. The subject of this memoir might, we presume, admit of a very simple investigation, from the fundamental principle of accelerating or retarding forces. Since the differential of the square of the velocity is equal to the product of the force into the differential of the space, it easily follows, that a ray of light which undergoes the ordinary refraction, has the square of its velocity increased by a constant quantity; and therefore, from the decomposition of motion, the sines of the angles of incidence and of refraction are proportional. But when a ray suffers the extraordinary refraction, it is moreover attracted in the direction of the short diagonal of an equilateral rhomboid. Now, the direct impression of that force is evidently diminished in the ratio of the cosine of the inclination of the ray to that diagonal; and the space of its action is also reduced in the same ratio: Wherefore, by this combined influence, the square of the velocity of a ray must receive, from extraordinary refraction, a further augmentation, proportioned to the square of the cosine of the angle which it makes with the short diagonal of the rhomboid. Hence the law of extraordinary refraction is at once deduced, without requiring any more aid of the integral calculus.

Does not such increased attraction in the line bisecting the obtuse solid angles of a rhomboidal spar, indicate a condensation of molecules in that direction? And may not the shortness of the axis, and the compression of the crystal, proceed likewise from the same cause? Of the particles of light which enter a transparent medium, part suffer internal reflection, and part are absorbed in their passage. These different effects must depend on the casual degree of approximation to the molecules of the crystal which lye adjacent to the track of the ray. But when those molecules range more closely in a particular direction, as probably in the case of Iceland spar, a particle of light that chances to come within the reach of their attraction, is deflected from its ordinary course. The nature and circumstances of this deflection, would require mature examination.

1. *On a Property of reflected Light.*
2. *On a Property of the repulsive Forces which act upon Light.* By M. Malus.

These interesting papers announce some very curious and unexpected

pected properties of light. The facts are stated in a distinct, though concise manner, and without such accessary details as experiments so novel might require, especially from an observer who has not yet attained that character for accuracy which inspires entire confidence. The correctness of the general results we are not inclined to dispute; and should those important discoveries be afterwards fully confirmed, they will certainly constitute an epoch in the history of optical science. It will therefore be sufficient, for the present, to notice their leading features, reserving the bulk of our remarks till they come again before us in a more extended form.

We have already described the property of double refraction which belongs to Icelandic spar. But the effects produced by combination are equally singular. If a ray of light that has been split in its passage through the crystal, be received by another crystal of the same kind, placed in a similar and parallel position, the ray which had obeyed the ordinary refraction will then suffer the extraordinary, and reciprocally that which underwent the extraordinary refraction will sustain the ordinary; and hence the image will still be only doubled. If the second crystal be now turned gradually round in the same plane, each portion of the divided ray will again suffer extraordinary refraction, so as jointly to produce four images. But after the crystal has quartered its circuit, the bisection of the transmitted rays again stops, and only a double image appears. These phenomena rise in succession as the crystal turns round. Nor is it requisite that the two crystals should be of the same sort. The first may be carbonate of lead, or sulphate of barytes; the second rock crystal, or crystallized sulphur. The direct light thus always suffers a double refraction; but the effect produced on the transmitted light depends on the angle of its incidence with the axis of the integrant molecules, or the plane of its principal section.

These facts are rendered more prominent, by looking at the flame of a candle through two prisms of different substances possessing the power of double refraction, and applied to each other. Four images are generally seen; but on turning one of the prisms slowly about the visual ray, those images are reduced to two, whenever the principal sections of the contiguous surfaces are parallel, or at right angles. The one pair of images gradually decay, while the other pair become proportionally brighter.

But this power of modifying the rays of light is not confined to the double refracting substances. All bodies can, under certain circumstances, excite a similar impression. Thus, if the flame of a candle reflected at an angle of 52° 45′ from the surface of water, be viewed through a double refracting prism, one of the images

images will vanish every time that the prism makes the fourth part of a revolution. It is therefore evident, that the ray which has suffered such reflection from water, must now possess the same quality, or disposition, as the extraordinary refracted ray, after its escape from a rhomboidal crystal. Other transparent substances, whether liquid or solid, manifest a like property, only at different angles according to the measures of their refractive powers. This also obtains with respect to the internal reflections which take place at the second surface. Light reflected at certain angles from opaque bodies, such as ebony or black marble, is found to have suffered the same modification as that which has been deflected in its passage through Iceland spar. The polished metals appear to form the only exception to this property. *

If a ray of light be reflected from a surface of glass at an angle of 54° 35′, and strike another like plane at the same angle, it will experience no second reflection, but will enter the glass with undiminished strength. Direct light is the most copiously reflected as its incidence becomes oblique. The case is quite different with light that has been once reflected; for the intensity of the second reflection depends on a compound relation of the angles which the incident ray makes with the mirrors, and of the mutual inclination of the mirrors themselves.

These curious facts indicate clearly the operation of certain attractive and repulsive forces, and appear altogether incompatible with any supposition but that of the materiality and actual emission of light, which the noble discoveries of Newton have placed on so firm a foundation. In general, let a particle of light, considered as a solid however minute, have its three perpendicular axes expressed by *a*, *b*, and *c*, the axis *a* lying constantly in the direction of the ray, and the axis *b* or *c* deflected into the position of the repulsive forces in consequence of their action; and the phenomena of partial and total reflection, with the distinguishing circumstances of double refraction, are all reduced to a single law, which may be thus enunciated:—Considering, in the translation of luminous molecules, their motion about the three principal axes, the number of molecules of which the axis *b* or *c* will come into a direction perpendicular to that of the repulsive forces, will always be proportional to the square of the sine of the angle which these lines would have to describe about the

* Does not this exemption from the peculiar action of the refringent surface, imply a less intimate approach of the luminous particles? Or is it not entirely correspondent with the theory which makes light and the hot or cold pulses of air to be repelled at a greater distance from a metallic than a vitreous surface?

the axis *a*, in order to acquire such a position; and reciprocally, the number of molecules of which the axis *b* or *c* will approach nearest to the direction of those repulsive forces, will be proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle of rotation about the axis *a*, which would bring them into a plane passing through the direction of those forces. In the case of two opposite crystals having the power of double refraction, the quantity of light from the ordinary refraction of the first, which again receives the ordinary refraction of the second, is as the square of the sine; and the quantity that suffers from it the extraordinary refraction is as the square of the cosine of an angle formed by two planes, the one passing through the ordinary ray and the axis of the first crystal, and the other passing through the extraordinary ray and the axis of the second crystal. With regard to the combined reflection of light, the quantity thrown from a second surface, is proportional to the square of the cosine of the inclination of two planes that pass through the first reflected ray, perpendicular to each of the surfaces. The phenomena of double reflection, at the posterior surface of transparent crystals, are analogous to those of the refraction in two crystals of which the principal sections are parallel and their axes perpendicular; combining likewise the property common to all diaphanous bodies, that, when the reflecting surface is parallel to the axis *c* of the luminous molecules, the reflection ceases at a given angle.

Such are the conclusions which M. Malus has drawn from his very delicate experiments. They evince great precision, and open a wide field for inquiry; but the ingenious author modestly contents himself with tracing out the phenomena, nor ventures to explore the system of forces by which those curious effects are produced. The particles of light are decidedly capable of undergoing certain changes of disposition, which influence or derange their subsequent action. If the globular form belong only to free *collections* of matter, those corpuscles may really have some determinate figure; and the conditions of the several facets would then occasion a property analogous to that which has been vaguely named *polarity*. But it appears much simpler to consider the particles of light in a state of ultimate tenuity, as atoms, or mere physical points.

The facts which M. Malus has so nicely observed, remount, we presume, to a higher source, and are intimately connected with the various phenomena of the deflection and inflection of light, and with the production of coloured spaces from thick or thin plates. These abstruse subjects occupy the third book of Newton's Optics, which was confessedly left very imperfect; and they still remain covered with obscurity, or deformed by inaccurate observation.

In the deflection of light, and its modification by thick plates, we know, from some precise experiments, that the luminous particles suffer an impression, from which, in their progress, they gradually recover. The most obvious effect of a lateral force, would be to augment, in a small degree, the velocity of the particles, and consequently to widen somewhat their mutual distance, supposing them to follow each other in a direct line; and from this deranged state they might again restore themselves, if these particles have any analogy to those of an elastic fluid.

We would also remark, that the exemption of polished metallic surfaces from the power of modifying the incident light, as it indicates a less intimate approach of the luminous particles, seems entirely correspondent with the theory which makes light and the hot or cold pulses of air to be repelled at a greater distance from the metals.

Experiments on the Propagation of Sound in Vapours. By M. Biot.

That sound is propagated through elastic media, by a certain tremulous motion, has long been known to philosophers. The invention of the air-pump by Otto Guericke, near the middle of the seventeenth century, demonstrated, in a striking manner, the operation of the atmosphere, as the ordinary vehicle of transmission. But Newton, with his mighty grasp, subjected the phenomena of sound to the laws of dynamics. The patience of that transcendent genius could surmount every difficulty; and his incomparable sagacity often supplied the defects of his calculus. He showed that the propagation of sound is analogous to that of undulations, and is reducible to the same principle as the motion of the pendulum. The velocity with which sound travels along the air, should therefore be equal to what a heavy body would acquire, by falling through half the height of a homogeneous and equiponderant atmosphere. But, at the mean temperature of our climate, this would amount only to 945 feet in a second; while the most recent and accurate observations on sound give about one fifth more, or a celerity not less than 1130 feet in a second. Such a discrepancy, so very unlike that nice harmony which invariably connects the results of calculation with the measures of the celestial phenomena, has long perplexed geometers. Newton was himself aware of this disagreement; but, laying aside his usual caution, he did not scruple to resort to certain hypotheses which are exceedingly clumsy, and altogether inadmissible. He supposed that each particle of air occupies a breadth equal to the eighth or ninth part of their interval; and that for every ten such particles, there is an admixture of one particle of a latent and in-

elaſtic vapour. The ingenious Lambert carried the aſſumption ſtill further, and fancied that air contains, diſperſed through its ſubſtance, about one third of extraneous and intangible matter. The theory of aërial vibrations remained in this unſatisfactory ſtate, until the year 1759; when the celebrated Lagrange, at the early age of twenty-three, ſhone forth like a luminary, and gave a rigorous and profound inveſtigation of the problem in the firſt volume of the Memoirs of Turin. He pointed out ſome miſtakes that even Newton had committed in the reaſoning; but miſtakes which, by a happy compenſation of errors, did not affect eſſentially the reſults. Advancing from theſe diſcuſſions, he aſſigned the dynamical conditions of undulation, which, after the proper limitations, were reduced to an equation involving partial differences of the ſecond order. But this refined branch of analyſis, invented by Dalembert and Euler, is ſtill ſo imperfect, that, in order to integrate the final expreſſion, it had become requiſite to omit the higher powers of the differentials. Yet, after all this diſplay of accurate reſearch, and ſkilful adaptation of ſymbols, followed by a lax and incomplete calculus, the ſame concluſion was obtained, as that which Newton had derived chiefly from the force of analogy and ſagacity of obſervation; and philoſophers were thus obliged to ſubmit, and to content themſelves with recording the variance between fact and experiment in regard to the celerity of ſound, or with referring that diſcrepancy to ſome extraneous influence.

Laplace has lately, from an application of the recent diſcoveries on heat, propoſed a conjecture which would ſeem to obviate the principal difficulty. When a portion of air is compreſſed, its capacity for heat becomes diminiſhed, and its temperature is therefore elevated. The changes are ſometimes very conſiderable. Thus, air ſuddenly ſqueezed into the twentieth part of its bulk, by help of a ſmall condenſing ſyringe, will eaſily ſet fire to a bit of tinder, or even a few grains of gunpowder. M. Laplace hence inferred, that the particles of air ſuffering a ſucceſſive compreſſion from the rolling tide of ſound, will evolve heat, and therefore acquire an augmented elaſticity, which muſt likewiſe increaſe the velocity of propagation. But, by a contrary proceſs, air, on being dilated, has its capacity for heat enlarged, and conſequently its temperature depreſſed. Since, therefore, each pulſe, which carries the impreſſion of ſound, conſiſts of two oppoſite portions of air, alternately contracting and dilating, the heat extricated from the one, might at firſt appear to be counterbalanced by the cold proceeding from the other. But theſe antagoniſt energies, ſo far from mutually counteracting, muſt really conſpire in producing the ſame effect. If the heat elicited by their contraction quickens the return of the aërial par-

ticles, the cold occaſioned by their dilatation likewiſe accelerates their collapſe; and thus both cauſes equally concur in ſhortening the fit of pulſation, and conſequently in giving additional ſwiftneſs to the tranſmiſſion of ſound.

M. Biot, the pupil and friend of Laplace, ſolicitous to confirm this hypotheſis by the evidence of experiment, has, with that view, deviſed a plan, which ſeems very ingenious and novel in the conception. It is well known that the elaſticity of vapour, left to itſelf, depends merely on its degree of temperature. Every change of elaſticity, however partial or temporary, muſt hence indicate a correſponding alteration of heat. Biot, therefore, tried whether ſound, which is only conveyed by the fluctuations of elaſticity, can be tranſmitted through perfect vapour. His experiments were made at Arcueil, in the preſence of Bertholket and Laplace. To the neck of a glaſs balloon, containing about nine Engliſh gallons, a ſtop-cock was nicely fitted; and a ſmall bell having been ſuſpended within the cavity, a little water was then introduced. The air was next carefully extracted, leaving only vapour behind. On agitating the bell, a feeble ſound was heard,—the temperature being only about 66 degrees of Fahrenheit's ſcale. But, removing the balloon into a ſtove, at a heat of 115°, the vapour being now much denſer, the ſound became very audible and diſtinct. It was therefore decided, that vapour is ſuſceptible of alternate compreſſion and dilatation, and conſequently that the vibration of ſound is productive of correſponding changes of temperature.

Admitting, however, the juſtneſs of the principle thus eſtabliſhed, we contend, that it is totally inadequate to the explication of the diſcrepancy which M. Laplace has ſought to remove. For, ſince the celerity of pulſation is as the ſquare of the elaſticity, it would require each aërial wave to have its elaſticity augmented in the proportion of two to three, and conſequently to have its temperature raiſed 125 degrees of Fahrenheit's ſcale. But, to evolve this heat, the ſucceſſive portions of air muſt have been condenſed into the fifth of their uſual ſpace; and, to produce ſuch violent compreſſion, it would be neceſſary to ſuppoſe a rapidity of impact equal to 3350 feet in a ſecond. Can we imagine, that the ſimple tranſmiſſion of ſound ſhould rend the atmoſphere with ſuch tremendous concuſſion? The meaſure of impulſion which thoſe effects would imply, utterly exceeds any thing ever witneſſed upon earth. The utmoſt rapidity of a cannon ball is only 2000 feet in a ſecond; and to impreſs a velocity of 3350 feet, even for a ſingle inſtant, moſt aſſuredly ſurpaſſes the human faculties.—But the hypotheſis of Laplace is expoſed to another objection, which ſeems entirely concluſive. Since the intenſity of

of pulsation, and therefore the degree of heat excited, must depend on the quickness of impact, it would thence follow, that the velocity of sound is materially affected by the mode of its production. Yet this inference is contradicted by observation. All sounds, whether acute or grave, are found to travel through the atmosphere with the same celerity.—Nor are these the only objections which may be urged. If the atmosphere suffered by the passage of sound such excessive commotion, as to vibrate in each successive pulse through a range of five times its density, the conditions of the problem would be totally changed, since the previous investigation was grounded on a supposition that the limits of oscillation are infinitely small. The hypothesis advanced, so far from correcting the result of calculation, would, therefore, occasion a complete derangement.

But though Lagrange rightly determined the equation of aërial pulses, he was unable to effect its complete integration. Might not the difference proceed from his omitting all the powers of the differentials beyond the second? In such delicate processes, the example of Clairaut should teach us caution. That able geometer, on revising his investigation of the precession of the equinoxes, and resuming some terms which he had before neglected, obtained a result conformable to nature, and exactly the double of what was at first assigned. Till the integral calculus has arrived at much greater perfection, it will often be requisite for the analyst, in the solution of dynamical questions, to descend from his elevation, and seek to simplify the differential expressions by a sober and judicious application of the principles of physics.

Imagine a string of particles or physical points A, B, C, D, E, F, &c. in a state of rest or mutual balance. If A were pushed nearer to B, and then suddenly abandoned, it would recoil with a motion exactly similar to the oscillation of a pendulum. The time of this relapse might easily be determined from a comparison of the force of gravity with that of elasticity, or from the number of particles contained in a column of equipoise. The minute interval between the adjacent particles, being now divided by the duration of each fit of contraction, will give the velocity with which the vibratory influence shoots along the chain of communication. This simple investigation leads still to the same result as before. But it proceeds on assumptions which are evidently incorrect; for it supposes the pulses to follow each other in accurate succession, every contraction terminating as the next begins. Since the particles, however, do not exist in a state of insulation, while B repels A, it must likewise press against C; and C, in its turn, must gradually affect D. Before the contraction of A and B is completed, that of B and C is therefore

partially performed; and this anticipated influence may even extend to the remoter particles. Nor is the system of mutual action at all materially disturbed by such anticipations. Each pulsation is performed in the same way as if it were quite detached; only the succeeding one is partly accomplished before the regular period of its commencement. The velocity of aërial undulation is in this way much accelerated. To estimate the quantity of correction due to that cause, does not require any great profusion of calculus; but it would lead us into a tedious digression, altogether foreign to the nature of this Journal.

We cannot, however, dismiss the conjecture proposed by M. Laplace, without remarking, that it serves at least to elucidate the explication which Professor Leslie has given of the curious phenomenon hypothetically and inaccurately termed the *radiation of heat*. Having established, by experiment, that such dispersion never takes place but in some species of gas, and that the impression is not conveyed by the actual transfer of the heated portions of the fluid, the conclusion hence appeared irresistible, that this communication of heat must be performed, by means of the only other motion of which an elastic medium is susceptible, or by its internal oscillations. The author has indeed stated the result of induction with excessive brevity; nor has he at all sought to varnish over a subject which is naturally difficult. To comprehend the process distinctly, would require some attention and reach of thought, not quite in the taste of the multitude of chemical amateurs. It is the present fashion to exclaim against theory, and yet indolently to admit the most vague and flimsy assumptions. The principle of the transmission of heat by the agency of aërial pulsation, has not, therefore, attracted that notice, which, from its extent and precision, it so justly deserves. But when it shall be fully developed and strengthened by the concurring analogies, we have no doubt of its being generally embraced as the true exposition of the mode which Nature employs for producing an important class of operations in the physical world.—Let AM, BN, CO, DP, &c. represent a series of atmospheric pulses, each pulse being composed of two distinct portions, which alternately contract and dilate. The part A, relapsing from a state of expansion, delivers its surplus heat to M, which now expands, and has consequently its capacity enlarged. This M, next contracting, abandons its heat to the absorption of B, which comes in turn to dilate. The charge of heat is therefore conveyed through the atmosphere, and with the rapidity of sound, by a successive transfer along the chain of undulating spaces. In like manner, an impression of cold might be communicated to distant objects by the system of internal vibrations, the primary contraction being

ing followed by a corresponding expansion in regular sequence. It forms no solid objection, that the existence of those hot or cold pulses is not cognizable to the senses. If we had not recourse to analogical deduction, we should not have discovered that sound itself is propagated through the atmosphere by means of internal vibrations. But such aërial vibrations do not always produce sound. A certain quickness in the succession of pulses seems necessary to make an impression on our organ of hearing; and the peculiar influence of a hot or cold surface may disperse itself in gentle undulations, without exciting in the air that tremor which causes noise.

Experiments on the Propagation of Sound through solid Bodies and through Air in very long Tubes. By M. Biot.

It is well known that air is not essential to the propagation of sound, which can be transmitted through any elastic medium, solid, liquid, or gaseous. The celerity of its flight is also much greater in the denser substances. This fact has been ascertained in Denmark and England, by direct experiments on the sound conducted through beams of wood and stretched wires,—through water and sheets of ice. It was very conspicuous in the observations made by Hassenfratz in the subterranean quarries extended under the site of Paris. The ingenious Chladni proposed to determine the relative swiftness of transmission through a solid body, merely from the note which a rod of the given materials yields when excited into a tremor by friction.

M. Biot, whose attention is ever alert, has seized the occasion of some considerable improvements now going forward in the capital of France, to repeat similar experiments with great precision. The pipes intended to convey water to that metropolis consist of cylinders of cast iron, each eight feet three inches in length; the joints are secured by a collar of lead nearly half an inch thick, covered with pitched cotton rag, and strongly compressed by screws. Into one end of the compound pipe, was inserted an iron-hoop, holding a bell with a clapper; and at the other end, the observer was stationed. In these observations, M. Biot was occasionally assisted by M. Bouvard or M. Malus, colonel of artillery, and by Martin, a chronometer-maker. On striking the clapper at once against the bell and the inside of the tube, two distinct sounds were heard at the remote extremity, the one sent through the iron, and the other conducted along the air. The interval between those sounds was measured by a chronometer that marked half-seconds. In the first experiment, the pipe consisted of 78 pieces; its length, exclusive of the lead rings, was 617 feet; and the interval between the two sounds was

ascertained, from a mean of fifty trials, to be .542". But the ordinary propagation of sound through the atmosphere would, at that temperature, have required .579"; and consequently the difference, .037", must give the time of transmission through the metallic tube.—In another experiment, the assemblage of pipes, including the leaden joints, extended to 2550 feet, or nearly half a mile; and on a medium of 200 trials the two sounds were heard at the interval of 2.79 seconds. The time which sound would take, according to the calculation, to travel the same distance through the air, is 2.5 seconds; whence the difference, .29", marks the time of conveyance along the combined tubes. But M. Biot was enabled, by ingeniously varying the experiment, to arrive directly at that conclusion, without employing any previous computation. He concludes, from numerous combined trials, that the true quantity was .26"; and therefore that sound is transmitted ten or twelve times faster through cast iron than through the atmosphere.

These experiments sufficiently confirm the results of abstract theory. Perhaps cast iron is more languid in its tremors than the purer malleable iron. Chladni had assigned the celerity of vibration through iron and glass at 17500 feet in a second; and Leslie had shown, in one of the curious notes annexed to his book on Heat, that through a fir board the velocity of impulsion, which he proved to be the same as that of vibration, is 17800 feet in a second. We wish that some experiments on a large scale were made on the time of the transmission of sound through water. They could not fail, we are sure, to lead to consequences highly instructive in the economy of nature.

Besides the paper which we have now analyzed, this volume contains several *chemical* dissertations of no ordinary value, though the length of our preceding observations will prevent us from going very fully into their examination. There are one or two, however, on which we shall subjoin a few remarks.

On the relation between the Oxydation of Metals, and the capacity of Saturation of their Oxyds by Acids. By M. Gay-Lussac. Read at the Institute, December 5th, 1808.

Mr Dalton, in his 'New System of Chemical Philosophy,' published in the beginning of 1808, maintains, that bodies combine only in certain definite proportions, and that all metallic oxyds of the same class possess the same quantity of oxygen, and differ from each other solely in the proportion of metallic matter they contain. According to his theory, one portion of metal, in its first state of oxydation, requires for its saturation one portion of acid. Now, it is well known that some metals, when highly oxydated, take more acid to dissolve them than when oxydated in

an

an inferior degree. Of course it follows, that one portion of metal, in its second state of oxydation, ought, if it takes up more acid, to take up at least twice as much as it did in the first; or, to employ a more general form of expression, it should always be found, that the quantity of acid in metallic salts, so constituted, is directly proportional to the quantity of oxygen in the oxyd,—the very principle which M. Gay-Lussac endeavours to demonstrate in this memoir. We shall not pretend to determine the claims to originality which our author tacitly makes, or to risk a conjecture whether or not he is indebted to Mr Dalton. That the principle maintained by both is the same, we conceive to be undeniable; and it is certain that M. Gay-Lussac was in possession of the English work, if not before, at least within, twenty-four days after this memoir was read (and long before it was published), as he expressly refers to it, in another paper of that date, as a work with which he was familiar.

The facts advanced by our author, in support of the principle, consist chiefly in the phenomena which occur during the precipitation of one metal by another. Thus, when neutral solutions of acetate of lead, sulphate of copper, and nitrate of silver, are precipitated by zinc, iron and copper, respectively, it is inferred, as no gas appears to be extricated, that merely a transfer of the oxygen and acid is made from one metal to the other.

By similar facts and reasonings, the principle is extended to salts containing metals at their maximum of oxydation; and then it is applied to the sulphites by means of a calculation depending on two facts;—the change of sulphuric acid, by heat, into oxygen and sulphurous acid gas; and the curious circumstance that, during the conversion of sulphite into sulphate of lead, the neutral state of the salt undergoes no alteration. Our author, in an observation at the end of this memoir, attempts to prove, that the quantity of sulphur in sulphurets formed by the action of sulphureted hydrogen or the hydrosulphurets on metallic salts, is directly proportional to the quantity of oxygen previously combined with the metal.

We have not entered into a minute analysis of this memoir, nor pointed out the particular application of the author's conclusions, because the hypothesis which he endeavours to establish appears to us to stand in need of much additional confirmation. The series of facts on which it rests, strikes us, at first sight, as far too narrow and limited for the basis of so extensive an inference; and some of the experiments referred to in proof of its truth, seem to us contradictory to each other. Our author nowhere adverts to the nature of the sub and super acid salts, the very existence of either of which equally opposes the hypothesis that the quantity of acid is, in all cases, directly

proportional to the quantity of oxygen in the oxyd. As a particular instance, let us take the subsulphate of iron, produced by exposing a solution of the green sulphate to the atmosphere. It is well known, that, during its formation, the liquid becomes sensibly acid;—but how is this phenomenon to be reconciled with the hypothesis, according to which, as the metal acquires more oxygen, it should possess a greater capacity for acid, and retain that with which it was combined, with additional force? To remove this objection, it would be necessary to prove, that the acid, in this case, exists only in mechanical mixture with the oxyd, and not in chemical union, which is highly improbable. Many other instances of a similar nature might be quoted.

The spirit of theory and generalization, in short, is evidently too much indulged throughout this memoir; and the ingenious author is so fully satisfied of the truth of his hypothesis, though countenanced but by a few insulated facts, that he does not scruple to set it up as the very standard and test of truth, by which the accuracy of the laborious experience of other philosophers is to be estimated and controuled. He has, in some other of his late inquiries (which we hope to be able to refer to on a future occasion), as well as in this, followed the path originally struck out by Mr Dalton, and pursued by him with much industry and talent. The idea of uniform proportions in all chemical combinations, has received support from some other chemists of high authority; but the fact, we conceive, is still very far from being established; nor can we investigate too rigorously, or receive with too much caution, general principles which are intended to be applied to correct the results of actual experiment and analysis. The quantities of elementary materials which form compound bodies, and the nature of their arrangements, are scarcely susceptible of rigorous demonstration. As yet, a few facts only have been compared in relation to these numerical doctrines; and any decision upon them will be premature. We hope soon to be enabled to resume this important subject, with better grounds of conclusion. In the mean time, we would earnestly recommend the most minute experimental inquiry, in all cases in which mathematics are applied to chemistry. To use the words of Boerhaave, "egregia illius ancilla est,—non alia pejor domina."

1. *Of the Action of Vegetable Acids on Alcohol, both with and without the intervention of a Mineral Acid.*

2. *Of the Combination of Acids with Vegetable and Animal Substances.* By M. Thenard. Read at the Institute, November 23, 1807.

The new facts detailed in the first memoir are processes for forming compounds by distilling the oxalic, malic, citric, gallic and tartarous

tartarous acids, reſpectively with alcohol and a mineral acid. The ſubſtances thus produced are all analogous to each other, and to the oil of benzoin diſcovered by Scheele; and, according to M. Thenard's experiments, they are entirely free from the mineral acid employed. Theſe facts are both new and curious; and others are brought forward which are alſo curious, but not new. Such, for inſtance, are ſome of our author's experiments reſpecting acetic ether, particularly the proceſs by which he ſucceeded in procuring it without the intervention of a mineral acid. Few chemiſts, we conceive, can be ignorant of this method, as it was known as long ago as 1759, when the Count de Lauragais made it public. His reſults, indeed, were conſidered as incorrect by Scheele; but their accuracy has ſince been well eſtabliſhed by M. Pelletier and Dr Henry, as well as by the experiments of M. Thenard himſelf. Whether this neglect towards the inquiries of theſe gentlemen, was intentional or not, on the part of our author, is of very little conſequence; for, whilſt the records of chemical diſcovery exiſt, philoſophers may reſt aſſured that juſtice will be done to their labours ſooner or later by the enlightened part of mankind.

Led by a train of reaſoning like that which M. Thenard followed in concluding the experiments of Scheele on acetic ether and oil of benzoin to be inconcluſive, we cannot but think the inveſtigation here brought forward of the ſame deſcription; and that much remains to be done, before the nature of the new ſubſtances will be fully underſtood. They are conſidered by our author as combinations merely of the vegetable acids and alcohol; and he aſſerts, that the mineral acid employed in the operation, acts no other part than that of condenſing the vegetable acid and alcohol, and of inducing in each a ſtate that diſpoſes them to combine. This is poſſible; but it is not demonſtrated by any experiments he has deſcribed. Independent of the failure of all his attempts to form the combination directly, there are many reaſons which would induce a cautious inquirer to refuſe his aſſent to the propoſition. The powers, for inſtance, neceſſary to decompoſe theſe ſubſtances are apparently inconſiſtent with the difficulty of forming them. Our author found that a ſtrong ſolution of potaſh required a conſiderable time to ſeparate the acid from the alcohol. Their denſities, too, as well as thoſe of ethers which they ſo much reſemble in their formation, are contrary to the chemical law, that compounds uſually poſſeſs a ſpecific gravity greater than the mean ſpecific gravity of the bodies which enter into their compoſition. It may be ſaid, and it appears more conſiſtent with the phenomena, that the affinities which preſerve the vegetable acids and alcohol in their perfect ſtates, are broken by the mineral acid; and that, from a new arrangement of the elements of both bodies,

the

the ſubſtances in queſtion are formed. M. Thenard is evidently premature in his concluſions concerning theſe bodies, particularly as he endeavours to eſtabliſh on them a general principle. The details, too, are not ſufficiently ample to render his memoir complete and ſatisfactory; or to convince others of the juſtneſs of his opinions.

From the new facts, our author conceived it probable, that acids, in general, are capable of being combined with all animal and vegetable ſubſtances. The ſubject of his ſecond memoir was to aſcertain how far this idea might be correct. With this intention, he ſtates, that he very carefully examined the compound formed by paſſing oxymuriatic acid gas through alcohol, and the ſubſtance known by the name of artificial camphor, produced by the abſorption of muriatic acid gas by oil of turpentine. The moſt ſingular property noticed in theſe bodies, is the ſtrength with which their elements are combined. The acid M. Thenard has aſcertained, is not eaſily ſeparated by the ſtrongeſt alkaline ſolutions. From his experiments, and the ſtriking analogy exiſting between artificial camphor and muriatic ether, he concludes, contrary to the opinions of Gehlen, and others who have ſtudied the ſubject, and apparently with great propriety, that the artificial camphor is a compound merely of muriatic acid and oil of turpentine; and that the other ſubſtance is a ſimilar compound of the ſame acid, and a body which he has not been able to obtain in an uncombined ſtate. In ſupport of his conjecture, he refers to the known combinations of acids with animal and vegetable ſubſtances. The facts are in his favour; yet the proofs which they afford only ſtrengthen an analogy, but do not eſtabliſh the truth of the opinion.

Our author's obſervations on the combinations of tannin, are not new. Mr Davy has noticed thoſe combinations in a paper on Tannin, publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1803; and they have ſince been deſcribed by Tromsdorf and Bouillon-Lagrange. M. Thenard's opinion on the artificial tannin of Mr Hatchett, is remarkable for its precipitancy and improbability; and is advanced with a flippancy very unworthy of the philoſophical character. He conſiders it as a combination merely of nitric acid and vegetable matter. Even if, by vegetable matter, he means charcoal, we are of opinion that he has diſtorted the fact to make it ſuit his hypotheſis; and, though he is ſupported by M. Chevreul, who, it is ſaid, in a note annexed to the volume, will find it an eaſy matter to determine the queſtion, we confeſs, that we ſhall preſer Mr Hatchett's views of the ſubject, till the notion of the French chemiſts is eſtabliſhed by experiments and arguments of a different kind from any that we meet with in this paper.

We

We have already exceeded our limits; but we cannot resist the pleasure of noticing, though in the most cursory manner, a valuable paper by Thenard and Guy-Lussac on the subject of the new alkaline metals. It contains the substance of eight memoirs communicated to the National Institute of France, and which treated of the nature and relations of those singular products. Mr Davy's brilliant discovery of the metal of potash, was no sooner known in Paris, than the chemists of that capital eagerly hastened to explore a new track. The researches of Thenard and Gay-Lussac appear to have been conducted with uncommon ingenuity and success. By fusing with intense heat, in a clean gun-barrel, the caustic potash in contact with iron filings, and condensing the sublimate by the application of excessive cold at the other extremity of the barrel, they procured a quantity of the fluid metal at much less expense, and in far greater quantity, than that which is obtained by the ordinary galvanic process. They were hence enabled to examine the combinations of this new substance on a pretty large scale. In a similar way, the metal of soda was procured. The action of these metals, among other striking effects, occasions the decomposition of ammonia and of the acid of borax.

In combining their analyses, MM. Thenard and Gay-Lussac, if we may judge from this short abstract, display juster views and closer philosophical deduction, than are generally met with in the writings of the mere chemists. They have established, we think, most convincingly, that the new metals are not simple substances, but really compounds of the several bases with hydrogen. To the arguments here brought forward, we would add another consideration, grounded on analogy. Every compound must have the intermediate density of its distinct ingredients. But the specific gravity of the alkaline metals, one of which floats on water, is far less than that of the substances from which they are derived. Does not this clearly indicate the union of their bases with some attenuated species of matter, such as hydrogen, which, by its infusion, may widely distend the primary molecules, and thus reduce the compound to a much lower density? Should these metalloids be of the same nature with the ordinary metals, we can only conclude, that all metals are the compounds of certain bases with hydrogen. These bases may have not been yet exhibited, though we are familiarly acquainted with their oxyds and metalline hydrates, which would be considered as only opposite compounds. Such, indeed, is the present very loose and unsettled state of chemical principles, that we should not feel great surprise at seeing the old doctrine of *phlogiston*, with some modifications, again restored to its former credit.

ART.

ART. XI. *Travels in America, performed for the purpose of exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi, and ascertaining the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity.* By Thomas Ashe, Esq. 3 vol. Sir R. Phillips. London, 1809.

THE author of this work, we are told in the preface, has returned to America; but whether with the view of remaining there, or for the purpose of adding to the surprising discoveries which he has already made, we are not informed. But, whatever Mr Ashe may hereafter perform, it is quite certain, according to his editor, that he has already done enough to place him on a level with our most celebrated travellers. He has produced a book which cannot fail, we are assured, 'to *instruct* the statesman, *delight* the naturalist, and *astonish* the antiquary.' It would be quite inexcusable in us to pass over a work of such extraordinary pretensions, without a particular notice.

It was at Pittsburg that Mr Ashe entered on the survey of these vast countries which stretch along the Ohio and Mississippi; but, in the first part of his book, he favours the reader with a general view of the Atlantic states, and a detailed account of his journey from Philadelphia to the head of the Ohio. And here he begins to discover that unmeasured hatred of the Americans which pervades the whole of his narrative. His account of the Atlantic states, indeed, forms the most comprehensive piece of national abuse we ever recollect to have perused. Their inhabitants, it seems, are all abominably vicious; but in degrees very nicely distinguished;—the middle states being bad—the northern very bad—and the southern execrable.

That the Americans have great and peculiar faults, both in their manners and their morality, we take to be undeniable. They have the vices and the virtues that belong to their situation; and they will continue to have them until that situation is altered. Their manners, for the most part, are those of a scattered and migratory, but speculating people; and there will be no great amendment, until the population becomes more dense, and more settled in its habits. When wealth comes to be more generally inherited than acquired, there will be more refinement, both in vice and in manners: and, as the population becomes concentred, and the spirit of adventure is deprived of its objects, the sense of honour will improve with the importance of character. Mr Ashe, however, would have us believe, that the Americans are universally and irreclaimably vicious; and his sweeping anathemas are scarcely ever softened by any favourable exceptions, although the traveller in America,

merica, to uſe the words of a truly philoſophical obſerver, 'paſſes 'through all degrees of civilization and manners, and ſees, in the 'ſucceſſion of ſpace, what appears to belong only to the ſucceſſion 'of time.'*

Mr Aſhe's journey to Pittſburg is ſurpriſingly fertile in adventures. He, firſt of all, kills a ſtupendous bear, of whoſe death we have a moſt pathetic account,—the ſaid bear conducting himſelf moſt unbecomingly *in articulo mortis.* We are next entertained with a fine incident at an obſcure inn among the mountains, where our traveller falls in love with an elegant damſel, who performed the offices of cook and chambermaid, and preſents her with a copy of Thomſon's Seasons—a blank leaf being previouſly decorated with an appropriate poetic effuſion. On the night after this intereſting rencounter, Mr Aſhe, who had travelled all day in a ſtate of profound reverie, was overtaken by darkneſs on the top of a mountain, and there obliged, in order to avoid greater dangers, to take poſt for the night. The marvels which he beheld from this lofty ſtation, will be beſt deſcribed in his own language.

'The moon ſhone, but capriciously: for, though ſome places were adorned with her brightest beams, and exhibited various fantaſtic forms and colours, others were unaffected by her light, and awfully maintained an unvaried gloom—a "darkness visible"—conveying terror and diſmay. Such apprehenſions were gaining faſt on my imagination, till an object of inexpreſſible ſublimity gave a different direction to my thoughts, and ſeized the entire poſſeſſion of my mind. The heavenly vault appeared to be all on fire, not exhibiting the ſtream or character of the aurora-borealis, but an immenſity vivid and clear, through which the ſtars, detached from the firmament, traverſed in eccentric directions, followed by trains of light of diverſified magnitude and brightneſs. Many meteors roſe majeſtically out of the horizon; and, having gradually attained an elevation of thirty degrees, ſuddenly burſt, and deſcended to the earth in a ſhower of brilliant ſparks, or glittering gems. This ſplendid phenomenon was ſucceeded by a multitude of ſhooting ſtars and balls, and columns of fire; which, after aſſuming a variety of forms, vaniſhed in ſlight flaſhes of lightning, and left the ſky in its uſual appearance and ſerenity. Nature ſtood checked,' &c. Vol. I.

From this mountain-ſcene, Mr Aſhe deduces this moſt natural concluſion—'that no one ſhould dare to compoſe a hiſtory of nature without paſſing ſuch a night on ſuch a mountain.'

The letters from Pittſburg, (for the narrative is thrown into the epiſtolary form), amidſt a great deal of ſimilar rant, contain ſome details regarding that thriving place and its neighbourhood, which are well worth notice. Situated on the ſpot where the Alleghany and

* M. Talleyrand's Obſervations on America.

and Monongahela unite to form the Ohio, Pittſburg is admirably adapted to the purpoſes of commerce. Theſe two rivers connect it with an immenſe extent of country; and their banks, interſperſed with farms, villages and towns, proclaim an increaſing and induſtrious population. It contains above two thouſand inhabitants, the moſt opulent of whom are Iriſh; and this, ſays our author, 'has hindered the vicious propenſities of the *genuine* American character from eſtabliſhing here the *horrid dominion* which they have aſſumed over the Atlantic ſtates.' The manufactures are various and flouriſhing, particularly that of glaſs; and ſhip building is practiſed to a conſiderable extent. In October 1806, there were ſeveral veſſels of 350 tons on the ſtocks. Through Pittſburg it carried on an extenſive trade between the diſtant ports of Philadelphia and New Orleans. Here are ſtorekeepers who exchange the produce of the ſurrounding countries, of which they make two collections annually, for goods brought acroſs the mountains from Philadelphia: theſe they convey by the Ohio and Miſſiſſipi to Kentucky und New Orleans; and with the proceeds in dollars, or bills of exchange on Philadelphia, their agents ſail to that place to make new purchaſes, and traverſe again the wide circle of their exchanges—a circle which embraces a ſpace of not leſs than 5650 miles.

This immenſe ſphere of activity, too, is the creation of yeſterday. Even Mr Aſhe, diſpoſed as he is to decry every thing American, is obliged to admit, that ſhe diſplays, in the wonders of her growing induſtry, a picture at once ſtriking and exhilarating. It is impoſſible to contemplate ſuch a ſcene without exulting in the triumphs of induſtry. This peaceful power is here ſubduing regions of growing foreſts, which conquering armies would fear to enter; and extending, with ſilent rapidity, the limits of civilized exiſtence. We cannot help wiſhing that our countrymen, in general, were a little more alive to the feelings which we conceive ſuch a ſpectacle is calculated to excite; and that they could be brought to ſympathize a little more in the progreſs of a kindred people, deſtined to carry our language, our arts, and our intereſts too, over regions more vaſt than ever acknowledged the ſway of the Cæſars of Rome. But the bitter feelings of the colonial war ſtill rankle in too many boſoms on both ſides of the Atlantic. The utter impoſſibility of any national gain in a conteſt with America, and the pernicious animoſities which ſuch a conteſt is ſure to engender, are altogether overlooked by a certian claſs of politicians. It is enough for them, that we ſhall drive her ſhips from the ſeas, and blockade them in her ports; and that the great naval power of Britain may be employed to ſcatter the paltry flotillas of America—to palſy the induſtry of our beſt cuſtomers in the new world—and

to

to burn a few towns, still more defenceless and unoffending than Copenhagen! We do not mean to say, that this temper has not been met, and even perhaps provoked, by a corresponding temper in America; but, where the interest of two countries calls so loudly for their conciliation, it is impossible that they should quarrel without gross faults upon both sides.

Brilliant as Mr Ashe is in description, this does not hinder him from aiming at glory as a political philosopher; and, accordingly, we are favoured with a long discourse upon emigration, in which he insists largely on the inevitable disasters that must attend such a step on the part of every British subject. His mode of reasoning on this point is sufficiently characteristic. He takes, in the first place, a single instance of failure as sufficient to prove that all must fail. In the next place, he carefully selects his instance from the only description of persons who have no sort of temptation to emigrate, and who, it is universally admitted, must suffer extremely by such a proceeding. Upon these principles, he looks round till he finds a *gentleman farmer* from the county of Sussex, who, being a little democratical in his politics, had sold his property, and sailed for America, to become a great farmer and statesman. The result was quite natural. This restless person very soon found out, 'that the high price of labour renders it impossible for a gentleman farmer to make any thing of land there;' and that political consequence depended in America, as well as in other countries, a good deal upon property. It is needless to say, that this example has no application at all to the ambitious mechanics of England, or the dislodged small farmers of the Highlands.

Mr Ashe also descants, at great length, upon the intellectual capacities and literature of the Americans; and indulges himself in one of the most presumptuous philippics we ever recollect to have perused. Now, though we are certainly of opinion, that the second-rate pamphleteers of that country write incomparably better than Mr Ashe, it is no doubt true, that America can produce nothing to bring her intellectual efforts into any sort of comparison with that of Europe. Liberty and competition have as yet done nothing to stimulate literary genius in these republican states. They have never passed the limits of humble mediocrity, either in thought or expression. Noah Webster, we are afraid, still occupies the first place in criticism, Timothy Dwight and Joel Barlow in poetry, and Mr Justice Marshall in history: and, as to the physical sciences, we shall merely observe, that a little elementary treatise of botany appeared in 1803; and that this paltry contribution to natural history is chronicled, by the latest American historian, among the 'remarkable occurrences since the Revolution!' In short, federal America has done nothing, either to extend, di-

versify, or embellish the sphere of human knowledge. Though all she has written were obliterated from the records of learning, there would (if we except the works of Franklin) be no positive diminution, either of the useful or the agreeable. The destruction of her whole literature would not occasion so much regret as we feel for the loss of a few leaves from an antient classic.

But, notwithstanding all this, we really cannot agree with Mr Ashe in thinking the Americans absolutely incapable, or degenerate; and are rather inclined to think, that when their neighbourhood thickens, and their opulence ceases to depend on exertion, they will show something of the same talents to which it is a part of our duty to do justice among ourselves. And we are the more inclined to adopt this favourable opinion, from considering, that her history has already furnished occasions for the display of talents of a high order; and that, in the ordinary business of government, she displays no mean share of ability and eloquence. In opposition to all this, to be sure, we have the positive assertion of Mr Ashe, who will not allow that she has at any time attained mediocrity, either in statesmanship or war.

'I cannot honour,' says he, 'with the name of commanders, the men who overwhelmed a handful of British, and, after several years combat, obtained an unprofitable victory. In like manner,' (and the simile is really incomparable), 'I have known a shoal of herrings run down a whale on the coast of Cornwall; but it did not follow, that I was to attribute this accident to the *individual prowess* of *any* such contemptible animals, or to the absence of strength and *capacity* in the whale.' I. 137.

This eloquent person next takes a survey of the legislature; and, after assuring us that 'he asserts nothing without positive proofs,' delivers himself as follows.

'There are in America no real politicians; the speeches you see in papers are *made by Irish and Scotch journalists*, who attend the congress and senate, merely to take the spirit of their proceedings, and clothe it with a language interesting to read. Attending the debates of congress, on a day when a subject of consequence was to be discussed, I left the house, full of contempt of its eloquence, and the *paucity* of talent employed for the support or *condemnation* of the question. Notwithstanding this, I read in next morning's Gazette, "that a debate took place in the house last night, of the most interesting nature, and was agitated by all the talent in the country." And here followed certain *eloquent* orations, a sentence of which never passed in the house.' I. 140.

Now, without presuming to deny that the Americans are still very far from perfection in oratory, we really cannot bring ourselves to doubt that they are actually the authors of the harangues

which are imputed to them in the public prints. The *mind* of the country shines in every line of them; their fabric and ornaments are decisively transatlantic; and we could just as readily believe, that the *orations* of Sheridan are written by a Philadelphia man, as that the speeches of Mr Randolph, for example, are the work of a Scotch reporter.

Having thus despatched the Senate, Mr Ashe takes a view of the Bar, which he finds in a very lamentable state; for 'a Mr Emmet and a Mr Livingstone enjoy repute.' With regard to Physic, though two of its professors, Drs Rush and Wilson, 'have written themselves into *infallibility*,' still the country 'is shamefully destitute of able practitioners.' As to the Church, there is a Mr Smith who enjoys a high character as a clerical orator; and, indeed, he preaches very good sermons; but—they happen to be Dr Blair's, 'delivered in a strain of dull monotony.'

Having indulged himself for a long time in these disquisitions, our traveller at length enters upon a description of the Ohio, preparatory to the narrative of his voyage. The length of this fine river, from Pittsburg to its confluence with the Missisippi, is eleven hundred miles. It rises greatly in spring and autumn, when it is navigable by large vessels, but, when it subsides, can admit only of flat-bottomed boats. The space of twenty days is reckoned a good spring voyage to the Missisippi; but, in summer, when the waters are low, from six to ten weeks are required to perform it. Very little use is made of the oar;—the boat, which is of a square form, and guided by a huge oar at the stern, is committed to the stream; and all that is necessary is, to keep clear of the numerous islands, which greatly add to its beauty, while they embarrass its navigation.

We meet with nothing remarkable in the voyage, till Mr Ashe reaches Wheeling, a town about ninety miles below Pittsburg, on the Virginia side of the river. This is a considerable commercial station, and thriving marvellously, notwithstanding the nefarious character of its inhabitants. On coming here, it is very desirable to ascertain who have *ears*, and who want them; as a considerable part of the male population happen, according to Mr Ashe, to have left these appendages nailed to certain penitential *crosses* in other places of America. Quarrels are frequent; and, when two persons fight, it is generally 'according to the rule of 'rough and tumble; a kind of combat in which it is lawful for the 'combatants to peel the skull, tear out the eyes, or smooth away 'the nose!' Our author gives a long account of a battle of this kind, between a Virginian and Kentuckeyan; but we must refer to the book itself such of our readers as delight in wild sports. The great western road from Philadelphia to Lexington, in Ken-

tuckey, passes through this town; and there is a mail-coach, which performs the journey (700 miles) in fifteen days. Small inns, affording bacon, Indian bread, and whiskey, are to be found at convenient distances along this route;—and 'let those,' says our author, 'who despise this bill of fare, remember, that seven 'years ago this road was called the *wilderness*, and travellers had 'to encamp, and find their own provisions, and with great diffi-'culty secure their horses from panthers and wolves.' What striking facts from a writer who endeavours, in other places, to make us believe that this very country is devoted, by the vices of its people and its climate, to barbarism and progressive degeneracy!

He gives a pretty favourable account of the inhabitants of Marietta, a town situated at the junction of the Great Muskingum with the Ohio. Here, as well as at Pittsburg, are built ships of considerable burden; and the people, besides being industrious and enterprising, are well educated, and moral; having schools and churches supported by fixed contributions. Still, however, Mr Ashe cannot refrain from what he thinks wit, at their expense.

'Yesterday, I was speaking rather harshly to a man who had not fulfilled an agreement with me to caulk my boat, when a gentleman came up, and accosted him with—'Ah! *General*, how do you do? I mean to dine with you:—What's your hour?" I made sure of this opportunity to go on to the baker in pursuit of some biscuit. On seeing the bread, I began to comment on the price and quality, and might have betrayed some little dissatisfaction and incivility, had not a third person entered opportunely to say—"Colonel, I want a loaf of bread!" My next call was on a butcher, whose dirty-looking meat made me neglectful of my late experience, and I raved without any consideration of decorum, till brought to a sense of misconduct by a negro; who, taking me aside, very kindly warned me that the butcher was a *judge*, and would fine folks for cursing and swearing!' I. p. 297.

The banks of the Great Muskingum opened to our traveller a scene of various and interesting occupations; for, not to mention his speculations on the habits of wild turkeys, and his terrible contest with a huge rattlesnake, it was here his longing eyes were first greeted with a view of those Indian remains—'those venerable relics of once polished, but now degraded nations,' upon which he has descanted through so many pages of maukish enthusiasm and inept speculation. It is to his discourses upon *tumuli* and *barrows* and *mud camps*, that his sage editor alludes, when he boasts of the 'astonishment' which his book must occasion to the antiquary. The truth is, that these antiquities, as they are called, have been described before by far more sober and competent observers. We shall not, therefore, disturb our readers with any of his tedious and frothy descriptions, far less with his manifold

manifold abſurdities in regard to their origin. Suffice it to ſay, that he aſcribes them to ſome remote period, when the anceſtors of the preſent ſavages were powerful and poliſhed,—an opinion which we ſhould not deem worthy of notice, had it not the previous ſanction of Dr Benjamin Barton, whoſe writings contain the beſt deſcriptions of theſe curious veſtiges. But, notwithſtanding this more reſpectable authority, we cannot heſitate for a moment, to reject as altogether viſionary, the idea of a civilization which records itſelf in no language or tradition—in no monument of higher art than a mud wall—and in no inſtrument more perfect than a hatchet of ſtone. It is a rule in philoſophy, not to admit unknown cauſes, when the phenomena may be accounted for by thoſe which are known. Now, Dr Barton himſelf tells us, that ſome of the Indian nations had intercourſe with the Mexicans. Why, therefore, might they not derive from them thoſe rings and articles of pottery, upon which he builds ſo much? With regard to the mud encampments, again, we know from Oldmixon, * and other writers, that the ſavages on the Atlantic coaſt erected works of that deſcription when we firſt invaded them; and thus, all that remains to be accounted for is the greater magnitude of thoſe beyond the Alleghany mountains; as to which it is quite enough to ſay, that it is now perfectly known that the tribes in that region were formerly much more numerous than they are at preſent. M. Volney, † after a careful inſpection of theſe boaſted monuments, gives it as his decided opinion, that they are exactly ſimilar to thoſe mentioned by Oldmixon; and certainly we ought to adopt his opinion, in preference to one which does ſo much violence to analogy, to reaſon, and to hiſtory.

On arriving at the Scioto, Mr Aſhe made an excurſion to Chilicothé, the capital of the Ohio ſtate, and which is ſituated about ſixty miles up that river. The place, he ſays, is ſo unhealthy, that the government has it in contemplation to remove to ſome more eligible ſituation. The whole country, indeed, like all the other parts not cleared of their woods and marſhes, is, more or leſs, ſubject to periodical returns of fever and diarrhœa; and this, according to Mr Aſhe, forms the main objection to the Ohio ſtate, which is in conſiderable favour with him.—We ſhall here briefly collect a few other particulars regarding this flouriſhing member of the Union. It lies along the right bank of the river from which it takes its name, extending at leaſt five hundred miles in length and breadth. The ſoil in general is extremely rich, and that extenſive portion of it which lies between the two rivers

* History of British America. Vol. I. p. 54, &c.

† View of the Climate and Soil of America.

Miamis, is pronounced by our author to contain 'by much the fineſt land in the known world.' Here fifty or ſixty buſhels of wheat, and towards one hundred of Indian corn, may be raiſed on an acre. At Cincinnati there is an office for the ſale of lands; and in 1806, no leſs than ſeventeen thouſand contracts, at the rate of two dollars per acre, were entered there, bearing the names of perſons from all quarters of Europe, as well as America. By merely keeping theſe lands ten years, they may, according to Mr Aſhe, be rented at a profit of fifty dollars or more per acre; and this, he thinks, is the moſt eligible line for a ſpeculator; as at preſent, the price of labour is ſo high, produce so cheap, and markets ſo diſtant, that little more than a ſubſiſtence is to be made by mere farming. This ſtate is not more preeminent in fertility, than in induſtry and morals;—a ſuperiority which Mr Aſhe, with reaſon, aſcribes to the great number of *Quakers* it contains, and to the abolition of ſlavery, which formed one of the firſt acts of its government. This ſtate was admitted into the Union in 1803. Mr Aſhe does not mention the amount of its population; but we find Dr Holmes ſtates it to have been in that year upwards of ſeventy-ſix thouſand.

South of this lies the ſtate of Kentuckey, of which we ſhall alſo collect a ſhort account. It takes its name from the river Kentuckey, which flows through it into the Ohio, and which is navigable a great way from its mouth. It is generally mountainous and uneven, and has, according to our author, been greatly embelliſhed, in certain inſidious accounts given of it in Europe. There are here millions of acres called *Barrens*, altogether incapable of cultivation from want of water. There are other diſtricts, however, particularly one in the middle, of ſixty miles by thirty, to which, he admits, full juſtice has ſcarcely been done, even in the flowery narratives to which he alludes. The current of emigration which formerly flowed rapidly, and almoſt excluſively, into this ſtate, has now ſpread into a variety of new channels; and part of its original ſettlers, allured by new proſpects, have made a ſecond migration. Its export trade, of which Louiſville is the chief ſeat, is conſiderable. Ships are built at this place; and a canal was begun to carry veſſels round the *rapids*, which too greatly obſtruct the navigation of the Ohio. Frankfort, the ſeat of government, is ſituated about ſeventy miles up the Kentuckey; but Lexington is the largeſt town of this, indeed of all the weſtern ſtates, and ſtands in that delightful tract already noticed. It contains three hundred houſes, and is the ſeat of an univerſity, where about a hundred ſtudents are taught Engliſh, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. Of its inhabitants, and indeed the whole population of the ſtate, Mr Aſhe exhibits a very diſagree-

able

able picture, charging them with ferocity, boisterousness, and coarse debauchery. The following, he says, is a faithful picture of the general mode of living through the state.

'I rode about fifteen miles, when I stopped at the house of a cultivator whom I had fallen in with on the road, and took such refreshment as we found prepared. On entering the house, which was a log one, fitted up very well, the Kentuckyan never exchanged a word with his wife or his children, though he had been absent several days. No tender inquiry or sentiment; nothing but a contemptuous silence and a stern brutality, which block up all the avenues to the heart. The poor woman made a large bowl of drink, composed of sugar, water, whiskey and peach juice, and handed it to her husband with all the servility of a menial. The dinner consisted of a large piece of salt bacon, a dish of homslie, and a tureen of squirrel broth. I dined entirely on the latter, which I found incomparably good, and the meat equal to the most delicate chicken. The Kentuckyan ate nothing but bacon, which is the favourite diet of all the inhabitants of the state; and drank nothing but whiskey, which soon made him two thirds drunk. In this he is also supported by the general habit. In a country, then, where bacon and spirits form the favourite summer repast, it cannot be just to attribute entirely the causes of inferiority to the climate. No people on earth live with less regard to regimen; they eat salt meat three times a day; seldom have any vegetables; and drink ardent spirits from morning till night.' II. 281.

Mr Ashe gives a turgid account of his passage of the *rapids* at Louisville, which was attended with many awful circumstances. Thousands of dull traders, indeed, had passed them before; but when '*such a man as Mr Ashe*' (to use the words applied to him by the beauty at Cincinnati) was to make the transit, it was to be expected that Nature should be strangely disturbed, and fill the hearts of sordid pilots with serious alarms. The voyage after this achievement proceeded without incident, till Mr Ashe passed the mouth of the Wabash, when, on 'the Indiana shore,' he explored a cave more replete with terrors, than any such place we ever read of in romance. We cannot enter either upon its history or horrors; but must tell the curious reader, that Mr Ashe discovered, by means of certain figures on its sides, which he calls 'antient hieroglyphics,' that it was a 'temple dedicated to the sun, and a sanctuary of his priests, in those remote times when the North American Indians were similar to the other nations of antiquity!' Mr Ashe is never in the smallest difficulty on these points. Thus, he discovers, with equal ease and certainty, that some Indian mummies, which are said to have been found at Lexington, are of far higher date than the mummy-making eras of Egypt; and further, that *iron*

axes were positively used in the Ohio country long *before the flood!* But it would be endless to notice all his ravings on these subjects. He never begins to speculate, without plunging at once into the depths of absurdity. Like 'bold Arnall' in the Dunciad, he makes 'a furious dive,' and sinks far below all the other sons of dulness.

In this neighbourhood, our traveller paid a visit to a tribe of Indians, 'the true lords of the soil;' and his interview with them, strongly reminds us of that between the 'friend of humanity' and the 'knife-grinder,' in the poetry of the *Anti-jacobin.* The Shawannees were quite as unconcerned about their *rights* as the knife-grinder, and were far more solicitous for *whiskey*, than for the condolence of our friend of humanity. Mr Ashe assures us, however, that they are a more polite people than is commonly imagined; and in particular, that 'they practise a very refined species of gallantry.' The married women are exceedingly correct. 'To a person,' he says, 'who met one in the woods, and implored her to love and look on him, she made the following beautiful reply—*Oulamar, who is for ever before my eyes, hinders me from seeing you, or any other person.*'

On reaching the Mississippi, Mr Ashe made an excursion to St Louis, the capital of Upper Louisiana, a place containing near two thousand inhabitants, and, for its extent, of considerable trade. Twenty miles above it, the Missouri joins the Mississippi, after 'passing through a vale, which it enriches and adorns to so wonderful a degree that it scarcely can be equalled. The scenes are so picturesque, so various and surprising, that the senses may rather be said to be ravished than simply pleased.' (III. 124.) He also visited St Genevieve; and represents the inhabitants, who are a mixture of French and Spaniards, as being gay and happy.

'Here the guitar resounds, soon after sunset, with the complaints and amorous tales of the village swains; and the same hand which toils all day in the wilderness, strikes the tender notes of love in the evening. Every house has its group, and every group its guitar, fiddler or singer.' III. 118.

Mr Ashe made no considerable stay, on his voyage down the Mississippi, till he reached Natchez. He represents this river as exhibiting, in its scenery and current, an almost continued succession of beauty, richness and grandeur. Some of his descriptions, though by no means in good taste, recal to our recollection these lines of Virgil—

> Hic ver purpureum: varios hic flumina circum
> Fundit humus flores: hic candida populus antro
> Imminet, et lentæ texunt umbracula vites.

The navigation, like that of the Ohio, is interrupted with islands,

of

of which the number is increaſing. During its floods, which are periodical, a 'firſt-rate man of war may deſcend with ſafety.' Above the territory of the Natchez, the banks exhibit an almoſt complete vacuity of man and his works. Natchez, including the negroes, who are numerous, has 2,500 inhabitants; amd their ſucceſs in the cultivation of cotton, enables them to give full ſcope to thoſe diſſolute and luxurious propenſities for which they have become proverbial. Below this place, the navigation to New Orleans is eaſy; the banks are occupied by a merry and hoſpitable race of planters, of French deſcent; and the whole proſpect is eminently beautiful. New Orleans is ſituated on the eaſt bank of the river, a hundred miles from its mouth,—in a country where the rareſt productions of the fineſt climate of Europe grow in ſpontaneous abundance; and, including ſlaves, it contains near 15,000 inhabitants. The climate, however, is unhealthy, and particularly fatal to new-comers. But ſituated as it is, within a few days ſail of the Spaniſh dominions, and the whole Weſt Indies, and receiving by the Miſſiſippi and its far-ſpreading tributaries the productions of ſo many climates and ſoils, it bids fair to rival the moſt proſperous marts of the New World. Since its acquiſition, with the reſt of Louiſiana, by the United States, its commerce has very conſiderably increaſed. The inhabitants are a mixture from all nations, but chiefly France and Spain. Thoſe from the other American States conſtitute, according to Mr Aſhe, 'by far the worſt part of the population.' But for further details of their manners and purſuits, we muſt refer ſuch of our readers, as do not think they have enough of his lucubrations, to the book itſelf,—the narrative of which cloſes at this point.

ART. XII. *Greek Marbles brought from the Shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean, and deposited in the Vestibule of the University of Cambridge.* By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL. D. Profeſſor of Mineralogy in that Univerſity. 8vo. Cambridge, 1809.

OUR knowledge of antiquity is drawn from two ſources,—monuments and antient authors. The latter, though far more copious, can never be ſo deciſive as the former, both on account of the corruption of manuſcripts, and the difficulty of repreſenting to our minds images of things which we have never ſeen. Here the antient monuments of art happily ſtep in, and ſupply what is wanted. When accompanied with proper explanations,

nations, they frequently afford proof more satisfactory than single detached passages from works of contemporary authors. The value of inscriptions is not affected by the circumstance, that some have been forged. The instances of this sort of falsification are but few; and the words of a very competent judge on this subject are worth transcribing.

'Inscriptionum Græce loquentium commentitias, si cum Latinis comparemus, deprehendi paucas; neque enim ullum omnino in tanta debacchantium falsariorum libidine, monumenti genus, in quod ii sibi minus licere putaverint. Argumento est, paucissimas usque in hunc diem ab eruditis viris, et in hoc literarum genere plurimum versatis, rejectas esse falsique damnatas.' *Maffei de Arte Crit. Lapid. L.* iii.

In the little work before us, Dr Clarke has given explanations of the subjects which form his collection, that appear to us to be simple, precise, and free from unnecessary prolixity. We shall proceed, therefore, to make a few observations on them, in the order in which they occur,—premising only the following observation from the Preface.

'The public' (says Dr Clarke) 'are not any way concerned in the difficulties encountered to remove the marbles described in this volume, from remote and barbarous countries to the place where they now are. The collection, such as it is, must be considered, after all, merely as a gleaning: the sickle and sheaf were in other hands. But if future travellers from the University, hereafter visiting the territories in which these monuments were found, contribute also their portion, Alma Mater will have no reason to blush for her poverty in documents so materially affecting the utility and dignity of her establishment. The foundation, at least, of a collection of Greek marbles may be said to have been laid; and, by a description of the parts which compose it, there is reason to hope, some points of antient history may appear illustrated; some passages in the text of classic authors less equivocal. At the same time, if the observations chiefly lead to conclusions remote from any apparent connexion, let it be observed, that the great mass of historic truth is formed by the collection of single facts.'

The first article in the list is, 'A monumental pillar, of the kind called Stele, antiently placed on the vertex of conical sepulchral mounds, such as cover the plains of Tartary, and are seen in almost all parts of the habitable globe. The tombs of persons of the most distinguished rank were once characterized by no other ornament.' Another sepulchral form, we may observe, was the Ἥρων, or Ἡρῶον, which, although a passage in Suidas, v. ἥρωα, might lead us to suppose that it was something subterranean, yet appears, from a singular expression in Jamblichus, to have been not unlike the tumulus; ἡρῶον ἐπιχώσαντες, 'heroo terra accumulato

accumulata erecto.' Vit. Pyth. 1. 31. Lucian, in the Charon, mentions together ἥρια, τύμβους, καὶ τάφους; and, in the inscription in Spon. Itin. 3. 150, the ἥρως is said to be crowned.

Of the *tumuli*, which are assigned to different persons, and which history seems to authenticate, we may mention two—the earliest and the latest; the one in Greece, the other in Asia,—and both very probably existing at this day. That of Tityus, mentioned by Homer, was seen by Pausanias, near Panopea, in Phocis; the latter, to which we allude, is the tomb of the Emperor Gordian. Ammianus, in his description of the march of Julian's army, says, that having reached Zaitha in Mesopotamia, they saw '*tumulum Gordiani imperatoris longè conspicuum.*' L. 23. c. 5. Zosimus adds, that the tomb was seen from the place where Dura was built; Eutropius and Sextus Rufus also mention it. That effects of great value were supposed to be deposited in these tombs, we learn from the anecdote mentioned in Strabo, respecting the people sent to colonise Corinth by Cæsar; who left, he says, οὐδὲν τάφον ἀνεκινήσατον. L. 8.

No. 6. is a bas-relief, representing a horse and human figure on each side of the stone. Below, is a Greek epigram, commemorating the death of Timotheus. The representation of this animal on sepulchral monuments has given rise to various conjectures. Chrysostom (Hom. III. ad Pop. An.) would induce us to imagine, that it originated in the custom of leading horses in funeral processions; but the explanation which we should propose as most satisfactory, is that which is to be found in Passeri, *de anim. transvectione*, and which is quoted by Caylus, namely, that the horse designated the passage of the soul to Elysium.—See *Recueil d'Antiq.* vol. vi.

No. 7. is a marble tablet with a Greek inscription, from Circassia. It begins, βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου. It may be here remarked, that there is no money of the Cæsars, with βασιλεὺς on it, previous to the time of Antoninus Caracalla. We read, indeed, of Κομμόδου βασιλεύοντος; but there was a distinction between that and the substantive, as in Latin; 'minus invidiosum *dominans*, quàm *dominus*.'—See *Markland ad Statii Syl.* p. 192.

No. 12. is a pillar on the tomb of Euclid of Hermione. Below appears a dog, 'which is often seen (says Dr Clarke) on the sepulchral monuments of Greece.' This serves to illustrate a passage of Petronius. Trimalchio, in giving directions for his tomb, says—'*Valde te rogo, ut, secundum pedes statuæ meæ, catellum pingas.*'

No. 13. 'A sepulchral tablet, found at Patmos, showing the distinction between Cippus and Stele.' We are pleased to find Dr Clarke insisting on this distinction, particularly as they have often

often been confounded by scholars; and we may confirm what he says by the following passage. 'Cippus differebat a columna, quod columnæ sint rotundæ; cippi, quadratæ aut incertæ figuræ.' *Pitisci Lexicon*, v. *Cippus.*

No 14. is the fragment of the colossal statue of Ceres, taken from the ruins of the temple at Eleusis. An interesting account is here given of this fragment, and of the obstacles which the writer encountered, in a country destitute of all mechanical assistance, in attempting to remove a block of marble of two tons in weight.

The supposition, that it was part of one of the Cariatides, seems now no longer tenable. Were it so, the ornaments upon the *calathus* of the statue would indisputably have corresponded with the order of architecture observed in the temple; which is not the case. In addition to this circumstance it may be mentioned, that travellers who have since visited the spot, have been able to discover no trace whatever, that might warrant even the conjecture; and the artists employed by a late ambassador at the Porte, who were permitted to occupy themselves in researches of this nature, met only with disappointment. There is one circumstance connected with the antiquities of Eleusis, which, as it seems to bear reference to the statue, it may not be superfluous to introduce; especially as the fact has been derived from our own ocular testimony. To the westward of the temple, there lies at this moment the colossal fragment of a lion, executed in the marble of Mount Pentelicus, and corresponding in its proportions to the size of the Ceres. This same statue, τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ, is mentioned by the modern Greeks. See γεωγραφία νεωτερικὴ, ἐν βιέννῃ. 1791;—a work published by some Greeks of Magnesia, in Thessaly.

No. 19. is a scenic mask.—To what Dr Clarke has said, we may add, that Monges, in the Memoirs of the National Institute, i. 5., endeavours to show, that, in the theatre of Saguntum, which contained 12,000 spectators, and in that of Herculaneum, which held upwards of 30,000, the actors made themselves heard without masks; and thus the echea (Vitr. i. 5.) or resounding vases placed in the theatres, so far from being useful, must have impeded the sound, and rendered it less distinct and audible.

Dr Clarke observes 'the resemblance of this mask to the busts and antient portraits of Socrates.' But, did the antients all agree to represent Socrates like a Silenus, or Satyr? Epictetus gave him τὸ σῶμα ὑπηχεῖ καὶ τόν. Arrian. l. iv.; and he, say Fabricius and Heumannus, would not have spoken without reason.

No. 28. is a marble pillar found near the sources of the Scamander, with a Greek inscription, beautiful from its simplicity, and

and as old as the archonship of Euclid, according to the opinion of Professor Porson. It was most inaccurately given in Chevalier's account of Troy.

After No. 38., Dr Clarke has given a translation from the Greek of the trilinguar Rosetta stone. The translation at the end of Duane's Seleucidæ was corrected, at the request of Dr Clarke, by Professor Porson, who left the corrected copy with him; and from that the present version is now given to the public.

Dr Clarke has proposed an explanation of the Medusa's head seen on the breast of the statue of Ceres, which we have already mentioned. We shall here adduce some passages, tending to illustrate and confirm what he has said. 'Medusa's head signified the worship of Ceres: it was also a type of death.' Ceres, or Ἀξίερος, as she is called in the valuable scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, was represented as χθόνια, or the earth who receives the dead; and Plutarch says, that by the Athenians, the dead were called Δημητρέιοι. See the treatise *De Fac. in Orbe Lunæ.*

'The head of the Medusa appeared as the type of the moon.' Clemens Alex. says, Γοργονίον τὴν Σελήνην διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀυτῇ πρόσωπον. Strom. l. v. p. 675.

With regard to the protruded tongue of the Medusa, there is a singular passage in Phurnutus, de Nat. Deorum, c. 20. κεφαλὴ ἐν ἀυτῇ Γόργονος ἔστι κατὰ μέσον τῆς θεᾶς τὸ στῆθος, ἔξω προβεβήκυια τῆς γλώτταν. See also the Ranæ of Aristophanes, v. 387., and beginning of the fifth book of Diodorus Siculus.

'The Medusa's head,' says Dr Clarke, 'is found on many pateræ.' We have observed it on many lamps; and Passeri remarks, 'Medusæ caput frequenter in nostris lucernis signatum occurrit.' *Lucern. Fict. v. i. p. 62.*

A letter is inserted in the appendix, written to the author by the Earl of Aberdeen, giving an account of the contents of a tomb which was opened by him near Athens. In examining this tomb, a curious discovery was made. Lord Aberdeen found, encircling a head, a species of chaplet or band, connected by small bronze wires, and composed of Medusa heads. This ornament, he supposes, refers to some part of the Eleusinian mysteries. For the nature of the chaplet with which the initiated were crowned, the reader may consult the Schol. on Aristoph. Ran. v. 333.

We cannot close these few remarks without expressing our gratitude to Dr Clarke, both for the modesty and clearness of this exposition and illustration of those interesting remains of antiquity, and for the indefatigable zeal and exertion by which he has now placed them beyond the reach of ignorance and barbarism. The volume is elegantly printed; and the Greek types are singularly beautiful,

beautiful. It is adorned by four engravings; three from designs by Flaxman, and one from a drawing by Mr Gell, of the ruins of the temple of Eleusis.

ART. XIII. *Correspondance inedite de Mad. du Deffand, avec D'Alembert, Montesquieu, le President Henault, La Duchesse du Maine; Mesdames de Choiseul, de Staal, &c. &c.* 3 Tomes, 12mo. Paris, 1809.

Lettres de Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, écrites depuis l'Année 1773 *jusqu'à l'Année* 1776, *&c.* 3 Tomes, 12mo. Paris, 1809.

THE popular works of La Harpe and Marmontel have made the names at least of these ladies pretty well known in this country; and we have been induced to place their correspondence under one article, both because their history is in some measure connected, and because, though extremely unlike each other, they both form a decided contrast to our own national character, and, taken together, go far to exhaust what was peculiar in that of France.

Most of our readers probably remember what La Harpe and Marmontel have said of these two distinguished women; and, at all events, it is not necessary for our purpose to give more than a very superficial account of them. Mad. du Deffand was left a widow with a moderate fortune, and a great reputation for wit, about 1750, and soon after gave up her hotel, and retired to apartments in the *couvent* de St Joseph, where she continued to receive, almost every evening, whatever was most distinguished in Paris for rank, talent, or accomplishment. Having become almost blind in a few years thereafter, she found she required the attendance of some intelligent young woman, who might read and write for her, and assist in doing the honours of her *conversazioni*. For this purpose, she cast her eyes on Madlle. Lespinasse, the illegitimate daughter of a man of rank, who had been boarded in the same convent, and was for some time delighted with her election. By and by, however, she found that her young companion began to engross more of the notice of her visitors than she thought suitable; and parted from her with violent, ungenerous, and implacable displeasure. Madlle. de Lespinasse, however, carried with her the admiration of the greater part of her patroness's circle; and, having obtained a small pension from government, opened her own doors to a society not less brilliant than that into which she had been initiated under Mad. du Deffand. The fatigue, however,

however, which she had undergone in reading the old Marchioness asleep, had irreparably injured her health, which was still more impaired by the agitations of her own inflammable and ambitious spirit; and she died, before she had attained middle age, about 1776,—leaving on the minds of almost all the eminent men in France, an impression of talent, and of ardour of imagination, which seems to have been considered as without example. Mad. du Deffand continued to preside in her circle till a period of extreme old age; and died in 1780, in full possession of her faculties.

Where the letters that are now given to the world have been secreted for the last thirty years, or by whom they are at last published, we are not informed in either of the works before us. That they are authentic, we conceive, is demonstrated by internal evidence; though, if more of them are extant, the selection that has been made appears to us to be a little capricious. The correspondence of Mad. du Deffand reaches from the year 1738 to 1764;—that of Madlle. de Lespinasse extends only from 1773 to 1776. The two works, therefore, relate to different periods; and, being entirely of different characters, seem naturally to call for a separate consideration. We begin with the correspondence of Mad. du Deffand, both out of respect to her seniority, and because the variety which it exhibits seems to afford room for more observation.

As this lady's house was for fifty years the resort of every thing brilliant in Paris, it is natural to suppose, that she herself must have possessed no ordinary attraction, and to feel an eager curiosity to be introduced even to that shadow of her conversation which we may expect to meet with in her correspondence. Though the greater part of the letters are addressed to her by various correspondents, yet the few which she does write are strongly marked with the traces of her peculiar character and talent; and the whole taken together give a very lively idea of the structure and occupations of the best French society, in the days of its greatest splendour. Laying out of view the greater constitutional gaiety of our neighbours, it appears to us, that this society was distinguished from any that has ever existed in England, by three circumstances chiefly:—In the first place, by the exclusion of all low-bred persons; secondly, by the superior intelligence and cultivation of the women; and, finally, by the want of political avocations, and the absence of political antipathies.

By the first of these circumstances, the old Parisian society was rendered considerably more refined, and infinitely more easy and natural. The general and peremptory proscription of the *bourgeois*, excluded, no doubt, a good deal of vulgarity and coarseness; but it had a still better effect in excluding those feelings of

of mutual jealousy and contempt, and that conflict of family pride and consequential opulence, which can only be prevented from disturbing a more promiscuous assembly by means of universal and systematic reserve. Where all are noble, all are equal;—there is no room for ostentation or pretension of any sort;—every one is in his place every where; and the same manners being familiar to the whole society from their childhood, manners cease in a great measure to be an object of attention. Nobody apprehends any imputation of vulgarity, and nobody values himself on being free from it. The little peculiarities by which individuals are distinguished, are ascribed, not to ignorance or awkwardness, but to caprice merely, or to peculiarity of disposition; and not being checked by contempt or derision, are indulged, for the most part, as caprice or disposition may dictate; and thus the very highest society is brought back, and by the same causes, to much of the freedom and simplicity of the lowest.

In England, we have never had this arrangement. The great wealth of the mercantile classes, and the privilege which every man possesses of aspiring to every situation, has always prevented any such separation of the high and the low-born even in ordinary society, and made all large assemblages of people to a certain degree promiscuous. Great wealth, or great talents, being sufficient to raise a man to power and eminence, are necessarily received as a sufficient passport into private company, and fill it, on the large scale, with such motley and discordant characters, as visibly to endanger either its ease or its tranquillity. The pride of purse, and of rank, and of manners, mutually provoke each other; and vanities which were undiscovered while they were universal, soon become visible in the light of opposite vanities. With us, therefore, society, when it passes beyond select clubs and associations, is apt either to be distracted with little jealousies and divisions, or finally to settle into constraint, insipidity and reserve. People meeting from all the extremes of life, are afraid of being misconstrued, and despair of being understood. Conversation is left to a few professed talkers; and all the rest are satisfied to hold their tongues, and despise their neighbours in their hearts.

The superior cultivation of Frenchwomen, however, was productive of still more substantial advantages. Ever since Europe became civilised, the females of that country have stood more on an intellectual level with the men than in any other,—and have taken their share in the politics and literature, and public controversies of the day, far more largely than in any other nation with which we are acquainted. For more than two centuries, they have been umpires of polite letters, and the depositaries and the

the agents of those intrigues by which the functions of government are usually forwarded or impeded. They could talk, therefore, of every thing that men could wish to talk about; and general conversation, consequently, assumed a tone, both less frivolous and less uniform, than it has ever attained in our country.

The grand source, however, of the difference between the good society of France and of England, is, that, in the former country, men had nothing but society to attend to; whereas, in the latter, almost all who are considerable for rank or for talents, are continually engrossed with politics. They have no leisure, therefore, for society, in the first place: in the second place, if they do enter it at all, they are apt to regard it as a scene rather of relaxation than exertion; and, finally, they naturally acquire those habits of thinking and of talking, which are better adapted to carry on business and debate, than to enliven people assembled for amusement. In England, men of condition have to perform the high duties of citizens and statesmen, and can only rise to eminence by dedicating their days and nights to the study of business and affairs—to the arts of influencing those, with whom, and by whom, they are to act—and to the actual management of those strenuous contentions by which the government of a free state is perpetually embarrassed and preserved. In France, on the contrary, under the old monarchy, men of the first rank had no political functions to discharge—no controul to exercise over the government—and no rights to assert, either for themselves or their fellow subjects. They were either left, therefore, to solace their idleness with the frivolous enchantments of polished society, or, if they had any object of public ambition, were driven to pursue it by the mediation of those favourites or mistresses who were most likely to be won by the charms of an elegant address, or the assiduities of a skilful flatterer.

It is to this lamentable inferiority in the government and constitution of their country, that the French are indebted for the superiority of their polite assemblies. Their saloons are better filled than ours, because they have no senate to fill out of their population; and their conversation is more sprightly, and their society more animated than ours, because there is no other outlet for the talent and ingenuity of the nation but society and conversation. Our parties of pleasure, on the other hand, are left to beardless youths and superannuated idlers—not because our men want talents or taste to adorn them, but because their ambition, and their sense of public duty, has dedicated them to a higher service. When we lose our constitution—when the houses of Parliament are shut up, our assemblies, we have no doubt, will be far more animated and rational. It is easy to have splendid

gardens and parterres, if we will only give up our corn fields and our pastures: nor should we want for magnificent fountains and ornamental canals, if we were contented to drain the whole surrounding country of the rills that maintain its fertility and beauty.

But, while it is impossible to deny that the French enjoyed, in the agreeable constitution of their society, no slight compensation for the want of a free government, it is curious, and not unsatisfactory, to be able to trace the operation of this same compensating principle through all the departments we have alluded to. It is obviously to our free government, and to nothing else, that we owe that mixture of ranks and of characters, which certainly renders our large society less amiable, and less unconstrained, than that of the old French nobility. Men, possessed of wealth and political power, must be associated with by all with whom they choose to associate, and to whom their friendship or support is material. A trader who has bought his borough but yesterday, will not give his influence to any set of noblemen or ministers, who will not receive him and his family into their society, and agree to treat them as their equals. The same principle extends downwards by imperceptible gradations;—and the whole community is mingled in private life, it must be owned with some little discomfort, by the ultimate action of the same principles which combine them, to their incalculable benefit, in public.

Even the backwardness or the ignorance of our women may be referred to the same noble origin. Women have no legal or direct political functions in any country in the universe. In the arbitrary governments of Europe, however, they exert a personal influence over those in power and authority, which raises them into consequence, familiarizes them in some degree with business and affairs, and leads them to study the character and the dispositions of the most eminent persons of their day. In free states, again where the personal inclination of any individual can go but a little way, and where every thing must be canvassed and sanctioned by its legitimate censors, this influence is very inconsiderable; and women are excluded almost entirely from any concern in those affairs, with which the leading spirits of the country are necessarily occupied. They come, therefore, almost unavoidably, to be considered as of a lower order of intellect, and to act and to be treated upon that apprehension. The chief cause of their inferiority, however, arises from the circumstances that have been already stated. Most of the men of talent in upper life are engaged in pursuits from which women are necessarily excluded, and have no leisure to join in those pursuits which might occupy them in common. Being thus abandoned in a good degree to the society of the frivolous of our sex, it is impossible that they should

not be frivolous in their turn. In old France, on the contrary, the men of talents in upper life had little to do but to please and be pleased with the women; and they naturally came to acquire that knowledge and those accomplishments which fitted them for such society.

The last distinction between good French and good English society, arises from the different position which was occupied in each by the men of letters. In France, certainly, they mingled much more extensively with the polite world,—incalculably to the benefit both of that world, and of themselves. In England, our great scholars and authors have commonly lived in their studies, or in the society of a few learned friends or dependants; and their life has been so generally gloomy, laborious and inelegant, that literature and intellectual eminence have lost some of their honours, and much of their attraction. When a man takes to authorship, he is commonly looked upon as having renounced both the gay and busy world; and the consequence is, that the gay are extremely frivolous, and the active rash and superficial; while the man of genius is admired by posterity, and finishes his days rather dismally, without knowing or caring for any other denomination of men, than authors, booksellers and critics.

This distinction too, we think, arises out of the difference of government, or out of some of its more immediate consequences. Our politicians are too busy to mix with men of study; and our idlers are too weak and too frivolous. The studious, therefore, are driven in a great measure to herd with each other, and to form a little world of their own, in which all their peculiarities are aggravated, their vanity encouraged, and their awkwardness confirmed. In Paris, where talent and idleness met together, a society grew up, both more inviting and more accessible to men of thought and erudition. What they communicated to this society rendered it more intelligent and respectable; and what they learned from it, made them much more reasonable, amiable, and happy. They learned, in short, the true value of knowledge and of wisdom, by seeing exactly how much they could contribute to the government or the embellishment of life; and discovered, that there were sources both of pride and of happiness, far more important and abundant than thinking, writing, or reading.

It is curious, accordingly, to trace, in the volumes before us, the more intimate and private life of some of those distinguished men, whom we find it difficult to represent to ourselves under any other aspect, than that of the authors of their learned publications. D'Alembert, Montesquieu, Henault, and several others, all appear in those letters in their true and habitual character, of cheerful and careless men of the world—whose thoughts ran mostly on the little

exertions and amuſements of their daily ſociety; who valued even their greateſt works chiefly as the means of amuſing their leiſure, or of entitling them to the admiration of their acquaintances; and occupied themſelves about poſterity far leſs than poſterity will be occupied about them. It will probably ſcandalize a good part of *our* men of learning and ſcience (though we think it will be conſolatory to ſome) to be told, that there is great reaſon for ſuſpecting that the moſt profound of thoſe authors looked upon learning chiefly as a ſort of tranquil and innocent amuſement; to which it was very well to have recourſe when more lively occupations were not at hand, but which it was wiſe and meritorious, at all times, to poſtpone to pleaſant parties, and the natural play, either of the imagination or of the affections. It appears, accordingly, not only that they talked eaſily and familiarly of all their works to their female friends, but that they gave themſelves very little anxiety either about their ſale or their notoriety out of the ſphere of their own acquaintances, and made and invited all ſorts of jokes upon them with unfeigned gayety and indifference. The lives of our learned men would be much happier, and their learning much more uſeful and amiable, if they could be perſuaded to ſee things in the ſame light. It is more than time, however, to introduce the reader to the characters in the volumes before us.

Madame du Deffand's correſpondence conſiſts of letters from Monteſquieu, D'Alembert, Henault, D'Argens, Formont, Bernſtorff, Scheffer, &c. among the men,—and Meſdames De Staal, De Choiſeul, &c. among the women. Her own letters, as we have already intimated, form but a very inconſiderable part of the collection;—and, as theſe diſtinguiſhed names naturally excite, in perſons out of Paris, more intereſt than that of any witty Marchioneſs whatſoever, we ſhall begin with ſome ſpecimens of the intimate and private ſtyle of thoſe eminent individuals, who are already ſo well known for the value and the beauty of their public inſtructions.

Of theſe, the oldeſt and the moſt popularly known, was Monteſquieu,—an author who frequently appears profound when he is only paradoxical; and ſeems to have ſtudied with great ſucceſs the art of hiding a deſultory and fantaſtical ſtyle of reaſoning in impoſing aphoriſms and epigrams of conſiderable effect. It is impoſſible to read the *Eſprit des Loix*, without feeling that it is the work of an indolent and very ingenious perſon, who had fits of thoughtfulneſs and ambition, and had meditated the different points which it comprehends at long intervals, and then corrected them as he beſt could, by inſinuations, metaphors, and vague verbal diſtinctions. There is but little of him in this collection; but what there is, is extremely characteriſtic. D'Alembert had propoſed

posed to write the articles *Democracy* and *Despotism*, for the Encyclopedie; to which proposal he answers with much *naïveté*, as follows.

'Quant à mon introduction dans l'Encyclopédie, c'est un beau palais où je serais bien glorieux de mettre les pieds; mais pour les deux articles *Démocratie* et *Despotisme*, je ne voudrais pas prendre ceux-là; j'ai tiré, sur ces articles, de mon cerveau tout ce qui y était. *L'esprit que j'ai est un moule; on n'en tire jamais que les mêmes portraits;* ainsi je ne vous dirais que ce que j'ai dit, et peut-être plus mal que je ne l'ai dit. Ainsi, si vous voulez de moi, laissez à mon esprit le choix de quelques articles; et si vous voulez ce choix, ce sera chez madame du Deffand avec du marasquin. Le père Castel dit qu'il ne peut pas se corriger, parce qu'en corrigeant son ouvrage, il en fait un autre; et moi je ne puis pas me corriger, parce que je chante toujours la même chose. Il me vient dans l'esprit que je pourrais prendre peut-être l'article *Goût*, et je prouverai bien que *difficile est propriè communia dicere.*' I. p. 30, 31.

There is likewise another very pleasing letter to M. de Henault, and a gay copy of verses to Madame de Mirepoix;—but we hasten on to a personage still more engaging. Of all the men of genius that ever existed, D'Alembert perhaps is the most amiable and truly respectable. The great extent and variety of his learning, his vast attainments and discoveries in the mathematical sciences, and the beauty and eloquence of his literary compositions, are known to all the world; but the simplicity and openness of his character—his perpetual gentleness and gayety in society—the unostentatious independence of his sentiments and conduct—his natural and cheerful superiority to all feelings of worldly ambition, jealousy, or envy—and that air of perpetual youth and unassuming kindness, which made him so delightful and so happy in the society of women,—are traits which we scarcely expect to find in combination with those splendid qualifications; and compose altogether a character of which we should have been tempted to question the reality, were we not fortunate enough to be familiar with its counterpart in one living individual.

It is not possible, perhaps, to give a better idea of the character of D'Alembert, than merely to state the fact, and the reason of his having refused to go to Berlin, to preside over the academy founded there by Frederic. In answer to a most flattering and urgent application from that sovereign, he writes thus to M. D'Argens. *

* This learned person writes in a very affected and *precieuse* style. He ends one of his letters to D'Alembert with the following eloquent expression.—'Ma santé s'effoiblit tous les jours de plus en plus; et je 'me dispose à aller faire bientot mes reverences au pere eternel: mais 'tandis que je resterai dans ce monde je serai le plus zelé de nos ad-'mirateurs.'

« La situation où je suis seroit peut-être, monsieur, un motif suffisant pour bien d'autres, de renoncer à leur pays ; ma fortune est au-dessous du mediocre ; 1700 liv. de rente font tout mon revenu : entièrement indépendant et maître de mes volontés, je n'ai point de famille qui s'y oppose ; oublié du gouvernement comme tant de gens le sont de la Providence, persécuté même autant qu'on peut l'être quand on évite de donner trop d'avantages sur soi à la méchanceté des hommes ; je n'ai aucune part aux récompenses qui pleuvent ici sur les gens de lettres, avec plus de profusion que de lumieres. Malgré tout cela, monsieur, la tranquillité dont je jouis est si parfaite et si douce, que je ne puis me résoudre à lui faire courir le moindre risque. »

—« Supérieur à la mauvaise fortune, les épreuves de toute espèce que j'ai essuyées dans ce genre m'ont endurci à l'indigence et au malheur, et ne m'ont laissé de sensibilité que pour ceux qui me ressemblent ; à force de privations, je me suis accoutumé sans effort à me contenter du plus étroit nécessaire, et je serois même en état de partager mon peu de fortune avec d'honnêtes gens plus pauvres que moi. J'ai commencé, comme les autres hommes, par désirer les places et les richesses, j'ai fini par y renoncer absolument, et de jour en jour je m'en trouve mieux. La vie retirée et assez obscure que je mene est parfaitement conforme à mon caractère, à mon amour extrême pour l'indépendance, et peut-être même à un peu d'éloignement que les événemens de ma vie m'ont inspiré pour les hommes. La retraite ou le régime que me prescrivent mon état et mon goût m'ont procuré la santé la plus parfaite et la plus égale, c'est-à-dire, le premier bien d'un philosophe ; enfin j'ai le bonheur de jouir d'un petit nombre d'amis, dont le commerce et la confiance font la consolation et le charme de ma vie. Jugez maintenant vous même, monsieur, s'il m'est possible de renoncer à ces avantages, et de changer un bonheur sûr pour une situation toujours incertaine, quelque brillante qu'elle puisse être. Je ne doute nullement des bontés du roi, et de tout ce qu'il peut faire pour me rendre agréable mon nouvel état ; mais malheureusement pour moi, toutes les circonstances essentielles à mon bonheur ne sont pas en son pouvoir. Si ma santé venoit à s'altérer, ce qui ne seroit que trop à craindre, que deviendrois-je alors ? Incapable de me rendre utile au roi, je me verrois forcé à aller finir mes jours loin de lui, et à reprendre dans ma patrie, ou ailleurs, mon ancien état, qui auroit perdu ses premiers charmes. Peut-être même n'aurois-je plus la consolation de retrouver en France les amis que j'y aurois laissés, et à qui je percerois le cœur par mon départ. Je vous avoue, monsieur, que cette dernière raison seule peut tout sur moi.

« Enfin (et je vous prie d'être persuadé que je ne cherche point à me parer ici d'une fausse modestie) je doute que je fusse aussi propre à cette place que S. M. veut bien le croire. Livré dès mon enfance à des études continuelles, je n'ai que dans la théorie la connoissance des hommes, qui est si nécessaire dans la pratique quand on a affaire à eux. La tranquillité, et, si je l'ose dire, *l'oisiveté* du cabinet, m'ont rendu absolument incapable des détails auxquels le chef d'un corps

doit

doit se livrer. D'ailleurs, dans les différens objets dont l'Académie s'occupe, il en est qui me sont entièrement inconnus, comme la chimie, l'histoire naturelle, et plusieurs autres, sur lesquels par conséquent je ne pourrois être aussi utile que je le désirerois. Enfin une place aussi brillante que celle dont le roi veut m'honorer, oblige à une sorte de représentation tout à fait éloignée du train de vie que j'ai pris jusqu'ici; elle engage à un grand nombre de devoirs, et les devoirs sont les entraves d'un homme libre.' II. 73–78.

This whole tranſaction was kept quite ſecret for many months; and, when it began to take air, he ſpeaks of it to Madame du Deffand, in the following natural manner.

'Après tout, que cela se répande ou ne se répande pas, je n'en suis ni fâché ni bien-aise. Je garderai au roi de Prusse son secret, même lorsqu'il ne l'exige plus, et vous verrez aisément que mes lettres n'ont pas été faites pour être vues du ministere de France; je suis bien résolu de ne lui pas demander plus de grâces qu'aux ministres du roi de Congo, et je me contenterai que la postérité lise sur mon tombeau; *il fut estimé des honnêtes gens, et est mort pauvre, parce qu'il l'a bien voulu.* Voilà, madame, de quelle manière je pense. Je ne veux braver ni aussi flatter les gens qui m'ont fait du mal, ou qui sont dans la disposition de m'en faire; mais je me conduirai de manière que je les réduirai seulement à ne me pas faire du bien.' II. 33, 34.

Upon publiſhing his Melanges, he was furiouſly attacked by a variety of acrimonious writers; and all his revenge was to retire to his geometry, and to write ſuch letters as the following to Mad. Du Deffand.

'Me voilà claquemuré pour long-temps, et vraisemblablement pour toujours, dans ma triste, mais très chère et très paisible géométrie. Je suis fort content de trouver un prétexte pour ne plus rien faire, dans le déchaînement que mon livre a excité contre moi. Je n'ai pourtant ni attaqué personne, ni même désigné qui que ce soit, plus que n'a fait l'auteur du Méchant, et vingt autres, contre lesquels personne ne s'est déchaîné. Mais il n'y a qu'heur et malheur. Je n'ai besoin ni de l'amitié de tous ces gens-là, puisque assurément je ne veux rien leur demander, ni de leur estime, puisque j'ai bien résolu de ne jamais vivre avec eux: aussi je les mets à pis faire.

'Adieu, Madame; hâtez votre retour. Que ne savez-vous de la géométrie! qu'avec elle on se passe de bien des choses!' I. 104–5.

'Mon ouvrage est public, il s'est un peu vendu, les frais de l'impression sont retirés; les eloges, les critiques et l'argent viendront quand ils voudront.'—'Je n'ai encore rien touché. Je vous manderai ce que je gagnerai: il n'y a pas d'apparence que cela se monte fort haut; il n'y a pas d'apparence non plus que je continue à travailler dans ce genre. *Je ferai de la géométrie et je lirai Tacite.* Il me semble qu'on a grande envie que je me taise, et en vérité je ne demande pas mieux. Quand ma petite fortune ne suffira plus à ma subsistence, je me retirerai dans quelque endroit où je puisse vivre et

mourir à bon marché. Adieu, Madame. Estimez, comme moi, les hommes ce qu'ils valent, et il ne vous manquera rien pour être heureuse. On dit Voltaire raccommode avec le roi de Prusse, et Maupertuis retombe. Ma foi, les hommes sont bien foux, à commencer par les sages.' II. 50, 51.

'Eh bien! vous ne voulez donc pas, ni Formont non plus, que je me claquemure dans ma géométrie? J'en suis pourtant bien tenté. Si vous saviez combien cette géométrie est une retraite douce à la paresse! et puis les sots ne vous lisent point, et par conséquent ne vous blâment ni ne vous louent: et comptez-vous cet avantage là pour rien? En tout cas, j'ai de la géométrie pour un an, tout au moins. Ah! que je fais à présent de belles choses que personne ne lira.

'J'ai bien quelques morceaux de littérature à traiter, qui seroient peut-être assez agréables; mais je chasse tout cela de ma tête, comme mauvais train. La géométrie est ma femme, et je me suis remis en ménage.

'Avec cela, j'ai plus d'argent devant moi que je n'en puis dépenser. Ma foi, on est bien fou de se tant tourmenter pour des choses qui ne rendent pas plus heureux: on a bien plutôt fait de dire: Ne pourrois-je pas me passer de cela? Et c'est la recette dont j'use depuis long-temps.' II. 52, 53.

With all this softness and carelessness of character, nothing could be more firm and inflexible, when truth and justice were in question. The President Henault was the oldest and first favourite of Mad. Du Deffand; and, at the time of publishing the Encyclopædia, Mad. Du Deffand had more power over D'Alembert than any other person. She wished very much that something flattering should be said of her favourite in the Introductory Discourse, which took a review of the progress of the arts and sciences; but D'Alembert resisted, with heroic courage, all the entreaties that were addressed to him on this subject. The following may serve as specimens of the tone which he maintained on the occasion.

'Je suis devenu cent fois plus amoureux de la retraite et de la solitude, que je ne l'étois quand vous avez quitté Paris. Je dine et soupe chez moi tous les jours, ou presque tous les jours, et je me trouve très bien de cette manière de vivre. Je vous verrai donc quand vous n'aurez personne, et aux heures où je pourrai espérer de vous trouver seule; dans d'autres temps, j'y rencontrerois votre président, qui m'embarrasseroit, parce qu'il croiroit avoir des reproches à me faire, que je ne crois point en mériter, et que je ne veux pas être dans le cas de le désobliger, en me justifiant auprès de lui. Ce que vous me demandez pour lui est impossible, et je puis vous assurer qu'il est bien impossible, puisque je ne fais pas cela pour vous. En premier lieu, le Discours préliminaire est imprimé, il y a plus de six semaines: ainsi je ne pourrois pas l'y fourrer aujourd'hui, même quand

quand je le voudrois. En second lieu pensez-vous de bonne foi, madame, que dans un ouvrage destiné à célébrer les grands génies de la nation et les ouvrages qui ont véritablement contribué aux progrès des lettres et des sciences, je doive parler de l'Abrégé chronologique? C'est un ouvrage utile, j'en conviens, et assez commode; mais voilà tout en vérité: c'est-là ce que les gens de lettres en pensent, c'est-là ce qu'on en dira quand le président ne sera plus: et quand je ne serai plus moi, je suis jaloux qu'on ne me reproche pas d'avoir donné d'éloges excessifs à personne.' II. 35, 36.

'J'ai une confession à vous faire: j'ai parlé de lui dans l'Encyclopédie, non pas à *Chronologie*, car cela est pour Newton, Petau et Scaliger, mais à *Chronologique*. J'y dis que nous avons, en notre langue, plusieurs bons abréges chronologiques: le sien, un autre qui vaut pour le moins autant, et un troisieme qui vaut mieux. Cela n'est pas dit si crûment, ainsi ne vous fâchez pas. Il trouvera la louange bien mince, surtout la partageant avec d'autres; mais Dieu et vous, et même vous toute seule, ne me feroient pas changer de langage.'—'Il fera sur l'Académie tout ce qui lui plaira; ma conduite prouve que je ne désire point d'en être, et en verité je le serois sans lui, si j'en avois bien envie; mais le plaisir de dire la vérité librement quand on n'outrage ni n'attaque personne, vaut mieux que toutes les Académies du monde, depuis la Françoise, jusqu'à celle de Dugast.'—'Puisque je suis déjà d'une Académie, c'est un petit agrément de plus que d'être des autres: mais si j'avois mon expérience, et quinze ans de moins, je vous réponds que je ne serois d'aucune.' II. 56—64.

From D'Alembert we may pass on to M. Desaleurs, the French ambassador at Constantinople in 1748, who writes several very entertaining and amiable letters from that residence to Mad. du Deffand. His account of the Turks, we think, is excellent.

'Le commun est très-grossier, très-ignorant, très-superstitieux; les gens lettrés, parmi eux, très-taciturnes et très-silencieux; tous fort intéressés, d'assez bonne foi cependant; *demandant avec bassesse, recevant avec orgueil;* assez reconnoissans quand on les oblige et qu'on en a besoin; philosophes sans art, mais par tempérament; aujourd'hui grands, demain dans le néant, toujours egaux; le peuple dévot de bonne foi à Mahomet; les grands déistes, mais hypocrites à l'excès; assez polis, pourvu que l'on convienne qu'on peut être poli sans révérences et sans complimens, et qu'on ne s'arrête qu'à des choses dites avec simplicité, qui paroissent naturelles, et venir du cœur.' II. 138, 139.

His account of the Diplomatic Society, too, has merit.

'Le roi étant le plus grand prince de l'Europe, son ambassadeur est ici le premier, et à toute l'endosse d'un assemblage tumultueux; sa maison est le rendez-vous des ennuyeux il y a tous les jours du monde à diner, point de soupers, de quadrilles ou reversis, peu de conversation. Les ambassadeurs, ou ministres, toujours occupés du

cérémonial, gênent ou fatiguent beaucoup. Les négocians, plus instruits de leurs intérêts que d'autre chose, ne sont pas d'une grande ressource. Le carnaval est un peu plus animé; il y a bal au palais de France tous les Dimanches: quelquefois cinquante ou soixante femmes viennent y danser, et y soupent ce jour-là; ce qui fait un assez beau spectacle, par leurs coiffures à la Grecque, que je trouve assez belles: peut-être que l'illusion ne consiste que dans la nouveauté de ce coup d'œil. La plus grande partie de ces femmes parlent assez mal l'Italien; je l'entends un peu, mais je ne le parle point; elles parlent très-bien Grec, moi point du tout. En général, elles parlent peu, pensent encore moins: il n'y a que ce qui regarde leur vanité, leur jalousie, enfin toutes leurs passions, qu'elles conduisent tout comme en France.' II. 140, 141.

We may now take a peep at the female correspondents,—in the first rank of whom we must place Madame de Staal, so well known to most of our readers by her charming Memoirs. This lady was attached to the court of the Dutchess of Maine; and her letters, independent of the wit and penetration they display, are exceedingly interesting, from the near and humiliating view they afford of the miserable ennui, the selfishness and paltry jealousies which brood in the atmosphere of a court,—and abundantly avenge the lowly for the outward superiority that is assumed by its inhabitants. There are few things more instructive, or more compassionable, than the picture which Mad. de Staal has drawn, in the following passages, of her poor princess dragging herself about in the rain and the burning sun, in the vain hope of escaping from the load of her own inanity,—seeking relief in the multitude of her visitors from the sad vacuity of friendship and animation around her, —and poorly trying to revenge herself for her own unhappiness, by making every body near her uncomfortable.

'Je lus avant-hier votre lettre, ma reine, à S. A. Elle était dans un accès de frayeur du tonnerre, qui ne fit pas valoir vos galanteries. J'aurai soin une autre fois de ne vous pas exposer à l'orage. Nous nageons ces jours passés dans la joie, nous nageons à présent dans la pluie. Nos idées, devenues douces et agréables, vont reprendre toute leur noirceur. Pardessus cela est arrivé, depuis deux jours, à notre princesse un rhume, avec de la fièvre: ce nonobstant et malgré le temps diabolique, la promenade va toujours son train. Il semble que la Providence prenne soin de construire pour les princes des corps à l'usage de leurs fantaisies, sans quoi ils ne pourraient attraper âge d'homme.' I. 161, 162.

'En dépit d'un troisième orage plus violent que les deux précédens, nous arrivons d'une chasse: nous avons essuyé la bordée au beau milieu de la forêt. J'espérais éviter comme à l'ordinaire, cette belle partie; mais on a adroitement tiré parti des raisons que j'avais alleguées pour m'en dispenser; ce qui m'a mis hors d'état de reculer. C'est dommage qu'un art si ingénieux soit employé à désoler les gens.' I. 164.

' Je suis très fâchée que vous manquiez d'amusemens : c'est un médicament nécessaire à la santé ; notre princesse le pense bien ; car étant véritablement malade, elle va sans fin, sans cesse, quelque temps qu'il fasse.' I. 168.

' Nous faisons, nous disons toujours les mêmes choses : les promenades, les observations sur le vent, le cavagnole, les remarques sur la perte et le gain, les mesures pour tenir les portes fermées quelque chaud qu'il fasse, la désolation de ce qu'on appelle les étouffés, au nombre desquels je suis, et dont vous n'êtes pas, qualité qui redouble le désir de votre société.' I. 197.

' Le désir d'être entouré augmente de jour en jour, et je prévois que si vous tenez un appartement sans l'occuper, on aura grand regret à ce que vous ferez perdre, quoique ce puisse être. Les grands, à force de s'étendre, deviennent si minces qu'on voit le jour au travers : c'est une belle étude de les contempler, je ne sais rien qui ramène plus à la philosophie. Je passe bien à la vôtre de ne se pas départir des commodités ; mais je désapprouve qu'on se fasse un tourment du soin d'être à son aise, comme je le vois souvent.' I. 207, 208.

' Rien n'est égal à la surprise et au chagrin où l'on est, ma reine, d'avoir appris que vous avez été chez Madame la Duchesse de Modène. Un amant bien passionné et bien jaloux supporte plus tranquillement les démarches les plus suspectes, qu'on n'endure celle-ci de votre part. " Vous allez vous dévouer là, abandonner tout le reste ; voilà à quoi on étoit réservé : c'est une destinée bien cruelle ! " &c. J'ai dit ce qu'il y avoit à dire pour ramener le calme ; on n'a voulu rien entendre. Quoique je ne doive plus m'étonner, cette scène a encore trouvé moyen de me surprendre. Venez, je vous conjure, ma reine, nous rassurer contre cette alarme : ne louez point la personne dont il s'agit, et surtout ne parlez pas de son affliction ; car cela seroit pris pour un reproche.' II. 22, 23.

All this is miserable : but such are the necessary consequences of being bred up among flatterers and dependants. A prince has more chance to escape this heartlessness and insignificance ; because he has high and active duties to discharge, which necessarily occupy his time, and exercise his understanding ; but the education of a princess is a work of as great difficulty as it may come to be of importance. We must make another extract or two from Mad. de Staal, before taking leave of her.

' Madame du Chatelet et Voltaire, qui s'étaient annoncés pour aujourd'hui et qu'on avait perdus de vue, parurent hier, sur le minuit, comme deux spectres, avec une odeur de corps embaumés qu'ils semblaient avoir apportée de leurs tombeaux. On sortait de table. C'étaient pourtant des spectres affamés : il leur fallut un souper, et qui plus est des lits qui n'étaient pas préparés. La concierge, déja couchée, se leva à grande hâte. Gaya, qui avait offert son logement pour les cas pressans, fut forcé de le céder dans celui-ci, déménagea

avec

avec autant de précipitation et de déplaisir qu'une armée surprise dans son camp, laissant une partie de son bagage au pouvoir de l'ennemi. Voltaire s'est bien trouvé du gite : cela n'a point du tout consolé Gaya. Pour la dame, son lit ne s'est pas trouvé bien fait : il a fallu la déloger aujourd'hui. Notez que ce lit elle l'avait fait elle-même, faute de gens, et avait trouvé un défaut de....dans les matelas, ce qui, je crois, a plus blessé son esprit exact que son corps peu délicat. '—' Nos revenans ne se montrent point de jour, ils apparurent hier à dix heures du soir : je ne pense pas qu'on les voie guere plus tôt aujourd'hui ; l'un est à décrire de hauts faits, l'autre à commenter Newton ; ils ne veulent ni jouer ni se promener : ce sont bien des non-valeurs dans une société, ou leurs doctes écrits ne sont d'aucun rapport. '—' Madame du Châtelet est d'hier à son troisième logement : elle ne pouvait plus supporter celui qu'elle avait choisi ; il y avait du bruit, de la fumée sans feu (il me semble que c'est son emblême.) Le bruit, ce n'est pas la nuit qu'il l'incommode, à ce qu'elle m'a dit, mais le jour, au fort de son travail : cela derange ses idées. Elle fait actuellement la revue de ses principes : c'est un exercice qu'elle réitère chaque année, sans quoi ils pourraient s'échapper, et peut être s'en aller si loin qu'elle n'en retrouverait pas un seul. Je crois bien que sa tête est pour eux une maison de force, et non pas le lieu de leur naissance : c'est le cas de veiller soigneusement à leur garde. Elle préfere le bon air de cette occupation à tout amusement, et persiste à ne se montrer qu'à la nuit close. Voltaire a fait des vers galans, qui réparent un peu le mauvais effet de leur conduite inusitée. ' I. 178, 179, 182, 185, 186.

After all this experience of the follies of the great and the learned, this lively little woman concludes in the true tone of French poetical philosophy.

' O ma reine ! que les hommes et leurs femelles sont de plaisans animaux ! Je ris de leurs manœuvres le jour que j'ai bien dormi ; quand le sommeil me manque, je suis prête à les assommer. Cette variété de mes dispositions me fait voir que je ne dégénère pas de mon espèce. Moquons-nous des autres, et qu'ils se moquent de nous, c'est bien fait de toute part. ' I. 181.

Among the lady writers in these volumes, we do not know if there be any entitled to take precedence of la Ducheſſe de Choiſeul, who writes thus learnedly on the ſubject of ennui to Madame du Deffand.

' Savez-vous pourquoi vous vous ennuyez tant, ma chère enfant ? C'est justement par la peine que vous prenez *d'éviter, de prévoir, de combattre* l'ennui. - Vivez au jour la journée, prenez le temps comme il vient, profitez de tous les momens, et avec cela vous verrez que vous ne vous ennuirez pas : si les circonstances vous sont contraires, cédez au torrent et ne prétendez pas y résister. '—

' Je m'aperçois, ma chère enfant, que je vous dis des choses bien communes ; mais accoutumez-vous à les supporter, 1° parce que je

ne

ne suis pas en état de vous en dire d'autres; 2° parce qu'en morale elles sont toujours les plus vraies, parce qu'elles tiennent à la nature. Après avoir bien exercé son esprit, le philosophe le plus éclairé sera obligé d'en revenir, à cet égard, à l'axiome du plus grand sot, de même qu'il partage avec lui l'air qu'il respire.'—'Les préjugés se multiplient, les arts s'accroissent, les sciences s'approfondissent; mais la morale est toujours la même, parce que la nature ne change pas; elle est toujours réduite à ces deux points: être juste pour être bon, être sage pour être heureux. Sadi, poëte Persan, dit *que la sagesse est de jouir, la bonté de faire jouir:* j'y ajoute la justice.'—

'La vie que je mène ici est la plus uniforme possible; mais de cette uniformité même naissent une infinité de petites varietés qui tiennent à sa nature, qui ne coûtent pas de peine à arranger, ni de fatigue pour en jouir, et qui n'en sont que plus douces. Enfin, si nos plaisirs ne sont pas grands, du moins nos peines sont légeres. Je suis bien et tres-bien, et si bien que je m'abonnerois à être toujours comme cela: ce qui prouve que je n'ai pas encore acquis le dernier periode de ma philosophie, car elle devroit me rendre tous les lieux et tous les genres de vie égaux.' II. 125—128.

In another place she adds,

'Je n'ai jamais eu de la jeunesse que cette heureuse duperie que l'on m'a sitôt et si inhumainement arrachée; mais ce n'est pas le regret de sa perte qui me fait chercher la solitude. Quoique les connoissances que j'ai acquises ne me dédommagent pas de l'ignorance que j'ai perdue, j'ai assez d'autres dédommagemens d'ailleurs pour me trouver aussi heureuse que si j'étois jeune et dupe. Je vis dans l'espérance de l'être encore (dupe s'entend); et ce moment de plaisir vaut bien la peine d'être acheté, et sera toujours autant de pris sur l'ennemi. Mais c'est l'active et bruyante oisiveté de ma vie journalière qui m'oblige à chercher ces momens de repos, aussi nécessaires à mon âme qu'à mon corps. Il y a trois choses dont vous dites que les femmes ne conviennent jamais: l'une d'entre elles est de s'ennuyer. Je n'en conviens pas non plus ici: malgré vos soupçons, je vois mes ouvriers, je crois conduire leurs ouvrages. A ma toilette, j'ai cette petite Corbie qui est laide, mais fraîche comme une pêche, folle comme un jeune chien; qui chante, qui rit, qui joue du clavecin, qui danse, qui saute au lieu de marcher, qui ne sait ce qu'elle fait, et fait tout avec grâce, qui ne sait ce qu'elle dit, et dit tout avec esprit, et surtout une naïveté charmante. La nuit je dors, le jour je rêve, et ces plaisirs si doux, si passifs, si bêtes, sont précisément ceux qui me conviennent le mieux.' II. 134, 135.

It is time now that we should come to Madame du Deffand herself;—the wittiest, the most selfish, and the most ennuyé of the whole party. Her wit, to be sure, is very enviable, and very entertaining; but it is really consolatory to common mortals, to find how little it could amuse its possessor. This did not proceed in her, however, from the fastidiousness which is sometimes

supposed

ſuppoſed to ariſe from a long familiarity with excellence, ſo much as from a long habit of ſelfiſhneſs, or rather from a radical want of heart or affection. La Harpe ſays of her, 'Qu'il etoit difficile d'avoir moins de ſenſibilité et plus degoïſme.' With all this, ſhe was greatly given to gallantry in her youth; though her attachments, it would ſeem, were of a kind not very likely to interfere with her peace of mind. The very evening her firſt lover died, after an intimacy of twenty years, La Harpe aſſures us, 'Qu'elle vint 'ſouper en grande compagnie chez Madame de Marchais, où 'j'étois; et on lui parla de la perte qu'elle venait de faire. *Hé-* '*las! il est mort ce soir à six heures; sans cela, vous ne me ver-* '*riez pas ici.* Ce furent ſes propres paroles; et elle ſoupa com-'me à ſon ordinaire, c'eſt-à-dire fort bien; car elle était très-'gourmande.' (Pref. p. xvi.) She is alſo recorded to have frequently declared, that ſhe could never bring herſelf to love any thing,—though, in order to take every poſſible chance, ſhe had ſeveral times attempted to become *devote*—with no great ſucceſs. This, we have no doubt, is the ſecret of her ennui; and a fine example it is of the utter worthleſsneſs of all talent, accompliſhment and glory, when diſconnected from thoſe feelings of kindneſs and generoſity, which are of themſelves ſufficient for happineſs. Madame du Deffand, however, muſt have been delightful to thoſe who ſought only for amuſement. Her tone is admirable; her wit flowing and natural; and though a little given to detraction, and not a little importunate and *exigeante* towards thoſe on whoſe complaiſance ſhe had claims, there is always an air of politeneſs in her raillery, and of knowledge of the world in her murmurs, that prevents them from being either weariſome or offenſive.

Almoſt all the letters of her writing, which are publiſhed in theſe volumes, ſeem to have been written in the month of July 1742, when ſhe ſpent a few weeks at the waters of *Forges*, and wrote almoſt daily to the Preſident Henault at Paris. This cloſe correſpondence of theirs fills one of theſe volumes; and, conſidering the rapidity and careleſſneſs with which both parties muſt have written, muſt give, we ſhould think, a very correct, and certainly a very favourable idea of the ſtyle of their ordinary converſation. We ſhall give a few extracts very much at random. She had made the journey along with a Mad. de Péquigni, of whom ſhe gives the following account.

'Mais venons à un article bien plus intéressant, c'est ma compagne. O mon Dieu! qu'elle me déplaît! Elle est radicalement folle; elle ne connoit point d'heure pour ses repas; elle a déjeûné à Gisors à huit heures du matin, avec du veau froid; à Gournay, elle a mangé du pain trempé dans le pot, pour nourrir un Limousin, ensuite

ensuite un morceau de brioche, et puis trois assez grands biscuits. Nous arrivons, il n'est que deux heures et demie, et elle veut du riz et une capilotade ; elle mange comme un singe ; ses mains ressemblent à leurs pattes ; elle ne cesse de bavarder. Sa prétention est d'avoir de l'imagination et de voir toutes choses sous des faces singulières, et comme la nouveauté des idées lui manque, elle y supplée par la bizarrerie de l'expression, sous prétexte qu'elle est naturelle. Elle me déclare toutes ses fantaisies, en m'assurant qu'elle ne veut que ce qui me convient ; mais je crains d'être forcé à être sa complaisante ; cependant je compte bien que cela ne s'étendra pas sur ce qui intéressera mon régime. Elle comptoit tout à l'heure s'établir dans ma chambre pour y faire ses repas, mais je lui ai dit que j'allois écrire : je l'ai priée de faire dire à Madame Laroche les heures où elle vouloit manger et ce qu'elle voudroit manger, et où elle vouloit manger ; et que, pour moi, je comptois avoir la même liberté : en conséquence je mangerai du riz et un poulet à huit heures du soir.' II. 191, 192.

After a few days she returns again to this unfortunate companion.

' La Péquigni n'est d'aucune ressource, et son esprit est comme l'espace : il y a étendue, profondeur, et peut-être toutes les autres dimensions que je ne saurais dire, parce que je ne les sais pas ; mais cela n'est que du vide pour l'usage. Elle a tout senti, tout jugé, tout éprouvé, tout choisi, tout rejeté ; elle est, dit-elle, d'une difficulté singulière en compagnie, et cependant elle est toute la journée avec toutes nos petites madames à jaboter comme une pie. Mais ce n'est pas cela qui me déplaît en elle : cela m'est commode dès aujourd'hui, et cela me sera très agréable sitôt que Formont sera arrivé. Ce qui m'est insupportable, c'est le dîner : elle a l'air d'une folle en mangeant ; elle dépèce une poularde dans le plat où on la sert, ensuite elle la met dans un autre, se fait rapporter du bouillon pour mettre dessus, tout semblable à celui qu'elle rend, et puis elle prend un haut d'aile, ensuite le corps dont elle ne mange que la moitié ; et puis elle ne veut pas que l'on retourne le veau pour couper un os, de peur qu'on n'amolisse la peau ; elle coupe un os avec toute la peine possible, elle le ronge à demi, puis retourne à sa poularde ; après elle pèle tout le dessus du veau, ensuite elle revient à ronger sa poularde : cela dure deux heures. Elle a sur son assiette des morceaux d'os rongés, de peaux sucées, et pendant ce temps, ou je m'ennuie à la mort, ou je mange plus qu'il ne faudrait. C'est une curiosité de lui voir manger un biscuit ; cela dure une demi-heure, et le total, c'est qu'elle mange comme un loup. il est vrai qu'elle fait un exercice enragé. Je suis fâchée que vous ayez de commun avec elle l'impossibilité de rester une minute en repos. Enfin voulez-vous que je vous le dise ? elle est on ne peut pas moins aimable : elle a sans doute de l'esprit ; mais tout cela est mal digéré, et je ne crois pas qu'elle vaille jamais davantage. Elle est aisée à vivre ; mais je la défierais d'être difficile avec moi : je me soumets

soumets à toutes ses fantaisies, parce qu'elles ne me font rien ; notre union présente n'aura nulle suite pour l'avenir. Si je n'avais pas l'occupation de vous écrire je m'ennuierais à la mort ; mais cela remplit une bonne partie de la journée, et me voilà toute accoutumée à me coucher de bonne heure. Je crois avoir fait un excès quand dix heures et demie me surprennent debout.' III. 39—41.

The rest of her company do not come any better off. The lady she praises most, seems to come near to the English character.

'Madame de Bancour a trente ans, elle n'est pas vilaine ; elle est très-douce et très-polie, et ce n'est pas sa faute de n'être pas plus amusante ; c'est faute d'avoir rien vu : car elle a du bon sens, n'a nulle prétention et est fort naturelle ; son ton de voix est doux, naïf et même un peu niais dans le goût de Jeliot ; si elle avait vécu dans le monde, elle serait aimable : je lui fais conter sa vie ; elle est occupée de ses devoirs, sans austerité ni ostentation ; si elle ne m'ennuyait pas, elle me plairait assez.' III. 26.

The following are some of her wailings over her banishment.

'Il me prend des étonnemens funestes d'être ici : c'est comme la pensée de la mort ; si je ne m'en distrayais, j'en mourrais réellement. Vous ne sauriez vous figurer la tristesse de ce séjour ; mais si fait, puisque vous êtes à Plombières : mais non ; c'est que ce n'est point le lieu, c'est la compagnie dont il est impossible de faire aucun usage. Heureusement depuis que je suis ici, j'ai un certain hébêtement qui ferait que je n'entendrais pas le plus petit raisonnement : je végéte.' —'Je ne crois pas qu'aucun remede puisse être bon lorsqu'on s'ennuie autant que je fais : ce n'est pas que je supporte mon mal patiemment ; mais jamais je ne suis bien-aise, et ce n'est que parce que je végète que je suis tranquille : quand dix heures arrivent je suis ravie, je vois la fin de la journée avec délices. Si je n'avais pas mon lit et mon fauteuil, je serais cent fois plus malheureuse.' III. 96—98.

The following, though short, is a good specimen of the tone in which she treats her lover.

'Je crois que vous me regrettez, c'est-à-dire, que vous pensez beaucoup à moi. Mais (comme de raison) vous vous divertissez fort bien : vous êtes comme les quiétistes, vous faites tout en moi, pour moi et par moi ; mais le fait est que vous faites tout sans moi et que vos journées se passent gaiment, que vous jouissez d'une certaine liberté qui vous plait, et vous êtes fort aise que pendant ce temps-là je travaille à me bien porter. Mes nuits ne sont pas trop bonnes, et je crois que c'est que je mange un peu trop : hier je me suis retranché le bœuf, aujourd'hui je compte réformer la quantité de pain.'—'N'allez point vous corriger sur rien, j'aime que vous me parliez ormeaux, ruisseaux, moineaux, etc., et ce m'est une occasion très-agréable de vous donner des démentis, de vous confondre, de vous tourmenter, c'est je crois ce qui contribue le plus à me faire passer mes eaux.' III. 126-7-9.

We

We have ſcarcely left ourſelves room to give any of the gentleman's part of this correſpondence. It is very pleaſingly and gaily ſuſtained by him,—though he deals moſtly in the tittle-tattle of Paris, and appears a little vain of his own currency and diſtinction. We extract the following paragraphs, juſt as they turn up to us.

'Je ne crois pas que l'on puisse être heureux en province quand on a passé sa vie à Paris; mais heureux qui n'a jamais connu Paris, et qui n'ajoute pas nécessairement à cette vie les maux chimériques, qui sont les plus grands! car on peut guérir un seigneur qui gémit de ce qu'il a été grêlé, en lui faisant voir qu'il se trompe, et que sa vigne est couverte de raisin; mais la grêlé métaphysique ne peut être combattue. La nature, ou la providence n'est pas si injuste qu'on le veut dire; n'y mettons rien du nôtre, et nous serons moins à plaindre; et puis regardons le terme qui approche, le marteau qui va frapper l'heure, et pensons que tout cela va disparaître.

'Ah! l'inconcevable Pont de Veyle! il vient de donner une parade chez M. le duc d'Orléans: cette scène que vous connaissez du vendeur d'orviétan. Au lieu du Forcalquier, c'était le petit Gauffin qui faisait le Giles; et Pont de Veyle a distribué au moins deux cents boîtes avec un couplet pour tout le monde: il est plus jeune que quand vous l'avez vu la première fois; il s'amuse de tout, n'aime rien, et n'a conservé de la mémoire de la défunte que la haine pour la musique Française.' I. 110—11.

At the end of the letters, there are placed a variety of *portraits* or characters of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in Madame du Deffand's ſociety, written by each other—ſometimes with great freedom, and ſometimes with much flattery—but almoſt always with wit and penetration. We give the following by Madame du Deffand as a ſpecimen, chiefly becauſe it is ſhorter than moſt of the others.

'Madame la Duchesse d'Aiguillon a la bouche enfoncé, le nez de travers, le regard fol et hardi, et malgré cela elle est belle. L'éclat de son teint l'emporte sur l'irrégularité de ses traits.

'Sa taille est grossière, sa gorge, ses bras sont enormes; cependant elle n'a point l'air pesant ni epais! la force supplée en elle à la légerèté.

'Son esprit a beaucoup de rapport à sa figure: il est pour ainsi dire aussi mal dessiné que son visage, et aussi éclatant: l'abondance, l'activité, l'impetuosité en sont les qualités dominantes. Sans goût, sans grace, et sans justesse, elle étonne, elle surprend, mais elle ne plaît ni n'intéresse.

'C'est quelquefois un prophète qu'un démon agite, qui ne prévoit ni n'a le choix de ce qu'il va dire: ce sont plusieurs instrumens bruyans dont il ne résulte aucune harmonie. C'est un spectacle chargé de machines et de décorations, où il se trouve quelques traits merveilleux sans suite et sans ordre, que le parterre admire, mais qui est sifflé des loges.

'On pourrait comparer Madame la Duchesse d'Aiguillon à ces statues faites pour le cintre et qui paraissent monstrueuses étant dans le parvis. Sa figure ni son esprit ne veulent point être vus ni examinés de trop près; une certaine distance est necessaire à sa beauté: des juges peu éclairés et peu delicats sont les seuls qui puissent être favorables à son esprit.

'Semblable à la trompette du jugement, elle est faite pour ressusciter les morts: ce sont les impuissans qui doivent l'aimer, ce sont les sourds qui doivent l'entendre.' III. 154–156.

There are three characters of Madame Du Deffand herſelf, all very flattering. That by the Preſident Henault is the leaſt ſo. It ends as follows.

'Cependant, pour ne pas marquer trop de prévention et obtenir plus de croyance, j'ajouterai que l'âge, sans lui ôter ses talens, l'avait rendue jalouse et méfiante, cédant à ses premiers mouvemens, maladroite pour conduire les hommes dont elle disposait naturellement; enfin de l'humeur inégale, injuste, ne cessant d'être aimable qu'aux yeux des personnes auxquelles il lui importait de plaire, et, pour finir, la personne par laquelle j'ai été le plus heureux et le plus malheureux, parce qu'elle est ce que j'ai le plus aimé.' III. 188.

He is infinitely more partial to a Madame de Flamarens, whoſe character he begins with conſiderable elegance as follows.

'Madame de Flamarens a le visage le plus touchant et le plus modeste qui fut jamais; c'est un genre de beauté que la nature n'a attrapé qu'une fois: il y a dans ses traits quelque chose de rare et de mystérieux, qui aurait fait dire, dans les temps fabuleux, qu'une immortelle, sous cette forme, ne s'était pas assez déguisée.' III. 196.

We take our leave now of theſe volumes; and of the brilliant circle and brilliant days of Mad. du Deffand. Such a ſociety probably never will exiſt again in the world;—nor can we ſay we are very ſorry for it. It was not very moral, we are afraid; and we have ſeen, that the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of it were not very happy. When we ſay that it muſt have been in the higheſt degree delightful to thoſe who ſought only for amuſement, we wiſh it to be underſtood, not only that amuſement does not conſtitute happineſs, but that it can afford very little pleaſure to thoſe who have not other ſources of happineſs. The great extent of the accompliſhed ſociety of Paris, and the familiarity of its intercourſe, ſeems to have gradually brought almoſt all its members to ſpend their whole lives in public. They had no notion, therefore, of domeſtic enjoyments; and their affections being diſſipated among ſo many competitors, and diſtracted by ſuch an inceſſant variety of ſmall occupations, came naturally to be weakened and exhauſted; and a certain heartleſs gaiety to be extended indiſcriminately to the follies and the misfortunes of their aſſociates.

Bating

Bating ſome little fits of gallantry, therefore, there could be no devotedneſs of attachment, and no profound ſympathy for the ſufferings of the moſt intimate friends. Every thing, we find accordingly, was made a ſubject for epigrams; and thoſe who did not make jeſts at their friends' calamities, were glad, at any rate, to forget them in the ſociety of thoſe who did. When we recollect, too, that the deſertion of all the high duties of patriots and ſtateſmen, and the inſulting and ſyſtematic degradation of the great body of the people were neceſſary conditions of the excellence of this ſociety, we cannot heſitate in ſaying, that its brilliancy was maintained at far too great a coſt; and that the fuel which was waſted in its ſupport, would have been infinitely better applied in diffuſing a gentler light, and a more genial heat, through the private dwellings of the land.

We have occupied ourſelves ſo long with Mad. du Deffand and her aſſociates, that we can afford but a ſmall portion of our attention for Madlle. de Leſpinaſſe. A very extraordinary perſon we will allow her to have been; and a moſt extraordinary publication ſhe has left us to conſider. On a former occaſion, * we took ſome notice of the account which Marmontel has given of her character and conduct, and expreſſed our ſurpriſe that any one, who had acted the unprincipled and ſelfiſh part which he imputes to her, ſhould be thought worthy, either of the admiration he expreſſes, or of the friendſhip and patronage of ſo many diſtinguiſhed characters, or of the devoted attachment of ſuch a man as D'Alembert. After reading theſe letters, we ſee much reaſon to doubt of the accuracy of Marmontel's repreſentation; but, at the ſame time, find great difficulty in ſettling our own opinion of the author. Marmontel deſcribes her as having *firſt* made a vain attempt upon the heart of M. de Guibert, the celebrated author of the Tactics,—and *then* endeavoured to indemnify herſelf by making a conqueſt of M. de Mora, the ſon of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, upon whoſe death ſhe is ſtated to have died of mortification; and, in both caſes, ſhe is repreſented as having been actuated more by a ſelfiſh and paltry ambition, than by any feeling of affection. The dates, and the tenor of the letters before us, enable us to detect many inaccuracies in this ſtatement; while they throw us into new perplexity as to the true character of the writer. They begin in 1773, after M. de Mora had been recalled to Spain by his relations, and when her whole ſoul ſeems to be occupied with anguiſh for this ſeparation; and they are all addreſſed to M. de Guibert, who had then recently recommended himſelf to her, by the tender intereſt he took in her affliction. From the very beginning, however, there is more of love in them, than we can well

* Vol. VIII. p. 375.

well reconcile with the subsistence of her first engrossing passion: and, long before the death of M. Mora, she expresses the most vehement, unequivocal, and passionate attachment to M. Guibert. Sometimes she has fits of remorse for this; but, for the most part, she seems quite unconscious, either of inconsistency or impropriety; and M. Guibert is, in the same letter, addressed in terms of the most passionate adoration, and made the confident of her unspeakable, devoted, and unalterable love for M. Mora. So she goes on,—most furiously and outrageously in love with them both at the same time,—till the death of M. Mora, in 1774. This event, however, makes no difference in her feelings or expressions; she continues to love his memory just as ardently as his living successor in her affection; and her letters are divided, as before, between expressions of heart-rending grief and unbounded attachment—between her *besoin de mourir* for M. Mora, and her delight in living for M. Guibert. There are still more inexplicable things in those letters. None of Guibert's letters are given,—so that we cannot see how he responded to all these raptures; but, from the very first, or almost from the first, she complains bitterly of his coldness and dissipation; laments that he has a heart incapable of tenderness; and that he feels nothing but gratitude or compassion for a being whom he had fascinated, exalted and possessed with the most ardent and unbounded passion. We cannot say that we see any clear traces of her ever having hoped, or even wished that he should marry her. On the contrary, she recommends several wives to him; and at last he takes one with her approbation and consent, while the correspondence goes on in the same tone as before. The vehemence and excess of her passion continue to the last of the letters here published, which come down to within a few weeks of her death, in 1776.

The account which we have given appears ridiculous; and there are people, and wise people, who, even after looking into the book, will think Madlle. de Lespinasse deserving of nothing but ridicule, and consign her and her ravings to immeasureable contempt. Gentle spirits, however, will judge more kindly; and there are few, we believe, who feel interest enough in the work to read it through, who will not lay it down with emotions of admiration and profound compassion. Even if we did not know that she was the chosen companion of D'Alembert, and the respected friend of Turgot, Condillac, Condorcet, and the first characters in France, there are, in the strange book before us, such traces of a powerful, generous and ardent mind, as necessarily to command the respect even of those who may be provoked with her inconsistencies, and wearied out with the vehemence of her sorrow. There is something so natural, so eloquent,

quent, and so pathetic in her expression—a tone of ardour and enthusiasm so infectious, and so much of the true and agonizing voice of heartstruck wretchedness, that it burdens us with something of the weight of a real sorrow; and we are glad to make ourselves angry at her unaccountableness, in order to get rid of the oppression. It ought to be recollected also, that during the whole course of the correspondence, this poor girl was dying of a painful and irritating disease. Tortured with sickness, or agitated with opium, her blood never seems in all that time to have flowed peaceably in her veins; and her nerves and her passions seem to have reacted upon each other in a series of cruel agitations. Why she is so very wretched, and so very angry, we do not indeed always understand; but there is no mistaking the language of real emotion; and while there is something wearisome, perhaps, in the uniformity of a vehemence, of which we do not clearly see the cause, there is something truly *dechirant* in the natural and piteous iteration of her eloquent complainings, and something captivating and noble in the fire and rapidity with which she pours out her emotions. The style is as original and extraordinary as the character of its author. It is quite natural, and even neglected—altogether without gaiety or affumed dignity; and yet full of elegance and spirit, and burning with the flames of a heart abandoned to passion, and an imagination exalted by enthusiasm. It is not easy to fall into the measure of such a composer, in running over a miscellany of amusement; but we cannot avoid adding a few extracts, if it were only to make what we have been saying intelligible to some at least of our readers.

'Je me sentois une répugnance mortelle à ouvrir votre lettre: si je n'avois craint de vous offenser, j'allois vous la renvoyer. Quelque chose me disoit qu'elle irriteroit mes maux, et je voulois me ménager. La souffrance continuelle de mon corps affaisse mon ame: j'ai encore eu la fièvre, je n'ai pas fermé l'œil, je n'en puis plus. De grace, par pitié, ne tourmentez plus une vie qui s'éteint, et dont tous les instans sont dévoués à la douleur et aux regrets. Je ne vous accuse point, je n'exige rien, vous ne me devez rien: car, en effet, je n'ai pas eu un mouvement, pas un sentiment auquel j'ai consenti; et quand j'ai eu le malheur d'y céder, j'ai toujours détesté la force ou la foiblesse qui m'entrainoit. Vous voyez que vous ne me devez aucune reconnaissance, et que je n'ai le droit de vous faire aucun reproche. Soyez donc libre, retournez à ce que vous aimez, et à ce qui vous convient plus que vous ne croyez peut-être. Laissez-moi à ma douleur, laissez-moi m'occuper sans distraction du seul objet que j'ai adoré, et dont le souvenir m'est plus cher que tout ce qui reste dans la nature. Mon Dieu! je ne devrois pas le pleurer, j'aurois dû le suivre: c'est vous qui me faites vivre, qui faites le tourment

tourment d'une créature que la douleur consume, et qui emploie ce qui lui reste de forces à invoquer la mort. Ah! vous en faites trop, et pas assez pour moi. Je vous le disois bien il y a huit jours, vous me rendez difficile, exigeante: en donnant tout, on veut obtenir quelque chose. Mais, encore une fois, je vous pardonne, et je ne vous hais point; ce n'est pas par générosité que je vous pardonne, ce n'est pas par bonté que je ne vous hais pas; c'est que mon ame est lasse, qu'elle meurt de fatigue. Ah! mon ami, laissez-moi, ne me dites plus que vous m'aimez: ce baume devient du poison; vous calmez et déchirez ma plaie tour à tour. Oh! que vous me faites mal! que la vie me pèse! que je vous aime pourtant, et que je serois désolée de mettre de la tristesse dans votre ame! Mon ami, elle est trop partagée, trop dissipée, pour que le vrai plaisir y puisse pénétrer. Vous voulez que je vous voie ce soir; et bien, venez donc.' II. 206–208.

'Combien de fois aurois-je pu me plaindre; combien de fois vous ai-je caché mes larmes! Ah! je le vois trop bien: on ne sauroit ni retenir, ni ramener un cœur qui est entraîné par un autre penchant; je me le dis sans cesse, quelquefois je me crois guérie; vous paroissez, et tout est détruit. La réflexion, mes résolutions, le malheur, tout perd sa force au premier mot que vous prononcez. Je ne vois plus d'asile que la mort, et jamais aucun malheureux ne l'a invoquée avec plus d'ardeur. Je retiens la moitié de mon ame: sa chaleur, son mouvement vous importuneroit, et vous éteindroit tout-à-fait; le feu qui n'échauffe pas, incommode. Ah! si vous saviez, si vous lisiez comme j'ai fait jouir une ame forte et passionnée, du plaisir d'être aimée! Il comparoit ce qui l'avoit aimé, ce qui l'aimoit encore, et il me disoit sans cesse: "Oh! elles ne sont pas dignes d'être vos écolières; votre ame a été chauffée par le soleil de Lima, et mes compatriotes semblent être nées sous les glaces de la Laponie." Et c'étoit de Madrid qu'il me mandoit cela. Mon ami, il ne me louoit pas, il jouissoit; et je ne crois point me louer, quand je vous dis qu'en vous aimant à la folie, je ne vous donne que ce que je ne puis pas garder ou retenir.' II. 215–217.

'Oh, mon Dieu! que l'on vit *fort* lorsqu'on est mort à tout, excepté à un objet qui est l'univers pour nous, et qui s'empare tellement de toutes nos facultés, qu'il n'est plus possible de vivre dans d'autres temps que dans le moment où l'on est! Eh! comment voulez-vous que je vous dise si je vous aimerai dans *trois mois?* Comment pourrois-je, avec ma pensée, me distraire de mon sentiment? Vous voudriez que, lorsque je vous vois, lorsque votre présence charme mes sens et mon ame, je pusse vous rendre compte de l'effet que je recevrai de votre mariage; mon ami, je n'en sais rien, mais rien du tout. S'il me guérissoit, je vous le dirois, et vous êtes assez juste pour ne m'en pas blâmer. Si, au contraire, il portoit le désespoir dans mon ame, je ne me plaindrois pas, et je souffrirois bien peu de temps. Alors vous seriez assez sensible et assez délicat pour approuver un parti qui ne vous coûteroit que des regrets pas-

sagers,

sagers, et dont votre nouvelle situation vous distrairoit bien vîte; et je vous assure que cette pensée est consolante pour moi: je m'en sens plus libre. Ne me demandez donc plus ce que je ferai lorsque vous aurez engagé votre vie à une autre. Si je n'avois que de la vanité et de l'amour-propre, je serois bien plus éclairée sur ce que j'éprouverai alors. Il n'y a guère de méprise aux calculs de l'amour-propre, il prévoit assez juste: la passion n'a point d'avenir; ainsi en vous disant: je vous aime, je vous dis tout ce que je sais et tout ce que je sens.—Oh! mon ami, je me sens capable de tout, excepté de plier: j'aurois la force d'un martyr, pour satisfaire ma passion ou celle de la personne qui m'aimeroit: mais je ne trouve rien en moi qui me réponde de pouvoir jamais faire le sacrifice de mon sentiment. La vie n'est rien en comparaison, et vous verrez si ce ne sont là que les discours d'une tête exaltée. Oui, peut-être ce sont là les pensées d'une ame exaltée, mais à laquelle appartiennent les actions fortes. Seroit-ce à la raison qui est si prévoyante, si foible dans ses vues, et même si impuissante dans ses moyens, que ces pensées pourroient appartenir? Mon ami, je ne suis point raisonnable et c'est peut-être à force d'être passionnée que j'ai mis toute ma vie tant de raison à tout ce qui est soumis au jugement et à l'opinion des indifférens. Combien j'ai usurpé d'éloges sur ma modération, sur ma noblesse d'ame, sur mon désintéressement, sur les sacrifices prétendus que je faisois à une mémoire respectable et chère, et à la maison d'Alb....! Voilà comme le monde juge, comme il voit. Eh, bon Dieu! sots que vous êtes, je ne mérite pas vos louanges: mon ame n'étoit pas faite pour les petits intérêts qui vous occupent; toute entière au bonheur d'aimer et d'être aimée, il ne m'a fallu ni force, ni honnêteté pour supporter la pauvreté, et pour dédaigner les avantages de la vanité. J'ai tant joui, j'ai si bien senti le prix de la vie, que, s'il falloit recommencer, je voudrois que ce fût aux mêmes conditions. Aimer et souffrir, le ciel, l'enfer, voilà à quoi je me dévouerois, voilà ce que je voudrois sentir, voilà le climat que je voudrois habiter; et non cet état tempéré dans lequel vivent tous les sots et tous les automates dont nous sommes environnés.' II. 228—233.

All this is raving no doubt; but it is the raving of real passion, and of a lofty and powerful spirit. It is the eloquent raving of the heart; and, when we think that this extraordinary woman wrote all this, not in the days of impatient youth, when the heart is strong for suffering, and takes a strange delight in the vehemence even of its painful emotions, but after years of misery, and with death before her eyes—advancing by gradual but visible steps, it is impossible not to feel an indescribable emotion of pity, resentment, and admiration. One little word more.

'Oh! que vous pesez sur mon cœur, lorsque vous voulez me prouver qu'il doit être content du vôtre! Je ne me plaindrois jamais, mais vous me forcez souvent à crier, tant le mal que vous me faites est aigu et profond! Mon ami, j'ai été aimée, je le suis encore, et je meurs de regret en pensant que ce n'est pas de vous. J'ai beau-

me dire que je ne méritai jamais le bonheur que je regrette ; mon cœur cette fois fait taire mon amour-propre : il me dit que, si je dus jamais être aimée, c'étoit de celui qui auroit assez de charme à mes yeux, pour me distraire de M. de M....., et pour me retenir à la vie après l'avoir perdu. Je n'ai fait que languir depuis votre départ ; je n'ai pas été une heure sans souffrance : le mal de mon ame passe à mon corps ; j'ai tous les jours la fièvre, et mon médecin, qui n'est pas le plus habile de tous les hommes, me répète sans cesse que je suis consumée de chagrin, que mon pouls, que ma respiration annoncent une douleur active ; et il s'en va toujours en me disant : *nous n'avons point de remède pour l'ame.* Il n'y en a plus pour moi : ce n'est pas guérir que je voudrois, mais me calmer, mais retrouver quelques momens de repos pour me conduire à celui que la nature m'accordera bientôt.' III. 146, 147.

'Je n'ai plus assez de force pour mon ame—elle me tue. Vous ne pouvez plus rien sur moi, que me faire souffrir. Ne tachez donc plus à me consoler, et cessez de vouloir me faire le victime de votre *morale*, après m'avoir fait celle de votre legèreté.—Vous ne m'avez pas vue, parce que la journée n'a que douze heures, et que vous aviez de quoi les remplir par des intérêts et des plaisirs qui vous sont, et qui doivent vous être plus chers que mon malheur. Je ne réclame rien, je n'exige rien, et je me dis sans cesse que la source de mon bonheur et de mon plaisir est perdue pour jamais.' III. 59.

We cannot leave our readers with these painful impressions ; and shall just add one word or two of what is gayest in these desolating volumes.

M. Grimm est de retour ; je l'ai accablé de questions. Il peint la Czarine, non pas comme une souveraine, mais comme une femme aimable, pleine d'esprit, de saillies, et de tout ce qui peut séduire et charmer. Dans tout ce qu'il me disoit, je reconnoissois plutôt cet art charmant d'une courtisane grecque, que la dignité et l'éclat de l'Impératrice d'un grand empire.' II. 105.

'Avant dîner je vais voir rue de Cléry des automates qui sont prodigieux, à ce qu'on dit. Quand j'allois dans le monde, je n'aurois pas eu cette curiosité : deux ou trois soupers en donnent satiété ; mais ceux de la rue de Cléry valent mieux ; ils agissent et ne parlent point. Venez-y, en allant au Marais, et je vous dirai là si j'ai la loge de M. le Duc d'Aumont. Madame de Ch.... ne vous croit point coupable de négligence : elle m'a demandé aujourd'hui si votre retraite duroit encore. Ce que les femmes veulent seulement, c'est d'être préférées. Presque personne n'a besoin d'être aimé, et cela est bien heureux : car c'est ce qui se fait le plus mal à Paris. Ils osent dire qu'ils aiment, et ils sont calmés et dissipés ! c'est assurément bien connoître le sentiment et la passion. Pauvres gens ! il faut les louer comme les Liliputiens : ils sont bien jolis, bien gentils, bien aimables. Adieu, mon ami.' II. 197, 198.

We have left ourselves no room to make any reflections ; except, only, that the French fashion of living, and almost of dying,

ing, in public, is nowhere so strikingly exemplified, as in the letters of this victim of passion and of folly. While her heart is torn with the most agonizing passions, and her thoughts turned hourly on suicide, she dines out, and makes visits every day; and, when she is visibly within a few weeks of her end, and is wasted with coughs and with spasms, she still has her *salon* filled twice a day with company, and drags herself out to supper with all the countesses of her acquaintance. There is a great deal of French character, indeed, in both the works, of which we now take our leave;—a great deal to admire, and to wonder at—but very little, we think, to envy.

ART. XIV. *Report of the Committee of the African Institution, read at the General Meeting, on the 15th of July 1807; together with the Rules and Regulations which were then adopted for the Government of the Society.* 8vo. pp. 78. London, Hatchard. 1807.

Second Report of the Committee of the African Institution, read at the Annual General Meeting, on the 25th of March 1808. To which is added, a List of Subscribers. 8vo. pp. 64. London, Hatchard. 1808.

Third Report of the Directors of the African Institution, read at the Annual General Meeting, on the 25th of March 1809. To which is added, a List of Subscribers. 8vo. pp. 72. London, Hatchard. 1809.

We regret exceedingly that we have been so long prevented from bringing before our readers the very interesting subject alluded to in these title-pages. This delay, however, has not been without its advantages. Instead of describing a project merely, we are now enabled to state something of its actual success. Two or three years ago, we could only have held forth promises; we can now boast of a certain progress in their fulfilment. And this circumstance is the more to be rejoiced in, because no class of political reasoners have ever been so much, so wantonly exposed to the imputations of '*theory*,' 'ROMANCE,' '*enthusiasm*,' and '*fanaticism*,' as the enlightened advocates of the African negroes. We shall begin with a sketch of the Institution mentioned in the title of this article,—one of the most interesting, certainly, and the most creditable to the feelings and character of our country, that ever found support within its bounds.

Early in the year 1807, the advocates of the abolition happily succeeded in their grand object, through the cordial and vigorous support of the late administration. The eyes of mankind had for some time been opened to the impolicy of a traffic, of which the iniquity had long been almost universally admitted. The many flimsy pretences under which its friends had so often succeeded in obtaining a respite for it, were now exhausted. Mr Pitt, whose eloquence had been exerted so brilliantly against it, but whose influence had, on all questions connected with it, been uniformly in abeyance, was no more. The pretended difficulties which used to be urged as opposing the abolition, were found easily surmountable; and the measure, which that celebrated orator *could* not, in the fulness of his power, carry—which he found quite impracticable at the moment that he was suspending the habeas corpus bill, enforcing the income tax, and shutting up the Bank of England,—which he never could prevail upon his most servile colleagues to support,—which the very clerks in his offices openly voted against;—that great and righteous measure was carried through Parliament with the utmost ease, and with majorities altogether unexampled, by a cabinet which had recently lost its most illustrious member,—which was composed of three or four jarring parties,—which had no very fast hold of the country, and had the court decidedly hostile. In its last moments, indeed, on the eve of its dismissal from power, that ministry, supported only by the excellence of their cause, and bringing to its assistance nothing but their fair and honest zeal, abolished for ever the slave trade, which had for twenty years baffled the round periods of their eloquent predecessor, and had increased yearly and hourly under the pressure of his fostering hostility. * Those men deserved well of their country, and of mankind. Let us hope that they found, in their own bosoms, the reward which they so richly merited; and that, with less professions than some others, they had charity enough to forgive those active, and, we admit, most powerful

* We must always repeat, as often as the occasion recurs, the lamentable statement, that after Mr Pitt had been making at the rate of half a dozen orations per annum against the slave trade, he suffered it to increase more than double under his administration, when an Order in Council might have stopped its growth, as he himself afterwards demonstrated. We believe every abolitionist is now convinced that, although he was unquestionably sincere in his talk on this subject, he was not very zealous; and that his speeches, among the finest ever delivered in Parliament, only showed his willingness to do whatever cost nothing to help the cause. Just so he declaimed against abuses, and lived surrounded with peculators.

powerful friends of the abolition, who were the firſt to join in the fanatical outcry againſt them, as ſoon as they retired from power.

This great meaſure being thus carried, the virtuous and enlightened ſupporters of it conſidered that their labours, however ſucceſsful, were by no means at an end. They had accompliſhed much; they had carried their firſt and greateſt point; they had put an end to the trade which checked, or rather blaſted in its bud, the improvement of the African continent. But they were diſpoſed to view this only as the removal of an impediment to their further operations, and as the firſt ſtep towards the attainment of an object, which they conceived themſelves called upon, by their principles, to promote ſtill more actively. By the crimes and follies of Europeans, they ſaid, Africa has been kept for ages in darkneſs and miſery; and a heavy debt has been accumulating on all white men, to that race whoſe intereſts have been ſo long ſacrificed to theirs. As far as England is concerned; the increaſe of this debt is now ſtopped; but that is no reaſon why ſhe ſhould not think of paying it off. Had ſhe never interfered to check the civilization of Africa, there might have been no particular call upon her to aſſiſt actively in promoting it. But as ſhe was the very principal cauſe of its being retarded, while ſhe trafficked in ſlaves; ſo, contended thoſe humane and liberal perſons, ſhe ought now to interfere, in order to accelerate its progreſs, and make up for the time formerly loſt through her means.

Without very nicely ſcrutinizing the ſoundneſs of thoſe reaſonings, or pretending to aſſert that they are wholly free from refinement and figurative alluſions, every one, we think, muſt admit, that the feelings which gave riſe to them were in the higheſt degree generous and exalted—worthy of the diſtinguiſhed perſons who had for ſo many years fought the battles of the abolition, and honourable to the age and the country which gave them birth. Nor can the moſt cold and calculating politician deny, that a certain degree of care and expenſe, ſkilfully applied to the furtherance of African civilization, formed a moſt appropriate ſequel to the deſtruction of the ſlave trade—its greateſt, and almoſt its only enemy.

Influenced by ſuch views, a very numerous meeting of the friends of the Abolition was aſſembled on the 14th of April 1807. A general reſolution to form an Inſtitution was adopted, and a committee appointed to report upon the proper regulations. In ſome reſpects, the particular time was rather unfavourable. Party diſſenſions ran uncommonly high. The friends of the cauſe were divided by theſe diſputes. Some of them had recently, to their

eternal

eternal diſgrace, been the prime movers of that intrigue which chaſed the late miniſtry from power, and had ſpread abroad the baſe outcry, which threatened to involve the country in all the evils of religious perſecution. Even ſome of the moſt enlightened friends of the African cauſe, had departed from a neutrality preſcribed to them by every feeling of gratitude, as well as juſtice; and had joined, from the momentary influence of alarm we are willing to think, in thoſe wild and pernicious clamours, making themſelves ſubſervient to the purpoſes of a few deſperate intriguers, almoſt all ſupporters of the ſlave-trade, and becoming acceſſory to the attempts of thoſe perſons, to deliver over to the fury of a fanatical multitude, the ſtateſmen who had deſtroyed that infernal traffic. Let us draw a veil over that ſcene. We cannot view it, and recollect its harſh and diſcordant features, without affliction and humiliation. We make every allowance for the weakneſs of human nature,—always, unhappily, moſt conſpicuouſly ſhown on the moſt ſacred of ſubjects. Thoſe diſſenſions, we fervently hope, are now forgotten on both ſides—or, at leaſt, only remembered by the one party, for the purpoſes of contrition and amendment—and by the other, for the ſake of ſympathy and forgiveneſs. Nor ſhould we have noticed them on the preſent occaſion, except for the ſake of explaining why the new Inſtitution lingered for a long time through a very ſickly childhood; and ſeemed, in the eyes of many, more likely to periſh in the cradle, than to reach a mature and uſeful age. The conduct to which we referred, excited the diſcontent of vaſt numbers who were favourable to the cauſe, and ſo far diſguſted ſome of its moſt powerful and zealous advocates, both political and literary, as to prevent them from taking any part in the new plan, until time, the great healer of diſſenſions among friends, had ſmoothed the way to the renewal of a cordial cooperation.

It proved a very fortunate circumſtance, that the General Conſtituent Meeting was held before the diſputes alluded to had reached any great height. The late, or, as we are diſpoſed to term them, with reference to this ſubject, the Abolition Miniſtry had been driven from the helm, on the very day on which they had accompliſhed their favourite meaſure. They had ſeen, a few days afterwards, the original advocates of the abolition give a ſilent vote in Parliament, negativing a reſolution approving of their conduct while in power, without making even one ſolitary remark by way of exception in favour of their laſt and greateſt act. Nevertheleſs, they could overlook all this, conſident that it injured any one rather than themſelves, and reflecting that they had been actuated in their conduct towards Africa by hatred of the ſlave-trade, and not by any poor project of courting Parliamentary ſupport.

port. They accordingly attended the meeting held on the 14th of April, and took an active share in its proceedings. They did not find it so easy to persuade their friends, and the disinterested friends of the abolition throughout the country, to adopt the same rational and dignified views; and, during the turbulent scenes which soon after followed, not only was the African Institution wholly neglected, but the general election displayed, in some places, the novel, and one would fain have thought, inexplicable sight of the original patrons of the cause, opposed by the Abolition interest. We again pass these afflicting events over, as slightly as historical accuracy will permit.

As soon as the tumults and disputes in question had subsided, on the 15th of July another general assembly was held to receive the report of the committee appointed at last meeting. This paper, which is distinguished by great ability, a perfect knowledge of the subject, and an uncommon degree of fairness and candour, forms the first of the works which now lye before us. We earnestly recommend it to the attention of our readers, and regret that our limits do not allow us to present them with a full abstract of it. The general objects of the Institution, however, are so successfully defended in it, and the means to be adopted for promoting them are so ably sketched, that we shall briefly advert to some of its parts, beginning with the resolutions adopted by the constituent meeting, as the basis of the association. We extract these as containing the best summary of the views which influenced the formation of this establishment.

'1. That this meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa have suffered in their intercourse with Europe; and, from a desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence, is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilization and happiness.

'2. That the approaching Cessation of the Slave-Trade hitherto carried on by Great Britain, America and Denmark, will, in a considerable degree, remove the barrier which has so long obstructed the natural course of social improvement in Africa; and that the way will be thereby opened for introducing the comforts and arts of a more civilized state of society.'

'3. That the happiest effects may be reasonably anticipated from diffusing useful knowledge, and exciting industry among the inhabitants of Africa, and from obtaining and circulating throughout this country more ample and authentic information concerning the agricultural and commercial faculties of that vast Continent; and that through the judicious prosecution of these benevolent endeavours, we may ultimately look forward to the establishment, in the room of that traffic by which Africa has been so long degraded, of a legiti-

mate

mate and far more extended commerce, beneficial alike to the natives of Africa, and to the manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland.

'4. That the present period is eminently fitted for prosecuting these benevolent designs;—since the suspension, during the war, of that large share of the Slave-Trade, which has commonly been carried on by France, Spain and Holland, will, when combined with the effect of the Abolition Laws of Great Britain, America and Denmark, produce nearly the entire cessation of that traffic along a line of coast extending between two and three thousand miles in length, and thereby afford a peculiarly favourable opportunity for giving a new direction to the industry and commerce of Africa.

'5. That for these purposes a Society be immediately formed, to be called THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.' 1*st Report*, p. 65—67.

Assuming that the objects thus briefly sketched out are abundantly interesting, the Report proceeds to obviate the difficulties which may appear to lye in the way of their attainment; and particularly 'to remove the most specious objection to the design, viz. despair of its success.' The first reason for this despair seems to be founded on the alleged inferiority of the negro,—the narrowness of his intellectual capacity,—and his moral depravity. We have so frequently, in the course of our remarks on the abolition, while that great event was bringing about, discussed the question of the negro character, more particularly in our Eleventh Number, that we need not be stopped long with the subject at present. It is treated here in an animated and impressive manner. We extract the following passages, as very striking.

'The portrait of the negro has seldom been drawn but by the pencil of his oppressor; and he has sat for it in the distorted attitude of slavery. That there have been found in him such vices as in all ages and countries have been the fruit of private bondage, need not be denied: but that these have been much exaggerated by prejudice and contempt, and still more by policy and party spirit, is no less certain.

'While the Aborigines of the West Indies were sinking under the oppression of the Spaniards, they were described by those adventurers as cannibals and monsters; and the Court of Castile gave implicit credit to such calumnies, till it was disabused, when too late, by the humane efforts of Las Casas. The African also is oppressed in the new world, and vilified in the old. His oppressors, like those of the Indians, were at length accused at the bar of their country; and recrimination was the expedient to which some of them resorted, in order to vindicate their conduct. They have denied that the Negro possesses either the feelings, or the moral or intellectual capacity of a human being.

'Yet here their testimony has proved to be not a little discordant; so that, with a moderate allowance for the ordinary effects of oppression, the character of the Negro might be vindicated by the admissions or inconsistencies of his enemies.

'If he be accused of brutal stupidity by one of these prejudiced witnesses; another, or perhaps the same, taxes him with the most refined dissimulation, and the most ingenious methods of deceit. If the Negroes are represented as base and cowardly; they are, in the same volume, exhibited as braving death in its most hideous forms, with more than human fortitude. Insensibility and excessive passion, apathy and enthusiasm, want of natural affection and a fond attachment to their friends, shipmates and countrymen, are all ascribed to them by the same inconsistent pens. We are told, by almost every colonial writer, that severe coercion is necessary to quicken them to action; yet some of those authorities, and among them the most celebrated advocate of Negro slavery in France, ascribe to them an almost preternatural energy. After working for twenty-four hours without remission, they will, according to the last mentioned writer, voluntarily travel two or three leagues, spend the whole night in dancing and revelling, and return by day-break to take their share in the most arduous labours of the field, without any intermediate repose. They will, he assures us, pass an entire week without sleep, and yet go through their accustomed toil with their usual vigour. In short, he describes them as possessing bodily qualities far superior to those of other men; and states it as a strong argument for effecting a counter-revolution in St Domingo, that if, to such physical powers, intellectual culture were added, the Negroes might conquer the world. *

'But we might appeal also to other hostile testimony, which is less inconsistent with itself; for some colonial writers, amidst their zeal for slavery and the slave trade, have occasionally aspired to the praise of candour in regard to the moral character of the Slaves, and have expressly repelled some of the accusations which have been adduced by other writers of the same party. The ingenuity of the Negroes is admitted or defended by one eminent authority, their gratitude by another, their parental and filial affection by a third, their humanity by a fourth, their docility and improvement under religious instruction, by all who have treated on this subject.

'Your Committee are unwilling to swell their Report by extracts in proof of these remarks; but they beg to refer to Mr Bryan Edwards, to M. Malouet, to Dr Fermin, and to a highly intelligent work published in London in 1803, entitled, "Practical Rules for the Management and medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies." The author has only designated himself as a Professional planter; but the work is generally ascribed to the late Dr Collins of St Vincent, a celebrated apologist of the slave trade.' *First Report*, p. 18—22.

These and various other observations are made upon the general character of the Africans. But there is one quality which has been, by their interested enemies, more especially denied to them —and

* Barré de St Venant, p. 379, 380.

—and it is the moſt important in reference to the objects of the Inſtitution;—we mean, induſtry, and a capacity of voluntary labour. It has been affirmed, by the men who were hunting after pretexts for enſlaving thoſe unfortunate tribes, that there was no other way of making them work,—that they were incapable of any but compulſory exertions,—and that the laſh alone could move them to labour. We have, on the occaſions above alluded to, ſhown how fallacious all ſuch notions are, and proved that they aroſe from a miſtake, wilful, we verily believe, in moſt caſes, of the character of the negro debaſed by ſlavery, for his natural character;—that, in ſhort, men have argued for the incapacity of the negro man to work voluntarily, from the unwillingneſs of the negro ſlave to do ſo. The Firſt Report touches, in a maſterly manner, on this topic; and ſhows, by the facts and reaſonings ſo often appealed to in this Journal, that the ſlave trade and ſlavery, alone, have kept Africa in its lamentable ſtate of indolence and barbariſm. The moſt deciſive circumſtance which can be cited on this head, is the remarkable improvement always obſerved by travellers in the character and condition of the Africans, in proportion as they penetrate to a diſtance from the ſlave-markets on the coaſt. The Report obviates, in like manner, the objection, that, in our colonies, free negroes and mulattoes are little prone to induſtry.

'It has indeed been imputed to them, that, when in a ſtate of freedom in our Colonies, they are never known to work in the field, or in any other laborious occupation. This fact has been repeatedly adduced as an argument for the neceſſity of Slavery and the Slave Trade: but the argument is quite fallacious, and can impoſe on thoſe only who are utterly unacquainted with colonial affairs. The truth is, that the free Negroes and Mulattoes in the Weſt Indies do not often work in husbandry or other coarſe kinds of labour, becauſe ſuch occupations, being the ordinary buſineſs of Slaves, are not only diſreputable, but far leſs profitable than others, in which every free workman may find full employment. There, no Negro obtains his freedom but by means of faculties ſuperior to that of throwing the hoe, or carrying a burthen; and hardly any Negro, born to freedom, is uninſtructed in ſome trade or profeſſion far more lucrative than ordinary labour, unleſs, which rarely happens, he is rich enough to live without any exertion of his own induſtry. The argument therefore is juſt as fair, as if the indolence of Engliſhmen were to be inferred from the fact, that our gentry and citizens do not follow the plough.' *Firſt Report*, p. 33, 34.

The failure of the Sierra Leone plan, is next conſidered. To account for this, it is quite ſufficient to reflect, that it was undertaken in 1791, on the ſuppoſition, then ſo natural, of the ſlave trade being about to ceaſe;—that, inſtead of this expectation being

ing realized, the traffic in queſtion increaſed daily and hourly in growth;—that the Company in vain beſought Parliament to check the trade, at leaſt in the narrow diſtrict where the colony was planted;—and that this benevolent eſtabliſhment had thus to ſtruggle, not only with all the difficulties which check the growth, and frequently terminate the exiſtence of ſuch communities, but with an evil of the greateſt magnitude, affecting the very eſſence of its plan and conſtitution. In truth, while the ſlave trade continued, the Sierra Leone Company were making a feeble reſiſtance, in favour of African civilization, againſt the whole reſources of the traders leagued to promote the barbariſm of the negroes. We muſt alſo allow, that a colonial and mercantile ſpeculation was little calculated to promote the objects in view, even if the ſlave traffic had not exiſted; and the terms upon which this ſpeculation was undertaken, were ſuch as precluded almoſt all chance of its ſucceeding. On this head, the following remarks deſerve peculiar attention.

'In attemping to found a new colony, which, if ſucceſsful, was to give to this country great commercial advantages, the Company took upon itſelf the whole charge of the civil government, of the public works, and of the military defence of the ſettlement. At the ſame time, no part of the poſſible profits was ſecured exclusively to itſelf. If the richeſt channels of commerce had been eventually opened at Sierra Leone, every one of his Majeſty's ſubjects would have had the ſame right to trade there as the Company or its members. No monopoly, no commercial privilege, was obtained or aſked.

'In the caſe that has ariſen, the want of ſuch a conſideration for the liberal undertaking of the Company, may have been of little importance to its intereſts: but that undertaking was without any precedent in modern times; and its ſingular liberality might alone furniſh an adequate reaſon for its failure.

'In no other part of the world, ſince the value of colonial commerce, and the expenſe of colonial eſtabliſhments have been known, have men aſſociated to ſettle in an uncivilized country upon terms like theſe. The mother country, ſure of reaping the fruits of their ſucceſs, has commonly undertaken the charge of their government and protection; and, it may be added, that this charge has borne no ſmall proportion to the early value of even the moſt proſperous colony.

'Let, for inſtance, an inquiry be made, what was the charge of civil government, what the coſt of fortifications, of military garriſons, and of the various other public ſervices connected with the ſettlement of Dominica and St Vincent; and it would probably appear, that more than the whole amount of the capital of the Sierra Leone Company was ſunk by the public in each of thoſe iſlands, after their ceſſion by France in 1763, before they were made in any

degree valuable to this country. But in Sierra Leone all these expenses were borne by the Company, till it could defray them no longer; and, when the colony was totally laid waste in the last war by invasion, the Company sustained the whole cost of its restitution. The assistance since received from Parliament has come too late to save the stock of the proprietors, though it may possibly be the source of much future benefit to the nation.

'When these circumstances are considered, even if we admit that the undertaking of the Company, regarded as a mere commercial enterprise, has failed, we may yet safely affirm, that its failure has been less discouraging than that of the first settlers in the most valuable of our colonial possessions. It is notorious that, in the ceded islands before adverted to, though now, or lately, in a state of high prosperity, almost every private capital, that was at first embarked in their cultivation, was lost to the adventurers. So extensive was the ruin, that the very easy purchase-money of lands reserved to the government, though forming the first lien upon them, remained for the most part unpaid; and Mr Edwards questions, whether a shilling of the nominal sales ever found its way into the treasury.' *First Report*, p. 46–49.

It must, however, be remembered, that the Sierra Leone plan, though it failed as far as the Company's stock was concerned, and though it produced no great improvement in Africa when opposed to the slave trade, has established a depôt highly useful for future attempts of a more judicious description—has furnished a variety of encouraging information respecting the capacity and habits of the natives—and has enabled the new Institution also to procure various instruments wherewith their operations may be recommenced. That benevolent scheme, too, has been productive of another very material advantage, which we cannot so well describe as in the words of the first Report.

'But a still higher advantage, derived from the labours of the Sierra Leone Company is, that the principles upon which we proceed, and the objects which we aim to accomplish, will not, in that important part of Africa, excite either surprise or distrust.

'The greatest of all obstacles perhaps to the civilization of the natives of Africa by European means, would be the diffidence in our intentions which they might reasonably entertain. A poor negro might well conceive, that a white man could have no other design, in courting his acquaintance, than to make a slave of him, and carry him from the coast. But the experience of fifteen years has now convinced the inhabitants of at least that part of the Continent which is in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, that benevolence and good faith may really reside under a white complexion; that there are Englishmen who abhor the slave trade, and who, far from kidnapping the merchant or labourer who puts himself in their power, desire nothing but his improvement and happiness.

'Nor can it be supposed that the knowledge of this surprising fact is confined to the immediate vicinity of Sierra Leone. Its novelty has, no doubt, caused it to be known in more distant countries; so that Englishmen, who may now solicit a commercial intercourse, even with a people of a country considerably remote from that settlement, may gain credit for their real purpose, and not be suspected of meditating violence and fraud under the mask of fair professions.

'It is probable that no experience, much short of that term which has elapsed since the settlement of Sierra Leone, would have sufficed to produce this consequence; and the progress of conviction may have been aided even by the perseverance of the Company, under its misfortunes.' *First Report*, p. 53—55.

We cannot pursue any further this very interesting Report. We have spoken highly of its merits; and our readers will be the less surprised, when we inform them, that common fame ascribes it to the pen of Mr Stephen. It is certainly equal to any of his former productions; and though drawn up with almost unexampled rapidity, is distinguished by a chaster manner than usually marks his animated and impressive vein of eloquence. It is now, however, necessary that we should turn to another view of the subject, and contemplate the means by which the new Institution purposes to accomplish the noble and captivating objects above delineated and defended.

First of all, the African Institution, wise by the example of the Sierra Leone Company, disclaims in the outset all projects of a colonial or commercial nature. It embarrasses itself with no concerns of government—no mercantile speculations—no factories or forts—not even with the possession of a single ship, or an acre of ground. This clears the way for exertion, not only by removing every suspicion of unworthy or doubtful motives, but by throwing off a thousand clogs which must have hampered an establishment of a different character. For obvious reasons, the Society also disclaims all schemes of religious mission; and avowing, upon that important subject, not certainly any kind of indifference, but a wise and necessary neutrality, it leaves in other hands the task of propagating the gospel among the Africans, and confines its own exertions to the introduction of that civilization which is the best preparative for the truths of Christianity. Not to mention other reasons for this salutary caution, it has one most important and beneficial effect. It opens wide the doors of the Institution to all sects and denominations of Christians,—whom it thus invites to cooperate for purposes equally subservient to every form of worship, and every modification of religious belief.

Such being the wise precautions by which the Institution steers

clear of former errors, let us see to what particular objects its exertions are proposed to be directed. We cannot exhibit these in a more authentic or satisfactory shape, than by extracting the following passage from the fundamental laws of the Society.

'The means which it is proposed to employ for the purpose of promoting civilization and improvement in Africa, are of the following kind.

'1. To collect and diffuse, throughout this country, accurate information respecting the natural productions of Africa, and, in general, respecting the agricultural and commercial capacities of the African Continent, and the intellectual, moral and political condition of its inhabitants.

'2. To promote the instruction of the Africans in letters and in useful knowledge, and to cultivate a friendly connexion with the natives of that Continent.

'3. To endeavour to enlighten the minds of the Africans with respect to their true interests; and to diffuse information amongst them, respecting the means whereby they may improve the present opportunity of substituting a beneficial commerce in place of the slave trade.

'4. To introduce amongst them such of the improvements and useful arts of Europe as are suited to their condition.

'5. To promote the cultivation of the African soil, not only by exciting and directing the industry of the natives, but by furnishing, where it may appear advantageous to do so, useful seeds and plants, and implements of husbandry.

'6. To introduce amongst the inhabitants beneficial medical discoveries.

'7. To obtain a knowledge of the principal languages of Africa, and, as has already been found to be practicable, to reduce them to writing, with a view to facilitate the diffusion of information among the natives of that country.

'8. To employ suitable agents, and to establish correspondences, as shall appear advisable; and to encourage and reward individual enterprize and exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the Institution.' *First Report*, p. 69—71.

We should, however, omit the most important, and by far the most practicable service which the Institution proposes to render the cause of Africa, if we did not add that which occurs in the same document, though it is, by some oversight, or by some still greater error, omitted in the preceding list—we mean, the resolution adopted from the beginning, and since steadily pursued, of watching over the strict execution of the abolition laws—of procuring all information respecting the evasion or breach of those laws, which daring speculators may attempt—of keeping the attention of the government alive, and quickening the exertions of the crown-officers on those points—of suggesting, from time to time, such im-

improvements in those laws as a practical experience of their imperfections, or the change of circumstances, may point out;—and, finally, of promoting, as far as possible, by communicating information, and other appropriate methods, the abolition of the African slave-trade in foreign countries. If the whole exertions of this establishment were confined to this one object—if every other means of improving Africa were left to the natural course of things—if the Institution only claimed the merit of succeeding to the Abolition Society, and of promoting the execution of the law by the same resources of information and ability—by the same inexhaustible resources of zealous perseverance, which enabled that body to triumph over the slave traffic, and obtain the enactment of the law—we would acknowledge that this merit was of the highest order; and that the new Institution deserved—and we could give it no higher praise—to be ranged with the committee of the learned, the amiable, the enlightened, Granville Sharpe.

Our readers will probably have anticipated, that we regard some of the objects now enumerated, as much more valuable, because more attainable than others. The rigorous execution of the abolition, we are disposed to place in the first class. This service is quite essential to the improvement of Africa. It is one which a body, like the African Institution, is well adapted to perform; it is one which no government can safely be entrusted with,—and, least of all, a government composed of noted friends to the slave-trade, like that which was established at the same time with the Institution itself. Next to this primary object, which we implore the directors of the Society ever to keep steadily before their eyes, without suffering more ambitious and alluring projects to seduce them from it,—we conceive the most practicable part of the plan to be that which consists in procuring, by means of travellers and correspondents, useful information respecting Africa, and diffusing the same throughout this country. Nothing can lead more surely, though other plans may seem to conduce more directly, to the improvement of that great Continent. Of the labours of the African Association we would speak with all the respect which its praiseworthy object prescribes: but they have of late years languished most unhappily; and there is reason to suspect that their plan is an inefficient one, or that their means have been too scanty, or that the prevalence of anti-abolition influence among their leading members produced an unfavourable effect on their operations. Certain it is, that they have done little; and no less certain, we fear, that they began at the wrong end of Africa—attempting to penetrate through districts either possessed by, or contiguous to, the Moors, instead of attending to the more southern points of the Continent.

Akin to this object, is that which stands seventh on the list above given—the acquisition of the African languages with a view to facilitate an intercourse with the natives: and the most practicable as well as the most important of the more active operations contemplated by the Institution, is the introduction of useful arts and inventions among the natives—especially of the more beneficial medical discoveries, and some of the common mechanical and agricultural arts. When we reflect how much skill, ingenuity and industry, has been found among the negro tribes at a distance from the coast, we cannot have any doubt that a simple communication of European inventions will have the happiest effects, both in improving the more civilized tribes, and in teaching arts to such as have hitherto been kept from making any considerable progress in the arts, by the various evils of the slave-trade. But, if any one doubts of this, let him consult the highly interesting accounts, published by the Quakers in America, of their progress in improving the least tractable of all savages, the Indians of the back settlements,—in drawing them from the hunting, into the agricultural state,—and in weaning them from the most idle, dissolute, and fatal habits, to those of sober and industrious peasants. We formerly laid before our readers the details of this subject; and they are decisive of the question of practicability, as far as relates to the improvement of the Africans, by the most useful and salutary of all missionaries—husbandmen and mechanics; who preach industry by their example,—gain confidence by their inoffensive lives,—and teach the arts of civilized life by quietly practising them among rude tribes. This is the principle of the Quaker missions; and we earnestly recommend it to the African directors, as fit to be their fundamental principle also.

With such views was the Institution established in 1807; and the management of its affairs was confided to the most able and active of the abolitionists. The Duke of Gloucester stood among the foremost of these;—he presided as president. And, of the directors who chiefly carried on its ordinary business along with that distinguished Prince, we shall only mention the names of Messrs Wilberforce, Thornton, Vansittart, W. Smith, Brougham, Clarkson, G. Sharp, Allen, and Stephen, and Macaulay.——Mr Macaulay, to the infinite advantage of the Society, undertook the laborious and difficult office of secretary, until a permanent arrangement could be effected for filling it. A respectable subscription was entered into. About three thousand pounds were speedily raised. At the end of 1808, this had increased to 4374*l.*;—of which 581*l.* arose from annual subscriptions. Since that time, the funds have been augmented by many donations; and the list of annual contributors has increased. We cannot enter further into

into the details; but we muſt notice one very liberal benefaction, from the peculiar circumſtances of the caſe. That humane and peaceful ſect of Chriſtians, the Quakers, whoſe unceaſing exertions for the abolition contributed ſo eminently to the ſucceſs of the meaſure, did not ſeem at firſt to take a very active part in the new Inſtitution: as a body, at leaſt, they did not come forward in its ſupport. That they wiſhed well to it, however, no man could doubt; and ſeveral of its moſt diſtinguiſhed members belong to the connexion of Friends. Not many months ago, a donation of *five hundred guineas* was tranſmitted from a perſon of that ſect to the Inſtitution, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch precautions, that the name of the benefactor could by no means be diſcovered. We lament, among others, that we are thus prevented from adding our tribute of gratitude more ſpecifically to this amiable and generous man.

We ſhall now purſue our notices of the progreſs already made by the Inſtitution. Theſe muſt neceſſarily be general; but we refer the reader, for the details, to the publiſhed Reports. The ſecond, made at the general meeting, 25th March 1808, and the third, on the 25th March 1809, (the anniverſary of the abolition), contain a variety of moſt intereſting particulars, relative, not merely to the Society, but to the ſtate of the African continent.

Communications have been made to the governor of Sierra Leone, empowering him to encourage the acquiſition of the Arabic and Suſoo languages, by Europeans in that colony. The former has been extended, by the Mahometan conqueſts, over a large part of the weſt coaſt. The latter, beſide being ſpoken generally on the coaſt for 150 miles north of the colony, is underſtood by the Foulahs and Mandingoes; and is the mother tongue of the extenſive country of Jolonkadoo, where the Niger is ſaid to take its riſe. Its acquiſition has been greatly facilitated by the labours of Mr Brunton, a miſſionary, to whoſe learning and zeal we owe a Suſoo grammar and vocabulary, with ſeveral other tracts. The governor has been directed to engage proper teachers to ſuperintend the proficiency of the ſcholars, and to encourage both by appropriate rewards.

The Board has alſo ſent to the ſame ſettlement three African youths, who had been carefully educated in this country, and had been eſpecially qualified to act as ſchoolmaſters, by inſtruction in Mr Lancaſter's ſyſtem of education. They had made great progreſs in their ſtudies; and had acted for ſome time as teachers at the Lancaſtrian ſchool of the Royal Military Aſylum. They likewiſe had ſome knowledge of drawing; and two of them were well acquainted with the weaving of cotton. The go-

vernor of Sierra Leone has been directed to encourage the ſchools eſtabliſhed under thoſe young men, by all his influence with the native chiefs; and he has alſo been empowered to ſend over to this country ſuch other African youths as may be qualified to attain a ſimilar proficiency in arts not eaſily to be acquired at that ſettlement.

A large quantity of the fineſt cotton ſeed has been ſent by the Board for diſtribution in Africa; it being wiſely judged, that, under the preſſure of the Orders in Council, no article is likely ſo well to repay the coſt of its cultivation. Above fifteen tons had been tranſmitted at the date of the laſt anniverſary (March 1809); and a part of it had arrived—was ſown—and thriving exceedingly. Inſtructions for its culture and preparation, from the ſowing, to the period of its final embarkation, have been likewiſe diſtributed among the natives, with the parcels of the ſeed; and ſeven cotton gins, with the iron work for twelve more, were ſent out, to ſerve for preſent uſe, as well as to furniſh models for ſimilar machinery.

It being ſtated that a ſpecies of the palm-tree, abounding in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, yields excellent hemp, and a ſpecimen having been produced to the Board, the proper utenſils for examining this point, have been ſent out; and directions have been alſo given to try the uſe of the mangrove bark in tanning, which the reports already received authoriſe us to expect will ſucceed perfectly. A machine for expreſſing caſtor-oil has alſo been furniſhed, the nut growing in great luxuriance on the African coaſt. The Board has further ſent out plants of the white mulberry, Peruvian bark, camphor, tobacco and tea tree, under the ſuperintendance of a perſon ſkilled in gardening.

Of the premiums offered by the Board, two have been claimed, and one awarded. The latter has been given to Meſſrs Anderſons, merchants in London, for the importation of 10,000 lib. of cotton, the growth of the iſland of Tapo in Sierra Leone river. It was of good quality, and ſold for 2s. 8d. per pound. Had it been properly gathered and cleaned, it would have fetched a higher price. Another quantity, ſent home, brought 2s. 10d., though labouring under ſimilar defects. Meſſrs Anderſons have ſince greatly increaſed their plantations: not leſs than ſix hundred acres over and above their former grounds, were prepared for planting in May 1808. The premium for rice was claimed for eleven tons; but was withheld, becauſe thoſe were imported, not into this country, but the Weſt Indies, contrary to the conditions. The cultivation of ſeveral articles, as coffee, pepper, and palm-oil, to which the ſoil and climate of Africa are peculiarly well adapted, have hitherto been greatly impeded by the ſtate of the

duties

duties in this country. The Board has accordingly made proper representations to the Government on this point, and entertain little doubt that these will prove effectual.

The most important object, however, of all, remains to be noticed. The Board has been actively employed in giving effect to the abolition act, by bringing to light the evasions or violations of it by the arts of slave-merchants abroad, and their coadjutors in this country. The difficulty of obtaining such proofs as may bring these nefarious practices to condign punishment, need scarcely be pointed out. It would be highly impolitic in the Board to disclose, in a public Report, their information on this subject, or to state the proceedings which they are adopting, for the purposes of justice and prevention. We shall preserve the same silence; merely stating, that our readers may be assured the Institution does not slumber over this its chief duty; and entreating such of them as have the means of giving information, which may assist in detecting the practices in question, to transmit it without delay, either to the publishers of this Journal, or to the Institution in London. *

The furtherance of the abolition by foreign powers, is another most important object of solicitude with the Board; and, to assist this, they have resolved to translate and circulate abolition tracts in the countries where the trade continues to find protectors. They also have never ceased to draw the attention of his Majesty's ministers to it, and have received assurances of as effectual a cooperation as circumstances will permit. We confess, however, that, from such a government, little is to be expected in this way. If two of the ministers were formerly favourable to the cause, one of those is now out of office; and who or what the new ones may be,—whether they are for or against the question, it is impossible for us to say, who are barely acquainted with their names. We look to Parliament for a more active and powerful interference on this point; and shall dismiss the topic with remarking, in fairness to Lord Castlereagh, who lately held the seals for the colonial department, that, though always a decided enemy of the abolition, as soon as the act passed, he showed himself, on all occasions, disposed fairly, and even actively, to assist in enforcing it.

Our readers will now expect some account of the effects which the abolition has already produced in Africa. We shall begin with an extract from Governor Ludlam's account of the effects produced by the last efforts of the slave-trade,—by the exertions

* The address of the secretary, Mr Macaulay, is, Birchen Lane, London.

of the traders as soon as the day of the abolition was fixed. It is dated *November* 1807.

"The war in Rokelle is suspended: all parties seem to have been too busy in *trade* to think of regular war. The same is the case in Sherbro. In both places they are catching each other openly and secretly, and on all manner of pretences; but not fighting.

"I believe, however, that more money will be lost than gained in the slave trade this year. Most of those who did not go off very early, have met with many difficulties in obtaining their slaves, and provisions sufficient so carry them off. They have also suffered much in their crews, officers as well as men.

"Several vessels are reported to have been lost or cut off, chiefly to leeward: and several insurrections have happened. The reason is said to be, that a great number of Beach-men * and Grumettas † have been sent off, in consequence of the unusual demand for slaves." *2d Rep.* p. 17.

As a contrast, we present the following very pleasing extracts from the Third Report, comprising later accounts from the same respectable quarter.

'Letters from the governor of Sierra Leone, dated in May last, (1808) state, that the colony was on the most friendly terms with the surrounding natives; and that its influence among them had of late rapidly increased. None of those massacres, which were predicted as an inevitable consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, had occurred in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. Only one trial for witchcraft had taken place for a long time; whereas formerly such trials used to be very frequent: and although, in that one case, the accused had been found guilty, she had not been put to death; but, after some time, had been set at liberty.

"There is no fear," observes the governor, "but that the natives in this neighbourhood will have abundant employment. Hitherto they have been chiefly busied in the manufacture of salt, which is in great demand. Their rice fields have certainly been prepared, this year, a fortnight or three weeks earlier than usual; from which I prognosticate well.

"All the wars round us are suspended for the present. I do not say that they are suspended in consequence of the abolition; but the abolition is very likely to prevent their revival.

"There can be no doubt that the communication between the coast and the interior is in a fair way of being more open."—"In the breeding of cattle, we are greatly improving: their numbers increase, and

* 'This is the name given to the persons, residing on the coast, who act as interpreters to the captains of ships, and assist them in conducting their trade.'

† 'Or domestic servants. These have always been considered as not liable to be sold, unless when convicted of crimes to which the crime of slavery is attached.'

and they thrive well." And, in a subsequent letter, it is stated, that oxen are now used in the draught, much to the advantage of the colony.

'He thus concludes one of his letters—

"This has certainly been one of the quietest and most uninteresting years I have known in Africa. I have neither trials for witchcraft, nor wars, nor kidnappings, to speak of in my journal. Perhaps we have the abolition to thank for it."

'In a letter, of so late a date as November last (1809), the governor writes—"I have no doubt, that, if things go on as they do, this will soon be the first place on the coast of Africa." And he expresses his sincere belief, that "commerce and agriculture will overspread this almost depopulated part of Africa;" and that, "if the colony receives encouragement from the British government, it will, in no very long time, repay the benefits received."

'The information from Goree is also very encouraging. A letter from that island, dated in December last, represents Major Maxwell, the present commandant of that island, as indefatigable in his exertions to promote cultivation and civilization in that part of Africa. He has a plantation on the opposite shore, which he keeps in a high state of cultivation, chiefly with a view to stimulate the natives to follow his example. He has been supplied with some of the cotton seed transmitted to the coast of Africa by the Directors; and has had a cotton gin constructed after the model of one of those lately sent out.

'A communication has also been received from the Gold Coast, respecting the political state, and the agricultural faculties, of that part of Africa; which tends to encourage the hope, that much may be done towards its improvement, if adequate means are employed to that end.' *3d Rep.* p. 16—19.

These facts speak whole volumes; and we need only add, that a very considerable increase of the lawful and direct trade with the African coast has already supplied, in part, the blank occasioned by the cessation of the traffic in slaves.

We have now brought to a close our notice of the important and interesting subjects treated of in the works before us. To these tracts we again beg leave to refer our readers. It will afford us the most pure satisfaction to think that, among those who peruse the pages of this widely circulated Journal, some honest and enlightened men may be found, whose attention, not previously called to the subject, shall be fixed by the foregoing details; and we shall rejoice greatly and sincerely to learn that our efforts have added a single active associate to the Institution whose history we have been tracing. Much has been done in the formation of the Society;—somewhat in the commencement of its operations. But we earnestly hope that these are only the slender beginnings of an establishment, whose mature strength, and final grandeur, are destined to throw its origin into the shade.

ART.

ART. XV. *Short Remarks on the State of Parties at the Close of the Year* 1809. 8vo. pp. 30. London, 1809.

FEW of our readers, we trust, think us capable of insulting them, at such a moment as the present, with any notice of the squabbles of Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, or the more pacific recriminations of Lords Melville and Mulgrave. The parties to which we wish to call their attention, are not the parties in the Cabinet,—nor even the parties in Parliament,—but the parties in the Nation;—that nation, whose opinions and whose spirit ought to admonish and controul both Cabinet and Parliament, but which seems to us to be itself breaking rapidly into two furious and irreconcileable parties; by whose collision, if it be not prevented, our constitution and independence must be speedily destroyed. We have said before, that the root of all our misfortunes was in the state of the people, and not in the constitution of the legislature; and the more we see and reflect, the more we are satisfied of this truth. It is in vain to cleanse the conduits and reservoirs, if the fountain itself be tainted and impure. If the body of the people be corrupt or depraved, it is vain to talk of improving their representation. We have not time, now, to enter fully into this most important subject; but we shall speak fearlessly what we strongly feel; and expose ourselves to any thing, rather than the reproach of having poorly suppressed a voice that will at all events be very widely heard, at a crisis when we feel it to be our duty to raise it to its highest pitch.

The dangers, and the corruptions, and the prodigies of the times, have very nearly put an end to all neutrality and moderation in politics; and the great body of the nation appears to us to be divided into two violent and most pernicious factions;—the courtiers, who are almost for arbitrary power,—and the democrats, who are almost for revolution and republicanism. Between these stand a small, but most respectable band—the friends of liberty and of order—the Old Constitutional Whigs of England,—with the best talents and the best intentions, but without power or popularity,—calumniated and suspected by both parties, and looking on both with too visible a resentment, aversion and alarm. The two great divisions, in the mean time, are daily provoking each other to greater excesses, and recruiting their hostile ranks, as they advance, from the diminishing mass of the calm and the neutral. Every hour the rising tides are eating away the narrow isthmus upon which the adherents of the Constitution are stationed; and every hour it becomes more necessary for them to oppose some barrier to their encroachment.

If the two opposite parties are once permitted to shock together in open conflict, there is an end to the freedom, and almost to the existence of the nation,—whatever be the result,—although that is

not doubtful: and the only human means of preventing a conſummation to which all things ſeem ſo obviouſly tending, is for the remaining friends of the conſtitution to unbend from their cold and repulſive neutrality, and to join themſelves to the more reſpectable members of the party to which they have the greateſt affinity; and thus, by the weight of their character, and the force of their talents, to temper its violence and moderate its exceſſes, till it can be guided in ſafety to the defence, and not to the deſtruction of our liberties. In the preſent criſis, we have no heſitation in ſaying, that it is to the popular ſide that the friends of the conſtitution muſt turn themſelves; and that, if the Whig leaders do not firſt conciliate, and then reſtrain the people,—if they do not ſave them from the leaders they are already chooſing in their own body, and become themſelves their leaders, by becoming their patrons, and their cordial, though authoritative, adviſers;—they will in no long time ſweep away the Conſtitution itſelf, the Monarchy of England, and the Whig ariſtocracy, by which that Monarchy is controuled and confirmed, and exalted above all other forms of polity.

This is the ſum of our doctrine; though we are aware that, to moſt readers, it will require more development than we can now afford, and be expoſed to more objections than we have left ourſelves room to anſwer. To many, we are ſenſible, our fears will appear altogether chimerical and fantaſtic. We have always had theſe two parties, it will be ſaid—always ſome for carrying things with a high hand againſt the people—and ſome for ſubjecting every thing to their nod; but the conflict has hitherto afforded nothing more than a wholeſome and invigorating exerciſe; and the conſtitution, ſo far from being endangered by it, has hitherto been found to flouriſh, in proportion as it became more animated. Why, then, ſhould we anticipate ſuch tragical effects from its continuance?

Now, to this, and to all ſuch queſtions, we muſt anſwer, that we can conceive them to proceed only from that fatal ignorance or inattention to the ſigns of the times, which has been the cauſe of ſo many of our errors and misfortunes. It is true, that there have always been in this country perſons who leaned towards arbitrary power, and perſons who leaned towards a popular government. In all mixed governments, there muſt be ſuch men, and ſuch parties; ſome will admire the monarchical, and ſome the democratical part of the conſtitution; and, ſpeaking very generally, the rich, and the timid and the indolent, as well as the baſe and the ſervile, will have a natural tendency to the one ſide; and the poor, the bold and enterprizing, as well as the envious and the diſcontented, will be inclined to range themſelves on the other. Theſe things have been always; and always muſt be. They have been hitherto, too, without miſchief or hazard; and might be

fairly

fairly conſidered as ſymptoms at leaſt, if not as cauſes, of the ſoundneſs and vigour of our political organization. But this has been the caſe, only becauſe the bulk of the nation has hitherto, or till very lately, belonged to no party at all. Factions exiſted only among a ſmall number of irritable and ambitious individuals; and, for want of partiſans, neceſſarily vented themſelves in a few ſpeeches and pamphlets—in an election riot, or a treaſury proſecution. The partiſans of Mr Wilkes, and the partiſans of Lord Bute, formed but a very inconſiderable part of the population. If they had divided the whole nation among them, the little breaches of the peace and of the law at Weſtminſter, would have been changed into civil war and mutual proſcriptions; and the conſtitution of the country would have been overwhelmed in the conflict. In thoſe times, therefore, the advocates of arbitrary power and of popular licenſe were reſtrained, not merely by the conſtitutional principles of ſo many men of weight and authority, but by the abſolute neutrality and indifference of the great body of the people. They fought like champions in a ring of impartial ſpectators; and the multitude who looked on, and thought it ſport, had little other intereſt than to ſee that each had fair play.

Now, however, the caſe is lamentably different; and it will not be difficult, we think, to point out the cauſes which have ſpread abroad this ſpirit of contention, and changed thoſe calm ſpectators into fierce and impetuous combatants. We have formerly endeavoured, on more than one occaſion, * to explain the nature of that great and gradual change in the condition of European ſociety, by which the lower and middling orders have been inſenſibly raiſed into greater importance than they enjoyed when their place in the political ſcale was originally ſettled; and attempted to ſhow in what way the revolution in France, and the revolutionary movements of other countries, might be referred to the progreſs and the neglect of that great movement. We cannot ſtop now to reſume any part of that general diſcuſſion; but referring ſuch of our readers as may wiſh to underſtand our whole theory, to the paſſages cited below, we proceed to obſerve, that the events of the laſt twenty years are of themſelves ſufficient to account for the ſtate to which the country has been reduced, and for the increaſed number, and increaſed acrimony of the parties that divide it.

The ſucceſs of a plebeian inſurrection—the ſplendid ſituations to which low-bred men have been exalted, in conſequence of that ſucceſs—the comparative weakneſs and inefficiency of the ſovereigns and nobles who oppoſed it, and the contempt and ridicule which has been thrown by the victors upon their order, have all

* Vol. x. p. 12, &c. Id. p. 114, &c. Vol. xiv. p. 290, &c.

tended to excite and aggravate the *bad* principles that lead men to despise existing authorities, and to give into wild and extravagant schemes of innovation. On the other hand, the long-continued ill success of our antijacobin councils—the sickening uniformity of our boastings and failures—the gross and palpable mismanagement and incapacity of our government—the growing and intolerable burthen of our taxes—and, above all, the imminent and tremendous peril into which the whole nation has been brought, have made a powerful appeal to the *good* principles that lead men into similar feelings, and roused those who are the least apt to busy themselves with political considerations, to cry out in vast numbers for reformation and redress. The number of those who have been startled out of their neutrality by those feelings of suffering and apprehension, very greatly exceeds, we believe, that of those who have been tempted from it by the stirrings of an irregular ambition; but both are alike disposed to look with jealousy upon the advocates of power and prerogative—to suspect falsehood and corruption in every thing that is not clearly explained—to resent every appearance of haughtiness or reserve—to listen with eager credulity to every tale of detraction against public characters—and to believe with implicit rashness whatever is said of the advantages of popular controul.

Such are the natural and original causes of the increase of that popular discontent which has of late assumed so formidable an aspect, and is in fact far more widely spread and more deeply rooted in the nation, than the sanguine and contemptuous will believe. The enumeration, however, would be quite incomplete, if we were not to add, that it has been prodigiously helped by the contempt, and aversion, and defiance, which has been so loudly and unwisely expressed by the opposite party. Instead of endeavouring to avoid the occasions of dissatisfaction, and to soothe and conciliate those whom it can never be creditable to have for enemies, it has been the uniform policy of the advocates for strong government to exasperate them by menaces and abuse;—to defend, with insolence, every thing that is attacked, however obviously indefensible;—and to insult and defy their opponents by a needless ostentation of their own present power, and their resolution to use it in support of their most offensive and unjustifiable measures. This unfortunate tone, which was first adopted in the time of Mr Pitt, has been pretty well maintained by most of his successors; and has done more, we are persuaded, to revolt and alienate the hearts of independent and brave men, than all the errors and inconsistencies of which they have been guilty.

In running thus rapidly over the causes which have raised the pretensions, and aggravated the discontents of the people, we have, in fact, stated the chief cause of the increased acrimony and pretensions

tensions of the advocates for power. The same spectacle of popular excess and popular triumph which excited the dangerous passions of the turbulent and daring, struck a corresponding alarm into the breasts of the timid and prosperous,—and excited a furious antipathy in those of the proud and domineering. As fear and hatred lead equally to severity, and are neither of them very far-sighted in their councils, they naturally attempted to bear down this rising spirit of menaces and abuse. All hot-headed and shallow-headed persons of rank, with their parasites and dependants—and indeed almost all rich persons, of quiet tempers and weak intellects, started up into furious antijacobins, and took at once a most violent part in those political contentions, as to which they had, in former times, been confessedly ignorant and indifferent. When this tone was once given from passion and mistaken principle in the actual possession of power, it was readily taken up by mere servile venality. The vast multiplication of offices and occupations in the gift of the government, and the enormous patronage and expectancy, of which it has recently become the centre, has drawn a still greater number, and of baser natures, out of the political neutrality in which they would otherwise have remained, and led them to counterfeit, for hire, that unfortunate violence which necessarily produces a corresponding violence in its objects.

Thus has the nation been set on fire at the four corners; and thus has an incredible and most alarming share of its population been separated into two hostile and irritated parties, neither of which can now subdue the other without a civil war; and the triumph of either of which would be equally fatal to the constitution.

The force and extent of these parties is but imperfectly known, we believe, even to those who have been respectively most active in arraying them; and the extent of the adverse party is rarely ever suspected by those who are zealously opposed to it. There is least error, however, in the estimate of the partisans of arbitrary government. They are in power, and show themselves;—but, for this very reason, their real force is probably a great deal less than it appears to be. Many wear their livery, out of necessity or convenience, whose hearts are with their adversaries; and many clamour loudly in their cause, who would clamour more loudly against them, the moment they thought that cause was going back in the world. The democratical party, on the other hand, is scattered and obscurely visible. It is not for the immediate interest of any one to acknowledge it; and scarcely any one is proud of its badge or denomination. It lurks, however, in private dwellings,—it gathers strength at homely firesides,—it is confirmed in conferences of friends,—it breaks out in pamphlets and journals of every description,—and shows its head now and then in the more tumultuous assemblies of populous cities. In the metropolis especially, where the concentration of numbers gives them con-

fidence and importance, it exhibits itself very nearly, though not altogether, in its actual force. How that force now stands in comparison with what is opposed to it, it would not perhaps be very easy to calculate. Taking the whole nation over head, we should conjecture, that, as things now are, they would be pretty equally balanced; but, if any great calamity should give a shock to the stability of government, or call imperiously for more vigorous councils, we are convinced that the partisans of popular government would be found to outnumber their opponents in the proportion of three to two. When the one party had failed so fatally, it seems to be a natural resource to make a trial of the other; and, if civil war or foreign conquest should really fall on us, it would be a movement almost of instinctive wisdom, to displace and to punish those under whose direction they had been brought on. Upon the slightest alarm, too, all the venal and unprincipled adherents of the prerogative would inevitably desert their colours, and go over to the enemy,—while the throne would be left to be defended only by its regular forces, and its immediate dependants, reinforced with a few bands of devoted Tories, mingled with some generous but downcast spirits, under the banner of the Whig aristocracy.

But, without pretending to settle the numerical or relative force of the two opposing parties, we wish merely to press it upon our readers, that they are both so strong and so numerous, as to render it quite impossible that the one should now crush or overcome the other, without a ruinous contention; and that they are so exasperated, and so sanguine and presumptuous, that they will push forward to such a contention in no long time, unless they be separated or appeased by some powerful interference. That the number of the democrats is vast, and is daily increasing with a visible and dangerous rapidity, any man may satisfy himself, by the common and obvious means of information. It is a fact which he may read legibly in the prodigious sale, and still more prodigious circulation, of Cobbett's Register, and several other weekly papers of the same general description: he may learn it in every street of all the manufacturing and populous towns in the heart of the country; and may, and must hear it most audibly, in the public and private talk of the citizens of the metropolis. All these afford direct and palpable proofs of the actual increase of this formidable party. But no man, who understands any thing of human nature, or knows any thing of our recent history, can need direct evidence to convince him, that it must have experienced a prodigious increase. In a country where more than a million of men take some interest in politics, and are daily accustomed to refer the blessings or the evils of their condition to the conduct of their rulers, is it possible to conceive, that a third part at least of every man's income

should be taken from him in the shape of taxes,—and that, after twenty years of boastful hostility, we should be left without a single ally, and in imminent hazard of being invaded and conquered by a revolutionary foe, without producing a very general feeling of disaffection and discontent, and spreading through the body of the nation a great disposition to despise and distrust their governors, and to judge unfavourably of the form of government itself which could admit of such gross ignorance or imposition?

The great increase of the opposite party, again, is but too visible, we are sorry to say, in the votes of Parliament, in *the existence* of the present administration, and in the sale and the tenor of the treasury journals. But, independent of such proof, this too might have been safely inferred from the known circumstances of the times. In a nation abounding with wealth and loyalty, enamoured of its old institutions, and indebted for its freedom, in a great degree, to the spirit of its landed aristocracy, it was impossible that the excesses of a plebeian insurrection should not have excited a great aversion to every thing that had a similar tendency: and in any nation, alas! that had multiplied its taxes, and increased the patronage of its government to three times their orinal extent, it could not but happen, that multitudes would be found to barter their independence for their interest, and to exchange the language of free men for that which was most agreeable to the party upon whose favour they depended.

If the numbers of the opposed factions, however, be formidable to the peace of the country, the acrimony of their mutual hostility is still more alarming. If the whole nation were divided into the followers of Mr Cobbett and Sir Francis Burdett, and the followers of Mr John Gifford and Mr John Bowles, does not every man see that a civil war and a revolution would be inevitable? Now, we say, that the factions into which the country *is* divided, are not very different from the followers of Mr Cobbett and Mr Gifford; and that, if they are allowed to defy and provoke each other into new extravagance and increased hostility, as they have been doing lately, we do not see how that most tremendous of all calamities is to be avoided. If those who have influence with the people go on a little longer to excite in them a contempt and distrust of all public characters, and of all institutions of authority, while the most conspicuous of our public men go on to justify, by their conduct, that contempt and distrust;—if the people are taught by all who now take the trouble to win their confidence, that Parliament is a mere assemblage of unprincipled place-hunters, and that *ins* and *outs* are equally determined to defend corruption and peculation; and if Parliament continues to busy itself with personalities,—to decline the investigation of corruptions,—and to approve, by its votes, what no sane man in the kingdom can consider as admitting

of apology;—if thoſe to whom their natural leaders have given up the guidance of the people, ſhall continue to tell them that they may eaſily be relieved of half their taxes, and placed in a ſituation of triumphant ſecurity, while the government continues to multiply its impoſitions, and to waſte their blood and treaſure in expeditions which make us deteſtable and ridiculous in the eyes of the world, while they bring the danger nearer to our own door;—if, finally, the people are a little more perſuaded that, without a radical change in the conſtitution of the Legiſlature, they muſt continue in the condition of ſlaves to a junto of boroughmongers, while Parliament rejects with diſdain every propoſal to correct the moſt palpable defects of that conſtitution;——Then we ſay that the wholeſome days of England are numbered,—that ſhe ſtands upon the verge of the moſt dreadful of all calamities,—and that all the freedom and happineſs which we undoubtedly enjoy, and all the morality and intelligence, and the long habits of ſober thinking and kindly affection which adorn and exalt our people, will not protect us from the horrors of a civil war. The ſtorm is moſt evidently brewing over our heads at this moment; and, if it cannot be diſperſed before it burſt upon them, we do not ſee where is our chance of being ſaved from deſtruction.

The iſſue of this unhallowed conflict will not be long doubtful. The experience of all countries, and of our own country at a time far leſs perilous, has ſhown, that popular inſurrections are almoſt always ſucceſsful. The governors, indeed, have vaſt advantages in the actual poſſeſſion of an organized power; but, if this be not ſufficient to *prevent* the inſurrection, there is ſcarcely any chance of its being able to beat it down. Every courſe, then, becomes equally fatal to a government in ſuch a ſituation. If it make an attempt at conciliation, it is ſuſpected of timidity, and encourages the paſſionate and daring; if it arm itſelf with ſeverity and terror, it rouſes againſt it the deeper and more formidable reſentment of the generous and brave. In our caſe, too, the inſurgents would not only have the phyſical force of the country on their ſide, but would have far more activity, economy and patience; and, in all probability, far more enterpriſe and talent, than would be left for the defence of thoſe who had provoked the aggreſſion. The triumph of ſuch a party, however, would be the ruin of Engliſh liberty, and of her peace, happineſs and proſperity. Thoſe who have merely lived in our times, muſt have ſeen, and they who have read of other times, or reflected on what Man is at all times, muſt know, independent of that leſſon, how much *chance*, and how much *time*, muſt concur with genius and patriotiſm, to form a good or a ſtable government. We have the frame and the materials of ſuch a government in the conſtitution of England; but, if we rend aſunder that

frame, and ſcatter theſe materials—if we 'put out the light' of our living polity,

"We know not where is that Promethean fire
That may its flame relumine."

The ſtability of the Engliſh conſtitution depends upon its monarchy and ariſtocracy; and their ſtability, again, depends very much on the circumſtance of their having grown naturally out of the frame of ſociety—upon their having ſtruck their roots deep through every ſtratum of the political ſoil, and having been moulded and impreſſed, during a long courſe of ages, by the uſages, inſtitutions, habits and affections of the community. A popular revolution would overthrow the monarchy and the ariſtocracy; and, even if it were not true that revolution propagates revolution, as waves give riſe to waves, till the agitation is ſtopped by the iron boundary of deſpotiſm, it would ſtill require ages of anxious diſcomfort, before we could build up again that magnificent fabric, which now requires purification rather than repair; or ſecure that permanency to our new eſtabliſhments, without which they could have no other good quality.

Such we humbly conceive to be the courſe, and the cauſes, of the evils which we believe to be impending. It is time now to inquire whether there be no remedy. If the whole nation were actually divided into revolutioniſts and high-monarchy men, we do not ſee how they could be prevented from fighting, and giving us our chance of a deſpotiſm or a tumultuary democracy. Fortunately, however, this is not the caſe. There is a third party in the nation—ſmall, indeed, in point of numbers, compared with either of the others—and, for this very reaſon, low, we fear, in preſent popularity—but eſſentially powerful from talents and reputation, and calculated to become both popular and authoritative, by the fairneſs and the firmneſs of its principles. This is compoſed of the Whig Royaliſts of England,—men who, without forgetting that all government is from the people, and for the people, are ſatisfied that the rights and liberties of the people are beſt maintained by a regulated hereditary monarchy, and a large, open ariſtocracy; and who are as much averſe, therefore, from every attempt to undermine the throne, or to diſcredit the nobles, as they are indignant at every project to inſult or enſlave the people. In the better days of the conſtitution, this party formed almoſt the whole oppoſition, and bore no inconſiderable proportion to that of the courtiers. It might be ſaid to have with it, not only the greater part of thoſe who were jealous of the prerogative, but all that great maſs of the population which was neutral and indifferent to the iſſue of the conteſt. The new-ſprung factions, however, have ſwallowed up almoſt all this diſpoſeable body, and have drawn largely from the ranks of the

old conſtitutionaliſts. In conſequence of this change of circumſtances, they can no longer act with any ſort of effect, as a ſeparate party; and are far too weak to make head, at the ſame time, againſt the overbearing influence of the crown, and the riſing pretenſions of the people. It is neceſſary, therefore, that they ſhould now leave this attitude of ſtern and defying mediation; and, if they would eſcape being cruſhed along with the conſtitution on the colliſion of the two hoſtile bodies, they muſt identify themſelves cordially with the better part of one of them, and thus ſoothe, ennoble and controul it, by the infuſion of their own ſpirit, and the authority of their own wiſdom and experience. Like faithful generals, whoſe troops have mutinied, they muſt join the march, and mix with the ranks of the offenders, that they may be enabled to reclaim and repreſs them, and ſave both them and themſelves from a ſure and a ſhameful deſtruction. They have no longer ſtrength to overawe or repel either party by a direct and forcible attack; and muſt work, therefore, by gentle and conciliatory means, upon that which is moſt dangerous, moſt flexible, and moſt capable of being guided to noble exertions. Like the Sabine women of old, they muſt throw themſelves between their kindred combatants; and ſtay the fatal and unnatural feud by praiſes and embraces, and diſſuaſives of kindneſs and flattery.

If this be plainly the general policy which they ought to purſue, there can be little heſitation as to the ſide to which they muſt addreſs themſelves. To the Court they cannot go; becauſe the Court will not receive them, except as renegadoes and unconditional refugees,—becauſe, coming in that character, they will never be able to infuſe any of their wiſdom or temperance into the courtiers,—and finally, becauſe ſuch a meaſure would irretrievably ruin their characters with the people, and rivet in the public mind that diſtruſt and contempt of all public characters which is not among the leaſt alarming ſymptoms of the preſent revolutionary temper. It remains, therefore, that they muſt aſſociate themſelves with the popular party: and we ſhall explain, in a few words, both our reaſons for urging this coalition, and the extent of the ſacrifices by which we think it may be effected.

The firſt and the moſt conſpicuous reaſon for this election is, that it is from the people that the moſt immediate and irreparable evil is to be apprehended; and that there is no way now left to repreſs them, except by going among them as friends and adviſers, by redreſſing their real grievances, and undeceiving them as to thoſe that are either incurable or imaginary. Any attempt, now, to bully and intimidate the diſaffected, muſt be as fruitleſs as it muſt always have been abſurd and unjuſtifiable; and the proſpect is juſt as deſperate, of bringing them back to patience and ſubmiſ-

ſion by coldneſs and alienation—by dignified cenſures of their extravagance, or contempt of their raſhneſs and folly. Every thing of this ſort, now, will only irritate and offend; and unite the party more firmly among themſelves, and alienate them more from all the reſt of the community, without having the moſt remote tendency either to weaken or to reclaim them. Even thoſe, therefore, who do not love or care for the people, are now called upon to pacify them, by granting, at leaſt, all that can reaſonably be granted; and not only to redreſs their grievances, but to comply with their deſires, in ſo far as they can be complied with, with leſs hazard than muſt evidently ariſe from diſregarding them.

Another obvious and ſtrong reaſon for this reconciliation is, that a very great proportion of thoſe who are now enrolled under the banners of democracy, would be very glad to flock to the ſtandard of a legitimate Whig chieftain, if it were once openly unfurled in the cauſe of the people. While they are treated with a diſtant haughtineſs and ſuſpicion, they will ſtick to their own leaders; but they would be proud to march under a nobler guidance. And though the more deſperate, and ambitious and miſchievous of the party, might oppoſe ſuch a coalition, all the reſpectable and temperate would hail it with delight, and ſubmit to a far more efficient controul than can well be anticipated by thoſe who have only ſeen them when irritated by inſult and diſdain.

The laſt invincible reaſon for a thorough reconciliation between the Whig royaliſts and the great body of the people is, that it is a groſs ſoleciſm and abſurdity to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a party ſhould exiſt without being ſupported by the affections and approbation of the people. The advocates of prerogative have the ſupport of prerogative; and they who rule by corruption, have the means of corruption in their hands:—but the friends of national freedom muſt be recognized by the nation. If the Whigs are not ſupported by the people, they can have no ſupport; and therefore, if the people are ſeduced away from them, they muſt go after them and bring them back; and are no more to be excuſed for leaving them to be corrupted by demagogues, than they would be for leaving them to be oppreſſed by tyrants. If a party is to exiſt at all, therefore, friendly at once to the liberties of the people and the integrity of the monarchy, and holding that liberty is beſt ſecured by a monarchical eſtabliſhment, it is abſolutely neceſſary that it ſhould poſſeſs the confidence and attachment of the people; and if it appear at any time to have loſt it, the firſt of all its duties, and the neceſſary prelude to the diſcharge of all the reſt, is to regain it by every effort conſiſtent with probity and honour.

Now, it is very true, that the preſent alienation of the body of the people from the conſtitutional champions of their freedom, originated

originated in the excesses and delusion of the people themselves; but it is not less true, that the Whig royalists have increased that alienation by the haughtiness of their deportment—by the marked displeasure and contempt with which they have disavowed most of the popular proceedings—and the tone of needless and imprudent distrust and reprobation with which they have treated pretensions that were only partly inadmissible. They have given too much way to the offence which they must naturally have received from the rudeness and irreverence of the terms in which their grievances were stated, and have felt too proud an indignation when they saw vulgar and turbulent men presume to lay their unpurged hands upon the sacred ark of the constitution. They have disdained too much to be associated with coarse coadjutors, even in the good work of resistance and reformation; and have hated too virulently the demagogues who have inflamed the people, and despised too heartily the people who have yielded to so gross a delusion. All this feeling, however, though it may be natural, is undoubtedly both misplaced and imprudent. The people are, upon the whole, both more moral and more intelligent than they ever were in any former period; and therefore, if they are discontented, we may be sure they have cause for discontent; if they have been deluded, we may be satisfied that there is a mixture of reason in the sophistry by which they have been perverted. To know, therefore, how their affections may be regained, and their violence disarmed, it is only necessary to inquire, what are their reasonable causes of discontent, and what are the demands in which it is right that they should be gratified.

And here, as a final reason for instantly associating with the more temperate of the popular party, we have no hesitation in saying, that the people appear to us to be clearly in the right in the greater part of the demands they have brought forward; and that their confidence may be won at any time, merely by a cordial and vigorous prosecution of some very laudable objects.

The three points upon which the popular advocates have chiefly insisted, and as to which they complain most loudly that all their remonstrances have been neglected, are, the *Retrenchment* of our expenditure—the *Punishment* or practical *Responsibility* of delinquent statesmen—and a *Reform* in the representation of the people. Upon one and all of these points, we say, that they ought to be gratified; and that it has now become the duty of every man, who is interested in the permanence of the constitution, to support and abet them.

With regard to retrenchment, we are not, indeed, by many degrees, so sanguine as to the extent to which it may be carried, as some of those who have declaimed on it with so remarkable an effect to the people; but we are decidedly of opinion, that it ought to be enforced with the utmost rigour and the most

unsparing severity; and that no public expenditure should be permitted, except for the evident utility or dignity of the country. We would abolish all sinecure places therefore; and, while we provided splendidly for the great functionaries of the government, we would utterly take away all those sources of sordid and inglorious gain, by which the meanest of their dependants are loaded with obscure and enormous opulence. The people feel no resentment at seeing a Lord Chancellor, or a Speaker of the House of Commons, surrounded, at their expense, with the most costly magnificence. The better and the greater part are proud of his splendour; but it is with very different feelings that they see an apothecary-general fattening in slothful inactivity, and consuming the hard raised contributions of a thousand straitened families. Compared with the sum total of our necessary expenditure, we do not indeed think that any practicable retrenchments will appear very considerable; but, at the same time, it is of infinite importance that they should be adopted;—both because they cut off one source of almost avowed corruption—and because they remove a most provoking and invidious spectacle from the eyes of a suffering and indignant people. When they are fainting under great and necessary exertions, it is cruel to make them provide for the lazy splendour of a few useless individuals: and the cost of investing the favourites of ministers with the trappings of undeserved fortune, may well be spared at the moment we are mourning for the death of European independence, and girding ourselves sorrowfully to battle in defence of our own.

The next point is one of still greater importance; and one, as to which, we conceive it to be still clearer that all true friends to the constitution ought to go along with the voice of the people. It has always appeared to us, indeed, that the great practical vice of our government, was the want of a real responsibility in ministers, and the impossibility of inflicting any punishment, even where they had been guilty of the grossest mismanagement. After lavishing thousands of lives and millions of money,—after sacrificing the character and the interests of the country abroad, and irretrievably tainting its constitution at home, the exploded statesman is permitted to retire, loaded with wealth, and hung round with honours, and to wait unquestioned in a private station, till some intrigue lifts him again into office. Now, this systematic lenity,—this expected and never-failing impunity, has had a most pernicious effect both upon the people and upon the government; and we are now suffering, and are likely to suffer, incalculable evils in consequence.

The people, who hear the ministerial delinquent arraigned, in terms of sufficient emphasis, by his parliamentary opponents, and yet see him, when removed from power, taking his place unmolest-

ed

ed beſide them, are naturally apt to conclude, or at leaſt are eaſily taught to believe, that neither party have any real concern for the wrongs of the country; that the whole object of the accuſers is to get into the place of the delinquents; and that, being there, they have no ſort of inclination to ſet an example of puniſhing offences of which they themſelves intend to be guilty on the firſt convenient opportunity: and thus the character of all public men is vilified and degraded, and an univerſal diſtruſt or deſpair of public virtue is propagated through the whole maſs of the people. If it were only to counteract this moſt fatal impreſſion, therefore—if it were only to give a pledge of their own ſerious abhorrence of the practices which have diſplaced their antagoniſts—it would be the duty of thoſe who had proved the guilt of a miniſter, to proceed againſt him to puniſhment—to pacify the people by the immolation of one victim—and to eſtabliſh a precedent, which, in the event of their own miſconduct, would inſure their immediate condemnation. This, however, is but a narrow view of the benefit to be derived, and the evils to be diſpelled, by exacting from delinquent or incapable ſtatesmen, the full penalty of their bond, and inſiſting upon making that reſponſibility real, which every one verbally acknowledges to be due. It is a great evil, that a miſtaken lenity revolts the people, and gives riſe to ſuſpicions that are often unfounded; but it is a far greater evil, and that, in contemplation of which, reſponſibility was introduced into our conſtitution, that corrupt and incapable perſons are thus encouraged to ſit down in the high places of the government, and to undertake, lightly and wantonly, a taſk, in which it appears almoſt as ſafe and honourable to fail as to ſucceed. Miniſters were made reſponſible, however, only that the ſpectacle of their *puniſhment* might deter unfit or unworthy perſons from venturing to occupy their places; —and the whole benefit of that proviſion is loſt, therefore, if, after being diſplaced for corruption or incapacity, they are permitted to live on in ſecurity, with all their wealth and their honours—and to cloſe their days, without cenſure, in the land which they have endangered or debaſed.

Laying corruption out of the queſtion, we will confeſs, that this habit of diſpenſing with puniſhment, even in the caſe of incapacity, appears to us to be in the higheſt degree pernicious, and likely, in ſuch times as the preſent, to lead to the moſt fatal conſequences. In the days of peace and tranquillity, when we were ſafe from without, and had moſt of our people quiet and unanimous within, the game of politics was played for a much lower ſtake; and a little unſkilfulneſs entailed no very ſerious calamity. Now, however, when the very exiſtence of the country depends upon the judicious management of her rulers,—when the

lives and liberties of twenty millions of people are committed, at every hour, to the diſcretion of their governors, it does not ſeem reaſonable that a game of ſuch mighty hazard ſhould be without danger only for him who voluntarily undertakes to play it. That men ſhould be found to ruſh confidently forward to ſuch an awful taſk as the management of Engliſh politics at ſuch a criſis as the preſent, has always appeared to us a matter of melancholy aſtoniſhment. But, ſince we know the fact to be ſo, and know, too, with what qualifications and what preparation that taſk has ſometimes been undertaken, it is ſurely neceſſary that we ſhould try to deter the vain, the raſh, and the obſequious, by attaching a ſevere and inevitable puniſhment to the detection of their incapacity. The father who ſhot the apple from the head of his ſon, had another ſhaft for himſelf, if he had failed in the perilous experiment; and he who does not heſitate to commit the fate of his country to his own prudence and diſcretion, ſurely cannot complain, if his own life and character be made to depend on the iſſue.

We truſt we are not more vindictive than other perſons, and think we are fully aware of the value and the beauty of mutual toleration and indulgence for human failings; but we profeſs we can ſee nothing in the leaſt degree harſh or unreaſonable in ſubjecting an incapable ſtateſman, who has brought evil on the country, to ſevere and exemplary puniſhment, even though there ſhould be no evidence of miſchievous principles or intention. If a man, utterly ignorant of medicine, pretends to play the part of a phyſician, and kills his neighbour by a prepoſterous preſcription, the law puniſhes him as a murderer. If another, equally ignorant of politics, ſets up for a redreſſer of grievances, and, with the beſt intentions, takes arms againſt the exiſting government, he muſt ſubmit to the fate of a traitor. What then ſhall we ſay of him who, inſtead of deſtroying the life of one man, or endangering the peace of one city by his ignorance and preſumption, has ſent thouſands upon thouſands to untimely graves, and filled the land from border to border with deſpondency and mourning? Is he indeed to be held guiltleſs of this blood and this miſery? or is it not both juſt and neceſſary that he ſhould be ſubjected to ſubſtantial and exemplary puniſhment, and ſo rewarded by public reſentment, as to make his fate a terror and a warning to all who might be tempted to come after him? There are no private crimes at all comparable, in the magnitude of the evils they produce, to that of a raſh or ignorant adminiſtration of public affairs in the critical period of a nation's deſtiny; and it is a crime which it is only the more neceſſary to repreſs by puniſhment, as it is one to which the moral feelings of mankind are but ſeldom directed, and to which there exiſt at all times ſo very powerful temptations.

We

We think, therefore, that upon this most important point, the voice of the people is entirely in unison with that of the constitution; and that the administration of public affairs will never be either wise, pure or consistent, till corrupt and incapable persons are frighted from the office by the certainty of the severe investigation and the unrelenting punishment of their blunders,—and till it have ceased to be possible for a court favourite to make shipwreck of the lives and the characters of the noblest of his countrymen, and then retire from office in the unchallenged enjoyment of honours, favours and emoluments. Those who have exposed and discredited such an administration, and by that exposure have at last overthrown it, are bound to follow up their victory with vengeance, and to execute justice on the criminal whom they have denounced and convicted. An eternal and systematic remission of punishment,—a regular amnesty upon surrender, leads naturally to suspicions of weakness, or insincerity, or both; nor can those who mean well give a better pledge of their being in earnest in condemning the faults of others, than by establishing a precedent by which they themselves may be punished, if they ever come to resemble what they have censured. When the country is bleeding in every vein, from the wounds inflicted by convicted folly and incapacity, it cannot be satisfied with the honourable dismissal of those by whose most guilty presumption it has suffered; nor can it have any security against the repetition of similar offences, while those who have brought the former to light, appear to be shy of inflicting the vengeance they have threatened.

We write this at the present crisis, with a feeling of eager and painful anxiety, in which we believe most of our readers sympathise. The Parliament of England is now occupied with the investigation of the most inglorious and deplorable undertaking that ever disgraced the councils of the country; and the hearts of the whole nation are watching eagerly for their decision,—not, however, to be guided by it in their opinion of the merits of that expedition, but in their opinion of the Parliament itself that is to pronounce that decision. There is no man of common sense, of common observation, or common feeling, that does not know that the mind of the nation is made up, and upon sufficient grounds, on the former question; and we verily believe, that there is not a single individual in the kingdom, of any party or any description, that does not think that our operations were begun in ignorance, presumption and folly; and that they were protracted by the most contemptible indecision, or the most cold-blooded and unfeeling obstinacy. No determination of any assembly will alter this impression,—no vote of any majority will make one individual waver in his inward conviction. But, if there

should

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

From October 1809, *to January* 1810.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL ECONOMY.

The Farmer's Magazine, No. XL. 3s.

Facts and Observations relative to Sheep and Wool, Ploughs, Oxen, and other Subjects of Husbandry. By Lord Sommerville. 8s.

The Farmer's Account-Book for 1810. 1*l.* 1s.

ARTS (FINE).

A Print, engraven in the *Line manner*, by J. Burnet, from a Picture of the same size by D. Wilkie, A. R. A., representing a Man amusing two Children, by playing on a Jew's Harp, being the first of a Series of Engravings. Proofs, 1*l.* 1s.; Impressions, 10s. 6d.

Studies from Nature; containing Seventy-Eight Outline Engravings of Scenery, selected from the Mountains of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, from Drawings taken on the Spot, and engraved by William Green. Folio. 5*l.* 5s.

The Speculum; an Essay on the Art of Drawing in Water Colours. By J. Hassell. 1s. 6d.

The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet. Vol. VI. 15s.

A Collection of Portraits, sketched from Life, since the Year 1793. By George Dance, R. A. Nos. IV. and V. 1*l.* 1s. each.

A Letter from the President and Directors of the British Institution. By M. A. Shee, R. A. 3s.

The Works of William Hogarth, elucidated by Descriptions, critical, moral and historical. By Thomas Clerk. Royal 8vo. 12s.

A Full Length Portrait of the late Right Rev. Beilby Porteus, D. D. Bishop of London. 1*l.* 1s.; Proofs, 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Practical Directions for learning Flower-drawing, illustrated by Coloured Drawings. By Patrick Syme, Flower painter, Edinburgh. 4to. 2*l.* 2s.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Elements of Geometry, Geometrical Analysis, and Plane Trigonometry; with an Appendix, Notes, and Illustrations. By John Leslie, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. 12s.

The Gentleman's Mathematical Companion for 1810. 2s.

A Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. By Robert Woodhouse, A. M. F. R. S. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Every Builder his own Surveyor, or the Builder's Vade Mecum. By Richard Jones. 6s.

Evening Amusements for 1810. By W. Frend, esq. M. A. 3s.

A System of Astronomy, on the simple Plan of Geography, with Descriptions, &c. By John Greig. 5s.

Astrography, or the Heavens displayed on a new Plan. By John Greig. 5s.

Arcana, or Museum of Nature, containing Delineations of the most recent Discoveries in Natural History. No. I. 2s. 6d.

The Ninth Number of Lybourn's Mathematical Repository, containing, besides various Articles, Solutions to the Mathematical Questions proposed in the Seventh Number, and a Series of New Questions, to which he solicits Answers from his Correspondents. The Number here announced, completes the Second Volume of the Work. The two Volumes contain,—I. Two Hundred and Fifty Questions, both in Pure and Mixt Mathematics, almost all of which are entirely new; and in general each is accompanied with several Solutions by different Mathematicians;—2. Thirty-three Original Essays on Mathematical Subjects;—3. Several Mathematical Memoirs, extracted from Works of Eminence, chiefly the Transactions of Learned Societies. The Tenth Number of this Work will be Published on the 1st day of June, 1810.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of John Philip Kemble, Esq. 2s. 6d.

The History of the Political Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt. By John Gifford, Esq. 3. vol. Imperial 4to. 15*l.* 15s. Royal 4to. 8*l.* 8s. or 6 vol. 8vo. 4*l.* 4s.

Memoirs of the life and Writings of Victor Alfieri, written by Himself. 2 vol. 8vo. 18s.

The Narrative of the Rev. Joseph Samuel C. Frey, Minister of the Gospel to the Jews. 8vo. 7s.

Life of Lord Nelson. By the Rev. J. Clarke, and John M'Arthur Esq. 2 vol. Royal 4to. 9*l.* 9s.

Ecclesiastical Biography; or, Lives of Eminent Men, connected with the History of Religion in England. 6 vol. 8vo. 3*l.* 15s.

BOTANY.

Fuci; or Coloured Figures and Descriptions of the Plants referred by Botanists to the Genus Fucus. By Dawson Turner. Vol. II. Royal 4to. 4*l.* 13s.

The Philosophy of Botany. By Dr Thornton. Parts XVIII. and XIX. 10s. 6d. each.

A Calendar of Flora, composed during the year 1809, at Warrington. By George Crossford, Secretary to the Botanical Society of Warrington.

Elements of the Science of Botany, as established by Linnæus; with Examples to illustrate the Classes and orders of his System, full of Engravings. 2 vol. 1*l.* 6s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Bibliotheca Nova Legum Angliæ; or a complete Catalogue of Law Books, arranged on a Plan entirely new, and corrected to the present Time. By William Reed. 12mo. 7s.

A Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Institution, methodically arranged, with an Alphabetical Index of Authors. By William Harris, Keeper of the Library. 15s.

CHEMISTRY.

Rudiments of Chemical Philosophy. By N. Meredith. 4s.

Rudiments of Chemistry, illustrated by Experiments. By Samuel Parkes. 5s.

DRAMA.

The Patriotic Entertainment, called the Jubilee, performing by the Drury-Lane Company, Lyceum. Written by Joseph Kemp, Mus. Doc. 1s.

The Theatric Count, a Tragi-Comedy, in Five Acts. 2s. 6d.

Remarks on Theatres. 7s.

Considerations on the past and present State of the Stage, with Reference to the Contest at Covent Garden. 2s. 6d.

The Rebellion, or all in the Wrong. A Serio-Comic Hurly-burly, as it was performed for Two Months at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. 4s.

A Journal of the War, carried on in the New Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, from 18th September to 18th November 1809.

Not at home. By R. C. Dallas, Esq. 2s.

Reason *versus* Passion, or an Impartial Review of the dispute between the Public and the Proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre. 2s.

A letter to J. P. Kemble, on the present Disturbances at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.

EDUCATION.

The Elements of Astronomy. By George Reynolds. 5s.

Tales for Youth, being a Series of Prose and Poetical Pieces. By S. H. Piercy. 1s. 6d.

Logic made Essay, or a short View of the Aristotelic Method of Reasoning. By Henry Kett, B. D. 3s. 6d.

The New Geographical Grammar. By the Rev. John Evans, A. M. No. I. 8vo. 8d.

A Geographical and Historical View of the World. By John Bigland. 5 vol. 8vo.

Fables on Men and Manners. By Richard Gurney, Junior, Esq. 12mo. 5s.

The Fruits of Reflection, or Moral Remembrances on various Subjects. By Elizabeth Helme. 2 vol. 12mo. 9s.

An Inquiry into the best System of Female Education, or Boarding School and Home Education, attentively considered. By the Rev. J. L. Chirol. 8vo. 9s.

Little Dramas for Young People, on Subjects taken from English History. By Mrs Hoole. 12mo. 3s.

The English Tutor or Juvenile Assistant. By W. C. Oulton. 6s.

Il Vero Modo di Piacere in Compagnia—(The Art of Pleasing in Company) Di Carlo Monteggia, with a French Translation. 12mo. 6s.

A Vocabulary, Persian, Arabic, and English, abridged from Richardson's Dictionary. By David Hopkins, Esq. Royal 8vo. 1*l.* 16s.

Vacation Evenings, or Conversations between a Governess and her Pupils. 10s. 6d.

The Lost Child. A Christmas Tale. 3s.

The Penman's Repository, containing Seventy correct Alphabets. By the late William Milne. Folio. 1*l.* 1s.

History, Anecdotes, and Secret Memoirs, of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. By Sir Jonah Barrington, Part I. Imperial 4to, 1*l.* 1s. fine paper, 2*l.* 2s.

The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for 1808. 16s.

An Abridgment of the History of Spain, from the Spanish of Don Thomas Yriarte. 12mo. 5s.

LAW.

Reports of Cases in the High Court of Chancery. By F. Vesey, esq. Vol. XV. Part II. 6s.

The Laws of Gaming, Wagers, Horseracing, and Gaminghouses. By John Disney, esq. 8vo. 5s.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Common Pleas, and other Courts, in Michaelmas and Hilary Terms, 48th Geo. III. 1807 and 8. By William Pyle Taunton, esq. Vol. I. Part I. Royal 8vo. 7s.

A Digest of the Bankrupt Laws, with a Collection of the Statutes, and of the Cases argued and determined in the Courts of Law and Equity on that Subject. By Basil Montagu, esq. 3 vol. 3*l.* 3s.

Reports of Cases, argued and adjudged before the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes in May, June, and July, 1809. By Thomas Harman Acton, esq. Vol. I. Part I. Royal 8vo. 6s.

A Treatise on Wills and Codicils. By William Roberts, esq. Royal 8vo. 19s.

A Treatise on Pleading on the Equity Side of the High Court of Chancery. By George Cooper, esq. Royal 8vo. 13s.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Malta, in the Case of the King George Privateer, November 14, 1807, before the Right Worshipful J. Sewell, LL. D. 1s.

Reports of Cases, determined in the Court of King's Bench last Easter Term. By Edward Hyde East, esq. Vol. XL. Part I. Royal 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Reading upon the Statute of Sewers, with the several Judgements and Resolutions of the Judges. By R. Callis, esq. Royal 8vo. 14s.

The Whole of the Proceedings in the Cause, the Commissioners of Excise *versus* Brown and Parry. 2s. 6d.

The Whole of the Proceedings in the Cause, Clifford *against* Brandon. By Messrs. Ramsey and Blanchard. 3s. 6d.

The Whole of the Proceedings in the Cause, Wardle *against* D. and F. Wright, and M. A. Clarke. 2s. 6d.

The Solicitor's Assistant in the Court of Chancery. By Wm. Hands, gent. 8vo. 9s.

Syphax's Letters on the Trial by Jury, illustrated in the Case of Alexander Davidson, esq. 2s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Pleasures of Anarchy, a Dramatic Sermon; to which is prefixed a Map illustrative of the Work, 3s. 6d.

A Letter addressed to Samuel Whitbread, esq. M. P. with Suggestions for forming an Asylum for Friendless Young Ladies. To be had gratis of Miller, Albemarle-street.

A Letter addressed to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, on the Subject of General Medical Relief to the Diseased Poor of the City of London. By J. Amos jun. Secretary to City Dispensary. 2s. 6d.

An Account of the several Life Assurance Companies, established in London; with a comparative View of their respective Merits and Advantages. By Francis Bailey. 1s.

The East India Register and Directory for 1810. By John Mathison and Alexander Way Mason. 7s. 6d.

An Examination and Complete Refutation of the Observations contained in Colonel Wardle's Letter to Lord Ellenborough, on his Charge to the Jury, in the Case of Wardle *against* Mrs Clarke and the Wrights. 2s.

The Complete Confectioner and Family Cook. By John Caird. 7s.

A Scourge for Adulterers, Duellists, Gamesters, and Self-Murderers. 2s.

The Hindu Pantheon. By Edward Moore, F.R.S. Illustrated with one hundred and five Plates. Royal 4to. 5*l.* 5s.

The unpublished Correspondence of Madame du Deffand. Translated by Mrs Meeke. 2 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 1s.

Mrs Galindo's Letter to Mrs Siddons; a Narrative of Circumstantial Facts, including Anecdotes, &c. of Mrs Siddons's Life for the last Seven Years, with several of her Letters. 5s.

Correspondance de Madame la Marquise du Deffand. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

The Leisure Hour Improved, or Moral Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, original and selected. Foolscap. 4s.

An Analytical View of the Medical Department of the British Army. By Charles Maclean, M. D. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Evening Amusements; or the Beauty of the Heavens displayed; in which several striking appearances to be observed on various evenings in the Heavens, during the year 1810, are described. By William Frend, esq. M. A. 3s. 6d.

Herculanensia; or Archeological and Philological Dissertations, containing a Manuscript found among the Ruins of Herculaneum. 4to. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The New School; being an attempt to illustrate its Principles, Detail and Advantages. By Thomas Bernard, esq. 2s. 6d.

The New Family Receipt-Book; a Collection of nearly eight hundred Receipts (omitting those in Medicine and Cookery), in various branches of Domestic Economy. Foolscap 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Seven Charges given to Grand Juries, at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. 2s. 6d.

The High Price of Bullion, a Proof of the Depretiation of Bank Notes. By David Ricardo. 2s.

A Friendly Gift for Servants and Apprentices. By the Author of Lessons for young Persons in humble Life. 6d.

The Examiner Examined, or Logic vindicated. Addreſſed to the Junior Students of the Univerſity of Oxford. 2s.

A Letter to the Inhabitants of Goſport, on the Suit now pending in the Court of Exchequer, between the Crown and the Proprietors of the Mudlands and Buildings on the Goſport Shore of Portſmouth Harbour. By George Moſes Jukes. 2s. 6d.

Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books. By the Rev. W. Beloe. Vol. IV. 10s. 6d.

A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough, occaſioned by his Charge to the Jury, on the Trial of Wardle v. F. and D. Wright, and Mrs A. Clarke. By G. L. Wardle, eſq. M. P. 1s.

An Analyſis of Mr Locke's Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding. By Edward Oliver, D. D. 4to. 5s.

A Dictionary of Anecdotes. 2 vol. crown 8vo. 16s.

Le Livre Rouge; or, a new and extraordinary Red Book, containing a Liſt of the Penſions in England, Scotland, and Ireland. By P. F. M'Callum. 4s.

A correct Report of the laſt enacted War Export and Import Duties of Cuſtoms, and Drawbacks on Drugs, Chemicals, and Perfumery. 3s. 6d.

MEDICINE, SURGERY, &c.

The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, No. XXI. 3s.

The Medical Annual Review, vol. I. 8vo. 9s.

A Letter on the Study of Medicine, and on the Medical Character, addreſſed to a Student. By Peter Reid, M. D. 2s.

A Letter in Reply to the Report of the Surgeons of the Vaccine Inſtitution. By T. Brown, Surgeon, Muſſelburgh. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Letters concerning the Diſeaſes of the Urethra. By Charles Bell. 8vo. 7s. With Six Plates.

A Selection of the moſt intereſting Caſes that have occurred in the Practice of eminent Practitioners in Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery. To which are added, an Account of new Medical Works, the late Improvements in Chemiſtry, Pharmacy, &c. &c. 10s. 6d.

Two Engravings; one repreſenting the Baſis of the Human Brain, the other the Cavity in which it is contained; accompanied with Two Outline Plates, and Figures of Reference. By T. J. Pettigrew. Royal 4to. 1l. 1s.

Caſes and Obſervations in Surgery. By Walter Weldon. 5s. 6d.

An Inquiry into the Seat and Nature of Fever. By Henry Clutterbuck, M. D. Part I. 8vo. 9s.

A Syſtem of operative Surgery, founded on the Baſis of Anatomy. By Charles Bell. 2 vol. royal 8vo. 1l. 14s.

Genuine Guide to Health. By T. F. Churchhill, M.D. 12mo. 4s.

Obſervations and Experiments on the Digeſtive Powers of the Bile. By Eaglesfield Smith, eſq. 3s.

An Eſſay on the Hiſtory, Practice, and Theory of Electricity. By John Bywater.

Obſervations on the Structure of Hoſpitals for the Treatment of Lu-

natics, and on the general Principles on which the Cure of Inſanity may be moſt ſucceſsfully conducted. To which is annexed, an Account of the intended Eſtabliſhment of a Lunatic Aſylum at Edinburgh; illuſtrated by Fine Engravings. 4to. 7s. 6d.

Narrative of the Conduct of Dr James Gregory towards the Royal College of Phyſicians of Edinburgh. Drawn up and publiſhed by order of the College, in conſequence of the various printed papers circulated by him relative to their affairs. 4to. 6s.

MILITARY.

A Pictural Plan, taken by an Officer, of the exact Situation of our Grand Expedition in the Scheldt; ſhowing the difficulty of approach to Antwerp. 5s.

A Narrative of the intereſting Particulars attending the ſecond Siege of Zaragoza. Tranſlated from the Spaniſh, by William Buy, eſq. 2s. 6d.

The Journal of a Regimental Officer, during the recent Campaign in Portugal and Spain, under Lord Viſcount Wellington. 4s. 6d.

MAPS.

A Map of Portugal, drawn from the various provincial Surveys. Corrected by the Nautical Obſervations of Dr Vincente Toſino, and the Topography of Don Thomas Lopez. 4s. 6d.

Pinkerton's new Modern Atlas, No. II.; containing Switzerland, Scandinavia, and Southern Italy. 1l. 1s.

MUSIC.

A general Collection of the antient Muſic of Ireland, arranged for the Pianoforte. Vol. I. 1l. 6s. Large paper, 1l. 11s. 6d.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

The Monk and the Vinedreſſer; or, the Emigrants of Belleſme: a Moral Tale. By a Lady. 12mo. 3s.

Old Times Revived; a romantic Story of the Ninth Age. By Eyeſtas. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l.

Celia Suited; or, the Rival Heireſſes. 2 vol. 8vo. 12s.

The Myſteries of Ferney Caſtle; a Romance. By George Lambe, eſq. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l. 2s.

Roſa in London. By the Author of the Young Mother. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l. 2s.

Caroline Ormſby; or, the Advantages of Education. 12mo. 5s.

The Caſtle of Aragon; or, the Banditti of the Foreſt: a Romance. By Miſs Smith. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l. 2s.

The Son of the Storm; a Tale. By Henry Siddons. 4 vol. 12mo. 18s.

Tales of Yore. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

The Bravo's Sop; or, the Chief of St Maldo: a Romance. 2 vol. 7s.

The Priory of St Mary. By Bridget St Hilaire. 4 vol. 12mo. 1l.

Euphronia; or, the Captive. By Mrs Norris. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

Cœlebs in Search of a Miſtreſs. 2 vol. 12mo.

Faulconſtein

Faulconstein Forest. Post 8vo. 6s. 6d.

The Assassin of St Glenroy; or, the Axis of Life. 4 vol. By Anthony Frederick Holstein.

Romance Readers and Romance Writers. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

The Refusal. By Mrs West. 3 vol. 12mo.

Dangers through Life; or, the Victim of Seduction. By Mrs Plunkett. 3 vol. 15s.

Black-Rock House; or, Dear-bought Experience. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

The Castles of Marsange and Nuger. 3 vol. 12s.

London Characters of the present Century. 2 vol. 16s.

Love, Hatred, and Revenge; a Swiss Romance. By J. P. Lathey. 2 vol. 12mo. 15s.

The Convent of Grey Penitents. 2 vol. 9s.

Tales of Real Life, forming a Sequel to Miss Edgeworth's Tales of Fashionable Life. 3 vol. 18s.

Modern Times; or, Anecdotes of the English Family. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

The American Savage; or, Orab and Phœbe. 2 vol. 9s.

A Winter in Edinburgh; or, the Russian Brothers. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

Beau Monde; or, Scenes in Fashionable Life. 3 vol. 12mo. 15s.

The ill-fated Mariner; or, Richard the Runaway. By Mrs Pilkington. 4s.

POLITICS.

A cursory Review of the late Administration; with a few Remarks on the Strictures of the Quarterly Review on Mr Moore's Publication. 1s. 6d.

The Principles and Conduct of the War. 2s.

Radical Reform; its Effects on the Abolition of Sinecures and Pensions. 2s.

Better Late than Never; or, Considerations on the War, and the Necessity of Peace. 3s. 6d.

Two Letters from the Right Hon. George Canning to Earl Camden. 2s.

Short Remarks on the State of Parties at the close of 1809. 1s.

A Review of Lord Selkirk's Objection to a Reform in the Representation of the People. By John Pearson esq. 1s. 6d.

A Letter to Colonel Wardle, in which his public Conduct is examined and illustrated. 2s.

A Letter to the Right Hon. George Canning, upon the uncandid and unequitable Abuse of his Royal Highness the Duke of York. By the Rev. F. D. Fosbrooke, M. A. F. A. S.

POETRY.

Philemon; or, the Progress of Virtue: a Poem. By William Lawrence Brown, D. D. 2 vol. foolscap 8vo. 14s.

British George; a Poem. By Jas. Grahame. 4to. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for the years 1806-7. Crown 8vo.

Poetry for Children. By the Author of Mrs Leicester's School. 2 vol. 18mo. 8s.

The Battle of Talavera. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Bon Vivant's Guide, or Gastronomy, in four Cantos. From the French of Bercheux. 4to. 5s.

Mercy; a Poem on Lord Erskine's Bill for Preventing Cruelty to Animals. 1s.

Modern Proselytism. 8vo.

The Beauties of the Lyric Muse; a Collection of Poetry, comprising the choicest Productions of the British Lyre. 7s.

Select Poetical Translations of the Classics of Antiquity. 7s.

The Poetical Bouquet; selected from the Works of the most eminent British Poets. 7s.

Poetical Narratives, Epistles, and humorous Pieces, from the most eminent Authors. 7s.

The Popish Divan; or, Political Sanhedrim. 3s. 6d.

Wallace; or, the Battle of Falkirk; a metrical Romance. 4to.

The O. Pœiad. By a Mad Bull. 1s.

Courtship at Oxford: with other Poems. 1s. 6d.

The Battle of the Blocks; an heroic Poem, in three Cantos. By the Author of the Fantoccini. 1s.

English Minstrelsy; being a Selection of Fugitive Poetry from the best English Authors; with some original Pieces. 2 vol. 14s.

Sonnets and other Poems. By Martha Hanson. 2 vol. 14s.

The Decision of Æsculapius, in the Cause, O. P. *versus* M. D. 8vo. 6d.

The Maid of Griban; a Fragment. By Robert Mudie, Dundee. 8vo. 1s.

The Goblin-Groom; a Tale of Dunse. By R. Fenwick, Esq. 4to. 15s.

THEOLOGY.

Reflections on the Tendency of a Publication, entitled, Hints to the Public and the Legislature on the Nature and Effect of Evangelical Preaching. By the Rev. John Hume Spry, M. A. 2s. 6d.

Five Essays on the Proof of Man's Future Existence. To which are prefixed, Seventeen Sermons on important Subjects. By Pendlebury Houghton. 8vo. 7s.

Six Sermons, on some of the most important Points of Christianity; as also, Five Sermons on occasional Subjects. By the Rev. A. Freston, A. M., Rector of Edgworth, Gloucester. 10s. 6d. to Subscribers; 12s. 6d. to Nonscribers.

Letters to the Rev. Daniel Veysie, B. D. occasioned by his Preservative against Unitarianism. By Lant Carpenter, LL.D. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

An Attempt to show the Folly and Danger of Methodism. By the Editor of the Examiner Weekly Newspaper. 2s. 6d.

Sermons on several Subjects, from the Old Testament. By John Hampson, M. A. 8vo. 9s.

A Sermon preached before his Grace the Archbishop of York,

and the Clergy of Malton, at the Visitation, August, 1809. By the Rev. Sidney Smith, Rector of Foston, Yorkshire. 2s.

The History of the Church of Christ, Vol. IV. By the Rev. Isaac Milner, D. D. F. R. S. 8vo. 16s.

An Inquiry into the Moral Tendency of Methodism, and Evangelical Preaching, including some Remarks on the Hints of a Barrister. By William Burns. 4s.

Lectures on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. By James Brewster, Minister at Craig. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Exposition of the Creed. By John Pearson, D. D. Bishop of Chester, abridged by the Rev. C. Burney, of Greenwich. 8s.

The Obligations of Christians to Attempt the Conversion of the Jews. 1s.

A Review of the Policy and peculiar Doctrines of the present Church of Rome. By the Rev. Peter Robert, A. M. 6s.

The Religious World Displayed; or a View of the four grand Systems of Religion, Judaism, Paganism, Christianity and Mohammedism. By the Rev. Robert Adam, B. A. 3 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Preparation for the Holy Order of Priests. By J. G. Huntingford, D. D. Bishop of Gloucester. 2s. 6d.

Strictures on the Work entitled, Zeal without Innovation. 1s. 6d.

Sermons by the late Bishop Worsley, in 2 vol. 8vo. 21s.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan. By Samuel Rush Meyrick, A. B. Royal 4to. 4*l.* 4s.

An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras. By Captain Henderson. 8vo. 7s.

Topography of London. By John Lockie, Inspector of Buildings to the Phœnix Fire-Office. 8vo. 8s.

A Description of the Feroe Islands. Translated from the Danish by the Rev. G. Landt. 8vo. 12s.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Voyages and Travels to Pekin, Manilla, and the Isle of France, between 1784 and 1801. By M. de Guignes, French Resident in China. 4to.

Continental Excursions, or Tours into France, Switzerland and Germany, in 1782, 1787, and 1789. By the Rev. Thomas Pennington, M. A. 2 vol. 8vo. 15s.

A Second Journey in Spain, in the Spring of 1809. By Robert Semple. 8vo. 8s.

INDEX.

A

Aberdeen, earl of, curious discovery made by, in a tomb near Athens, 457.

Adams, Dr, his arguments in support of smallpox inoculation, 349.

Æschylus, Cambridge edition of, 152—manuscripts of, extant, 153—remarks on the various readings of different passages, 154. 315.

African Institution, sketch of, 486—views which influenced the formation of the establishment, 489—remarks on the negro character, 490—causes of the failure of the Sierra Leone plan, 492—advantages that have nevertheless resulted from it, 494—means by which this new institution purposes to accomplish its objects, 495—account of the progress already made, 499.

Alfieri, Victor, Memoirs of, 274—sketch of his life, 276—reflections on his character, 292—remarks on his literary productions, 293.

Algebra, works containing improvements, &c. in, 8.

Aiguillon, portrait of the duchesse de, 477.

America, inquiry whether the discovery of, has been prejudicial to Spain, 57.

Anquetil, M., plans of, for the invasion of India, 369.

Antivaccinists, disgraceful methods they have adopted to support their system, 338.

Arcueil, Memoires de la Societé d',—account of that association, 142—observations on the intensity, &c. of the magnetic force, 143—nature of the gas contained in the air-bladders of fishes, 146—variations of temperature which gases experience in changing their density, 148—researches on the respiration of fishes, 418—on the motion of light in diaphanous media, 422—experiments on the propagation of sound in vapours, 430—on the propagation of sound through solid bodies, 435—on the relation between the oxydation of metals, and the capacity of saturation of their oxyds by acids, 436—of the action of vegetable acids on alcohol, &c. 438.

Ashe's travels in America, character of, 442—singular phenomenon observed by the author, 443—account of Pittsburg, ib.—remarks on the literature of the Americans, 446—description of the Ohio, 447—of Indian antiquities, 448—of the Ohio state, 449—Kentucky, 450—of a remarkable cave at the mouth of the Wabash, 451.

Asiatic Researches, importance of the study of Indian antiquities considered, 175—Warren on the effects of terrestrial refraction, 178—Kater on hygrometers, ib.—Wilford on the sacred islands in the west, ib.—account of the Jains, 183—Colebrooke on the Indian and Arabian division of the zodiac, 187—on olibanum or frankincense, ib.—Hunter on a species of pepper, &c. 188—Colebrooke on antient monuments containing Sanscrit inscriptions, ib.—Paterson on the musical scale of the Hindus, 189.

B

Balance of Torsion, account of, 12.
Barlow's Columbiad, 24—general character of, 25—sketch of the story, 27—strange innovations the author has made on the English language, 28—resembles Darwin in his versification, 30—Extracts—account of the origin of the Missisippi, 31—a modern battle, 32—a sea fight, 33—surrender of Cornwallis, ib.—river Delaware represented as opposing Washington's passage, 34—origin and progress of superstition, 36—reflections on the sad alternation of light and darkness, &c. in the history of the species, ib.—picture of the enchanting scenes of human innocence and enjoyment which await later times, 38.
Barometer, application of, to the measurement of heights, 13.
Bavaria, King of, attempts to reform the administration of justice in his dominions, 89.
Bexon, Code de la Legislation Penale, 88—criminal law of Europe, hitherto very defective, ib.—King of Bavaria attempts to reform the administration of justice in his dominions, 89—employs the author to draw up a code of laws, 90—his definition of police inaccurate, 91—objects of police, 93—attempt to trace the true limits between police and criminal judicature, 94—definition of civil law, 97—of penal law, 98—actions of mankind that can be the objects of regulation classified, ib.—the author's arrangement of crimes, 104—singular distinction made between public and private wrongs by the English law, 105—general reflections on the author's notions of punishments, &c. 107.
Biot, experiments of, on the gas in the air-bladder of fishes, 146—on the propagation of sound in vapours, 430—on the propagation of sound through solid bodies, 435.
Borda, repeating circle of, 6.
Bougainville, M., speech of, before the French Emperor, 1.
Broadhurst on Female Education, 299—of the difference of capacity between the sexes, ib.—objections to female education obviated, 300—advantages that would arise from giving the women a better education, 308.
Brown, Mr, his objections to vaccination examined, 329.
Bryce, Mr, plan of, for the extermination of smallpox, 346.

C

Cavendish, account of his balance, 12.
Chilicothe, the capital of the Ohio state, account of, 449.
Choiseul, Duchesse de, letter from to Mad. du Deffand, on the subject of ennui, 472.
Clarke on the Cambridge marbles, 453.
Colebrooke on the Indian and Arabian division of the zodiac, 187—on olibanum or frankincense, ib.—on antient monuments containing Sanscrit inscriptions, 188.
Comet of 1770, singular circumstance relating to, 10.
Compte rendu, par l'Institut de France—speech of M. Bougainville to the French Emperor, 1—report on the elementary branches of the mathematics, 2—astronomy, 10—experimental philosophy, 13

—magnetism, 14—geography and travels, 15—general physics, 16—galvanic electricity, 18—mineralogy, 19—conclusion of the report, 21.

Conduct of the war, 197—short account of the works reviewed under this title, 199—various opinions concerning the plan that ought to have been adopted in assisting the Spaniards, 202—ruinous delay occasioned by the operations in Portugal, 203—state of the French in Spain, when our army was ordered to march into that country, 204—such as to leave us no just hopes of success, 206—estimates of the force of the Spaniards, 208—their troops altogether unable to contend with the French, 210—difficulties of Sir John Moore on entering Spain, 212—he determines to retreat, 215—but is induced by Mr Frere, &c. again to advance, 219—account of the final retreat, 225—reflections on the disastrous termination of the campaign, 230.

Coulomb's balance, the same in principle with that of Cavendish, 13.

Cuvier, report of, on the subject of general physics, 16.

D

Darwin, Dr, demonstrates the use of the sap vessels in trees, 124.

Delambre, M., address of, to the French Emperor, 16.

D'Alembert, letter from, to M. d'Argens, 465—to Madame du Deffand, 467.

Deffand, Madame du, account of, 459—circumstances which distinguished the old French society from that of England, ib.—letter from Montesquieu to D'Alembert, 464—character of D'Alembert, 465—letters from to Madame du Deffand, 467—M. Desaleurs's account of the Turks, and of diplomatic society, 469—letters of Madame de Staal, 470—of the Duchesse de Choiseul, 472—characters of Madame du Deffand, and of some of the most distinguished members in her society, 473.

Delille, Trois Regnes de la Nature, 351—the author the first who cultivated descriptive poetry, &c. among the French, ib.—Virgil and Milton contrasted as epic poets, 354—account of the present work, 356—extracts from, 357.

Desaleurs, M., account of the Turks, and of the Diplomatic Society at Constantinople, 469.

E

Edgeworth's Professional Education, 40—what the chief merits of the author, 41—abuse of classical learning in England, ib.—inquiry into the utility of classical learning in general, 44—absurdity of that system of adopted in England, 45.

Elton's Translation of Hesiod, 109—inquiry into the time when he lived, 110—English translations of, 111—extract from the Battle of the Titans, 112—from the Works and Days, 113—Shield of Hercules, 116.

F

Fermat, M., the restorer of the antient geometrical analysis, 5.

Fishes, nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder of, 146—on the respiration of, 418.

Flinders, M., ungenerously detained in confinement by the French, 15.

Lamarens, Mad. de, portrait of, 478.

Fox, Mr, French translation of his history, 190—instances where passages of the original text have been altered or omitted, *passim*.

G

Galvanic electricity, new views opened up by, 18.
Gay-Lussac on the variations of temperature which gases experience in changing their density, 148—on the relation between the oxydation of metals, and the capacity of saturation of their oxyds by acids, 436.
Gilbert, Dr, the discoverer of the laws of magnetic action, 143.
Geology, remarks on, 19.
Gerarde's account of Devil's-bit Scabious, 126.
Grange, La, account of his algebraical works, 8.

H

Hall, Sir James, his discovery of the effects of compression on heat, 19.
Hamilton's Parliamentary logic, 163—account of the author, 164—present production a proof that the letters of Junius were not written by him, 165—his political character, 166—strictures on, 167—absurdity of pretending to teach reasoning or speaking as an art, 168—want of arrangement, a defect in the present work, 169—imitations of Bacon and Aristotle, 171—specimen of the author's maxims, 173—and rules for speaking, 174.
Hedysarum gyrans, account of, 120.
Herschel, discoveries of, 12.
Hesiod. See *Elton*.
Highmore, Mr, his argument in favour of smallpox inoculation, 348.
Hindus, character of, 272.
Humboldt, expedition of into the interior of America, 15—observations of, on the intensity, &c. of the magnetic force, 145.
Hunter, Dr, on a species of pepper found in Prince of Wales's Island, 188.

I

Jains, a set of Hindus, account of, 183—in what respects they differ from the Bauddhas, 184—inquiry into the relative antiquity of the various Indian sects, ib.—the Hindu divinity Siva, the same with the Bacchus; and their Hericrisna the Hercules of the Greeks and Romans, 185—war of the Mahabarat, the era of a great revolution in the religion and government of the Hindus, 186.
Jews, number of, expelled from Spain, 56.
Johnson's, Dr, essay on the corn laws, 175.

K

Kater's, Lieut., description of a very sensible hygrometer, 178.
Kentucky, account of the state of, 450.
Knight's, Mr, theory of vegetation, 124.

L

Laborde's view of Spain—some account of the author, 53—population, &c. of Spain, in the 16th century, much exaggerated, 55—inconsistencies and absurdities into which the author has fallen respecting that, 56—his opinion concerning the effects of the discovery of America on Spain, combated, 57—numerous mistakes he has committed with respect to the situation of places, &c. 60—

and in the ancient history of that country, 65—agriculture, public granaries, &c. 67—manufactures and commerce, 68—state of science, 71—literature, stage, &c. 72—character of the Spaniards, 73.

Lagrange, account of his algebraical works, 8.

Laplace on the motion of light in diaphanous bodies, 422.

Laplace's system of the world, 396—what the object of, 399—view of the laws of motion, 401—comparative weights and densities of the planets, 403—remarks on the perturbation of the elliptic motion, 404—inequalities produced on the motion of comets by the planets near which they pass, 406—what the effects of the collision of a comet with the earth, 407—theory of the secondary planets, 408—secular equation of the Moon, 409—remarks on the satellites of Jupiter and ring of Saturn, 412—principle of gravitation confirms the theory of the motion of the Earth, 413—Indian astronomical tables, 415.

Lauderdale, Lord, on Indian affairs, 256—inquiry how far the Board of Controul has answered the purposes of its erection, in preventing schemes of conquest, 257—in increasing the export of our manufactures, 266—and in effecting the objects to which the profits of the company were by law appropriated, 270—reflections on the state of affairs in India, 272.

Lavoisier, chemistry in what respect indebted to him, 18.

Legendre, account of his Elements of the Mathematics, 2.

Lespinasse, Maddle. de, account of, 479—extracts from her letters, 481.

Letter to Olinthus Gregory Esq. from the Edinburgh Reviewers, 245.

Lexington in Kentucky, account of, 450.

M

Magnetic action, observations on the laws of, 143.

Meridian, measurement of degrees of, 7.

Mirbel, M., remark of, relating to the distinction between animals and vegetables, 120.

Mississippi, description of, 452.

Moriscos, number of, expelled from Spain, 56.

Montagu's, Mrs, letters, 75—general character of, 76—extract written under the age of fourteen, 79—observations on life and characters at the age of seventeen, 80—specimen of her more serious manner, 81—description of the furniture of an old mansion, 83—of a sea captain, 84—picture of a country family, 26—remarks on the effects of Sir Robert Walpole's downfal, 85.

Montesquieu, letter from to D'Alembert, 465.

Muskinghum, Great, Indian antiquities found on the banks of, 448.

N

Nepenthes distillatoria, account of, 128.

Natchez, account of, 458.

O

Olbers, Mr, his opinion of the origin of the new planets lately discovered, 11.

Ohio, description of the river and state of, 447 & 449.
Orleans, New, account of, 453.

P

Pappus, a good edition of his works much wanted, 4.
Parallel lines, on the doctrine of, 3.
Parties, remarks on the state of, 504—two factions into which the body of the nation is divided, ib.—causes of the increase of popular discontent, 506—relative force of the two factions considered, 508—dangers from popular insurrection, 511—to the constitution of England, 512—policy which ought to be followed by the friends of the constitution in such a crisis, 513—points on which the popular advocates have chiefly insisted, considered, 515.
Paterson, Mr, on the Grāmas, or musical scale of the Hindus, 189.
Pequigni, Mad., account of, by Mad. du Deffand, 474.
Petty, Lord Henry, his opinion concerning compulsion or restraint with regard to inoculation, 347.
Piazzi, new planet discovered by, 11—supposed to have discovered the parallax of the fixed stars, 12.
Pittsburg, account of, 443.
Place, La, application of the barometer to the measurement of heights discovered by, 13.
Planets, new, discovered in the present century, 11.
Poetical extracts, from Barlow's Columbiad, 30—from Delille's Trois Regnes de la Nature, 357—from Darwin's Botanic Garden, 411.
Provençal and Humboldt, researches of, on the respiration of fishes, 418.
Pyrcolophorus, account of, 10.

Q

Quarterly List of New Publications, 236, 522.

R

Ramsden, Theodolite of, compared with the repeating circle of Borda, 6.

S

Saynete, a sort of Spanish drama, 72.
Scotish school of philosophy, how that title is applied in France, 22.
Semple's Second Journey in Spain, 384—unwarrantable use made of the name of the Edinburgh Review by some authors, ib.—character of the present work, 385—description of the Portuguese levies, ib.—kind treatment the author experienced in his journey, 390.
Shawannees, character of, 452.
Sierra Leone plan, causes of its failure, 492.
Smith's Introduction to Botany, 118—some account of the author, ib.—of the distinction between animals and vegetables, 119—general view of the vegetable body, 122—the cuticle, bark, &c. ib.—the wood and pith, 123—sap vessels, 124—secretions of plants, 125—the roots, 126—of the stems and stalks, and propagation of plants, 127—the leaves, 128—effects of air and light upon vegetables, 129—the flowers, 130—seeds, 131—sexes and diseases of plants, 132—vegetable petrifactions, 133—of the systematical arrangement of plants, ib.—nomenclature, 135—fanciful analogy between the characters of some botanists and the plants named af-

ter them, 136—remarks on the Linnean classification, 137—directions for forming a hortus siccus, 138—omissions and contradictions the author has fallen into, 139 & 141.

Society, old French, circumstances by which it was distinguished from any that every existed in England, 459.

Spain. See *Laborde*.

Staal, Madame de, extracts from letters of, 470.

T

Tabasheir, a singular substance found in the stem of the bamboo, 125.

U

Vaccination, pamphlets on, 322—vaccination esteemed efficacious by almost all respectable physicians, 326—refutation of the objections of their opponents, that it does not afford sufficient security against smallpox, 328—that it produces new and unheard-of diseases, 338—and that it has put an end to smallpox inoculation without being so extensively adopted in its stead, 340—unjustifiable conduct of the antivaccinists, 342—Dr Adams's opinion, that smallpox and cowpox are identical, erreoneous, 344—examination of Mr Bryce's plan for the extirpation of smallpox, 346—arguments for the restriction of smallpox inoculation examined, 348.

Valisneria spiralis, account of, 132.

Vegetables, how to be distinguished from animals, 119.

Voyage aux Indes Orientales, 363—state of society among the Hindus, whence an object of particular curiosity, ib.—circumstances which render the present work interesting, 364—missionaries have the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the manners of the Hindus, 365—travellers apt to despise authors who treat of countries they have never visited, 366—plans for the invasion of India by the French suggested by M. Anquetil, 369—practicability of, considered, 371—inquiry to whom the property of the soil belongs in India, 375.

W

Wabash, Indian antiquities discovered at the mouth of, 451.

Walker, Dr, circumstance adduced by, in proof of the perceptivity of plants, 127.

Warren's, Lieut., experiments on the effects of terrestrial refraction, 178.

Wilford's, Capt., Essays on the Sacred Islands in the West, &c. 178—extent of the geographical knowledge, &c. of the Hindus, 179—error respecting the position of Hastinapur, the antient capital of India, corrected, 180—of the kingdom of Magadha, ib.—chronology of its kings, 181—eras of Vicramaditya and Salivahana, 182—history of the latter supposed to be founded on incorrect accounts of the miraculous birth, &c. of our Saviour, 183.

END OF VOLUME FIFTEENTH.

D. WILLISON, PRINTER, EDINBURGH.